

Department of Tourism and Northern Studies

**A community-based Tourism Approach for Sensitive  
Tourist Destinations:**

**The Case of the Elmina Castle and the Community.**

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To my lovely wife Maame Otiwaa Owusu and son Stein Owusu-Adusei.

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## **Abstract**

The historical slave castles and forts along the coast of Ghana presents a touristic experience full of emotions. These sensitive sites attract a number tourist to Ghana bringing revenue for government expenditure. Whereas these sites are owned and run by government, communities within which these sites are located have had poor development due to their isolation from tourism development. The neglect of community involvement in tourism have resulted in problems reflective in the host communities such as lack of development, resident's isolation and possible community backlash. Also, the sensitive issues related to these sites have not been given enough attention. This study uses qualitative interviews to explore the possibility of employing the community-based tourism (CBT) approach to these historical sites. The study uses the Elmina castle and the community as its case of reference to explore the fundamental concepts of the CBT to determine the level of participation of stakeholders in Elmina tourism and the required initiatives necessary to establish a CBT model for the community. The study also explores the economic, social and environmental impacts of utilizing the CBT model for the sites. Finally, the study assesses the barriers that tend to impede establishing CBTs in Ghanaian communities. While these issues are discussed, suggestions on issues such as dealing with sensitivity, policy recommendations, and community alternative to CBT are also outlined.

Keywords: Tourism, Community participation, Community-based tourism, Elmina castle, sensitivity.

### **Master's Thesis, Title:**

## **A COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM APPROACH FOR SENSITIVE TOURIST DESTINATIONS:**

### **THE CASE OF THE ELMINA CASTLE AND THE COMMUNITY.**

Kelvin Owusu, UiT.

## List of Abbreviations

CBT.....	Community-Based Tourism
CBOs.....	Community-Based Organisations
ECHMP.....	The Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme
GMMB.....	The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
GTA.....	Ghana Tourism Authority
ICC.....	Intercommunal company
JHS.....	Junior High School
KEEA.....	Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem Municipal district
NGOs.....	Non-Governmental Organizations
SHS.....	Senior High School
WW II .....	World War Two

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## Chapter One: STUDY BACKGROUND

*If tourism is to become the successful and self-perpetuating industry many have advocated, it needs to be planned and managed as a renewable resource industry, based on local capacity and community decision making (Murphy, 2013, p. 153).*

### 1. Introduction

Sensitive historical destinations which includes those that depicts events associated with atrocities and human suffering have increasingly become an important aspect of tourism (Austin, 2002). Unlike other types of tourism such as recreational, nature and adventure tourism, literatures in the tourism discipline have often used different ‘grody’ terms to describe these atrocity stream of tourism. Seaton (1996) and Foley and Lennon (1996) for instance described tourism sites linked with phenomenon that involves death and disaster as ‘thanatourism’ and ‘dark tourism’ respectively. Moreover, labels such as ‘black spot tourism’ (Rojek, 1993), ‘atrocities heritage tourism’ (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) and ‘morbid tourism’ (Blom, 2000) which have exposed sensitive tourist destination to conflicting ethical issues of morality, commercialisation, marketing and commodification have been used (Selmi, Tur, & Dornier, 2012). Nevertheless, some scholars argue that, this type of tourism appears to be clearly postmodern and that, the quest for difference in destinations and attractions which are common motives in postmodern tourism are some factors that makes this category of tourism significant in the industry. Indeed, Rojek (1993) even describes visits to these sites as private enjoyment of pleasure for some visitors.

Consequently, whether the definitions or terms used to refer to this stream of tourism suggest the contested ethical issues surrounding it or not, its’ category provides a significant tourism experience which makes them lucrative in the tourism industry. By cause of their touristic experience, we cannot overlook the importance of *dark tourism* in the tourism industry and discipline. In a study of former concentration camps for example, Beech (2000, p. 40) identified two important types of tourists that patronize these sensitive destinations; first, those with some connections to the site including survivors, victims’ relatives and second, general ‘leisure’ visitors. While the former perceives visits to the sites as a kind of ‘ritual pilgrimage’ motivated by memory and generational culture, the latter are mostly there for education. Also, Preece and Price (2005) has indicated three main motives for visiting a dark site. While these scholars agree with Beech (2000) on the learning

importance of dark tourism, they go further to highlight historical interest and fascination for the abnormal (including morbid curiosity) as vital factors for such tourism. Additionally, some scholars have posited that, 'dark tourism' provides visitors with the opportunity to re-live the historical events that occurred at the site upon their visit. The aforementioned importance of sensitive tourism coupled with the huge economic benefits associated with them clearly positions the branch at the heart of modern tourism (Austin, 2002).

The Elmina Castle and other slave forts and castles on the West Coast of Africa are examples of tourist sites associated with death and human suffering. Built during Europe's "Age of Exploration" Essah (2001, p. 31) argues that, these monuments are witness to an atrocious trade in human beings, which emotionally links the fate of peoples in three continents: Africa, the Americas and Europe. The significance of these structures remains powerful, bringing to Ghana (specifically Elmina and Cape Coast) numerous tourists from Europe and the Americas, on a pilgrimage to experience the Atlantic Slave Trade (Essah, 2001). But while most of these monumental structures have been left to deteriorate, the few ones preserved for heritage tourism explicitly, the Elmina castle have been characterized with diverse challenging issues obstructing their operations and missions. Key among these issues includes how the sites should be developed and managed to increase visitation and community development; also, the proper establishment of ownership and sustainability measures that seek to enhance future operations and preservation; and how management and political policies should correct the unequal sharing of their financial benefits.

Research shows that collaboration offers a dynamic, process-based mechanism for dealing with planning and management issues to coordinate tourism development at the local level (Jamal & Getz, 1995). This suggest that, like most forms of tourism, sensitive related sites will thrive in a well-established operational model that involves the collaboration of local community stakeholders. Hence, to better deal with the challenging issues that border the efficient operation of these heritage sites<sup>1</sup>, this study intends to propose a Community-based Tourism (CBT) approach to manage the tourist sites in the Elmina community particularly, the Elmina castle. A Community-based approach to tourism has long been promoted as an essential model in the successful management of tourism sites by several literatures<sup>2</sup>. Scholars like Murphy (2013) and Jamal and Getz (1995) has argued that, the approach is capable of maximising the carrying capacity of a community by reducing

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<sup>1</sup> Most of these sites are now located in communities such as Elmina, Senya Bereku, Shama, Apam, Anomabo etc, which are kind of owned by the community. See (Addo, 2011; Essah, 2001)

<sup>2</sup> Examples of successful CBT sites are outlined in section 5.2.3.1.1.

negative impacts of tourism while enhancing its positive out-turns. The approach seeks to involve all stakeholders of which includes local government officials, residents, developers, business people, and planners in a way that decision-making and management of the tourist site are shared.

There is no doubt that in the case of Elmina castle and other sites in the community, the residents do not have control of tourism. This was evident not only in residents' responses during field interviews but also, their 'negative' attitude towards the castle as a tourist destination. A study by Sirakaya, Teye, and Sönmez (2002, p. 65) revealed that, the lack of community support for tourism development projects in Elmina is by virtue of the residents' unaware of the projects, either through the government's deliberate attempts to exclude residents or through withholding of information from them. Indeed, while tourism in most industrialized countries have strongly embraced cooperation, collaboration and local participation which have aided sustainability and increased revenue for development (Sirakaya et al., 2002), most governments in African countries particularly Ghana, have stuck to what Jamal and Getz (1995) describes as the 'go-it-alone' policies where key decisions for tourism are wholly taken by government agencies. This explains why even when the data reached an all-time high, the total contribution of Travel and Tourism was only 6.2% of Ghana's GDP in 2017, ranking the country 103 out of 185 countries around the world (Council, 2018). The statistics do not speak well of a country which is richly endowed with numerous tourist destination and events.

This study does not assume that, the CBT concept is the surest model to overturn the mismanagement and fortunes of the tourism industry in Ghana and Africa at large. In fact, the CBT concept have been criticised by scholars such as Taylor (1995) who argues that, the communitarianism view of CBT is a highly romantic thoughts that cannot be actualised. Likewise, Addison (1996) holds that, the participatory approach of the concept is time-consuming and also, barriers such as lack of education, business inexperience, insufficient financial assistance and conflicting vested interests have to be dealt with before public participation can be incorporated. Additionally, Okazaki (2008, p. 512) highlights the huge financial costs which is involved even in terms of getting the programme started, let alone, maintaining it.

But these arguments provided against CBT do not abrogate implementing the concept, neither do any of them suggest possible alternatives for achieving sustainable tourism development especially for sensitive destination sites. As a matter of fact, the demand for community-based by scholars shows that such programmes are still the best course of action (Okazaki, 2008). Majority of research

have suggested that, the tourism industry is dependent on local residents' participation, through their role as employees or local entrepreneurs, and their benevolence towards tourists (Blackstock, 2005; Cole, 1997; Selwyn, 1996; Taylor & Davis, 1997). It follows that, since the CBT approach takes the relationship between the local community and tourism as the main ground for evaluating community progress, it is capable of delivering local control of development, consensus-based decision making as well as equitable flow of benefits to all sectors of the community (Blackstock, 2005, p. 39). This is in accordance with Haywood assertion that, for a country's tourism industry to be successful, it will depend on healthy and thriving communities. Community-tourism is therefore indispensable, and that local control of tourism is a win-win situation for rural communities and their countries (Blackstock, 2005). Hence, if these benefits are true for employing a CBT approach for tourist destinations, why have it not been tried in any tourism destination in Ghana? Perhaps, the problem statement underneath will help us to comprehend why it is important for this study to research into employing the CBT concept for the tourist sites in local communities like Elmina.

### **1.1. Problem statement**

This study understands that, even though the Elmina castle have been in operation as a tourist site for some years now, its use for tourism has not offered the locals with the benefits they expect. Also, when one considers the other magnificent tourist locations including the Fort St. Jago, the Dutch cemetery, the Java museum, the Elmina Lagoon etc, all in one community, he or she will agree that tourism in the area should be more than capable of bringing development in the area. However, when one visits the town, he or she do not need any special observation to know that, tourism in the area have not had positive impact in the lives of the people and the development of the community. Aside fishing, salt making and other menial jobs such as women selling food, few men driving taxis and mini vendor kiosk, you will find most of the residents idling in the streets. Tourism in the area employs a handful of the Elmina residents. Indirect tourism jobs from the hotels are also occupied by staffs from Accra leaving Elmina residents with few opportunities to tourism. It is worrying as to why a community that boost of many tourist sites due to its early contact with Europeans be that underdeveloped? Why has tourism not been developed in the community in a way that it can be used to improve livelihood? Why are some Elmina residents not interested in the tourism activities in the area?

The key challenging issue linked with these questions surrounding tourism in the area can be attributed to the deliberate or indeliberate isolation of residents from tourism development on the part of policymakers. In Ghana, most of the tourism destinations are wholly owned and run by the government through its agencies<sup>3</sup>. As such, most of the tourism communities<sup>4</sup> only enjoys the tourism tag and a little of the proceeds after disbursement from the capital. Community tourism planning and development is typically coercive, passive, top down, or non-participatory which may recognise residents' implementation policies but not necessarily their views or sharing benefits<sup>5</sup>. Tourism decisions are therefore manipulated and contrived by government officials in Accra leaving the communities with little options to tourism activities. This, the tourism industry is unable to deliver its high expectation promises at the beginning of tourism projects to the level of residents;' expectations (Sirakaya et al., 2002). Again, many potential sites have not been developed and the established ones are underperforming due to government's incapability to manage the numerous tourism sites in Ghana alone.

The neglect of residents from community tourism have a direct influence on tourism projects and activities. Okazaki (2008) indicates that, in situations where residents are not allowed to cooperate in tourism, they develop hostile attitudes towards tourists thereby hindering tourism growth. Additionally, where there is lack of cooperation from the host community and government is incapable of managing all the sites, proper commodification and sustainability measures cannot be achieved (Okazaki, 2008). Finally, since tourism destinations in Elmina is largely characterised with sensitivity, Okazaki (2008, p. 512) advices that, plans to develop them should be connected with the entire socioeconomic development of the community, otherwise the sites risk efficient operation and sustainability.

But why have most African states and in this case, Ghana been glued to the 'do it alone' by the government when the system has failed to yield the positive results expected from the tourism industry? Why is the government not trusting the communities to take some of its burden of managing all tourist sites? Are governments not aware that, where residents do not collaborate in local tourism, they develop a lack of community support for tourism development projects and this

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<sup>3</sup> Example of such agencies are the tourism ministry, the Ghana Tourism Authority, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board etc.

<sup>4</sup> Example of exciting tourism communities to visit includes Elmina, Cape Coast, Mole (Larabanga), Kakum, Ankasa, Nzulenzu etc.

<sup>5</sup> As specified in literatures by (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995; Tosun, 1999, 2006)



have adverse effects on tourism projects?<sup>6</sup> But should a community that boost of monumental heritage sites be allowed to be managed alone by government officials when local participation or collaboration with the community and other stakeholders can support tourism sustainability and development? Why have successive governments failed to realize the need for local collaboration and participation in tourism communities in Ghana? To deal with the questions and issues a research into a Community-based Tourism for local tourism communities in Ghana is required.

## **1.2. Objective of the study**

The study intends to research into the possibility of employing the Community-based Tourism approach to sensitive tourist destinations. It uses the Elmina castle and other tourist sites in the community as the case study to determine how local community participation in tourism can enhance tourism development and sustainability.

## **1.3. Research questions<sup>7</sup>**

- a) What is the current status of stakeholder's involvement in tourism development in Elmina? What initiatives can be considered to establish and enhance CBT in Elmina?
- b) What impacts can be realized when a Community-based Tourism approach is employed to sensitive tourist destinations? What are the economic, social and environmental impacts to be realized?
- c) What constraints or challenges impedes the implementation of CBT for local communities in Ghana?

## **1.4. Significance of the study**

This study is undertaken in order to utilize a CBT approach for managing sensitive tourist destinations. Results from this study will help empower local residents in tourism communities especially Africa, to demand for a higher degree citizens participation or involvement in tourism planning and development. Further, the study uncovers an academic research area, (i.e. 'introducing

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<sup>6</sup> See Sirakaya et al. (2002) study on Understanding residents' support for tourism development in the central region of Ghana.

<sup>7</sup> The research questions a), b) and c) are discussed in detail in sections 5.3.1., 5.3.2., and 5.3.3. respectively.

dialogue forums or therapy sessions for potential emotional tourist in CBT models') which requires future studies. Finally, results from this study will educate tourism planners, public policy makers, researchers and students on initiatives and constraints to consider in establishing CBT models for particularly tourism communities in Africa.

## **1.5. Study Structure**

The study is arranged into six chapters. The opening chapter has provided the background and introduced the main issues that informs the study. It has also indicated the research problem, the significance of the study, the research questions and objectives. The succeeding chapter will primarily focus on a brief profile of Elmina and the main tourist destination, the former slave castle. It will also outline the nature of tourism in the community and present the various sites, hotels and means of transport. The third chapter will present in detail the method used in getting data for the study. It will also share light on methodological issues which the researcher encountered during data collection from the research field. In the fourth chapter, theoretical issues that forms the fundamental notion of the study is discussed. Further, related literatures will be discussed in this chapter to establish the academic vacuums of which this study sought to fill. The fifth chapter will present, interpret and analyse data obtained from the field to resolve research questions and objectives. The sixth and final chapter will summarise findings and offer recommendations relating to the issues discussed in the study.

Having introduced the key issues that forms the study's direction, it will be ideal to outline the profile of our research field, Elmina. This will help us to understand the interpretation of data that will be presented in chapter 5 and 6. So, let us visit the second chapter to experience the Elmina township, the former slave castle, other tourist destinations and the nature of tourism in the community.

## **Chapter Two: ELMINA, THE CASTLE AND THE NATURE OF TOURISM**

### **2. Introduction**

The study intends to use this chapter to present key profile and features of tourism related issues in Elmina. As such, a brief history of the town that led to the tourism we talk about today will be presented to enable readers to understand in chronological terms, the outline of the town's important history. Also, the two main tourist sites in Elmina; the castle and fort St Jago as well as other important sites in the area will be outlined. Moreover, a brief discussion to justify the introduction of a community-based approach to manage tourism in Elmina will be presented and the final section will feature the nature of tourism in the area.

#### **2.1. Elmina brief history**

Elmina is an ancient town in today's modern Ghana which is also known as "La Mina" by the Portuguese and "Edina", Anomansa or Amankwaa Kurom by its native Fantes. The town is an important fishing town and the capital of the Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem (KEEA) District on the south coast of South Ghana in the Central Region (Ashun, 2017). The town was the first European settlement in West Africa and it is located on a south-facing bay on the Atlantic Ocean coast of Ghana, 12 km (7.5 mi) west of Cape Coast (Yarak, 2003). With an annual growth rate of about 2.3 per cent, Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 302) indicated the population of Elmina to be around 49,300 by the year 2015. While fishing is the main economic activity, other economic activities such as salt mining, canoe and boat building, trading and tourism are present in Elmina (Ashun, 2017).

Elmina plays a very important role in the African tourism industry not only because it is home to two World Heritage Sites: the Elmina Castle<sup>8</sup> and Fort St. Jago, but the town also serves as a starting point for searching slave routes due to its use as a port in the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006). According to Hair (1994), the Elmina township grew around São Jorge da Mina Castle, which was built under the leadership of the Portuguese Don Diego de Azambuja in 1482 on the site of a village closed to the ocean called Amankwaa Kurom<sup>9</sup>. Elmina

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<sup>8</sup> Formerly called *São Jorge da Mina* (St George of the Mine]. See (Essah, 2001, p. 32)

<sup>9</sup> As refereed by indigenes as the name for Elmina (Ashun, 2017).

was Portugal's West African headquarters for trade and exploitation of the wealth in Africa. In fact, Wilks (1982) accounts that, the Portuguese shipped about 8,000 ounces of gold to Lisbon from 1487 to 1489, 22,500 ounces from 1494 to 1496, and around 26,000 ounces by the start of the sixteenth century.

The period 1831-1868 in Elmina was outstanding due to an unprecedented peaceful relations between the town and its immediate hinterland as well as other surrounding coastal Akan states. Yarak (2003) highlights that, this peaceful relation resulted in an unprecedented growth in trade at Elmina with commodities (such as gold, ivory, palm oil, foodstuffs) flowing from all parts of Gold Coast<sup>10</sup> to a variety of town-based merchants who either sold their goods locally or exchanged them for goods imported on Dutch, British, American, and Brazilian ships. In this same period, families who were of mixed local and European descent gained literacy in European languages, embraced Christianity, and maintained their Akan culture as well. Additionally, Elmina got into contact with Southeast Asia due to Dutch military recruits from Elmina (W. van Kessel, 2003). Finally, the formation of military and political power at Elmina during these years of peace and growing trade fashioned an extraordinary period in world history; according to Yarak (2003), it contrasted with the earlier local warfare, a brief Asante empire domination over many coastal states, a succeeding period characterized by British colonial rule and most importantly, involvement in the transatlantic slave trade.

As the gold and ivory export trades were superseded in importance by the business of enslaved Africans (Essah, 2001), the population of Elmina grew to become “modern” and slightly cosmopolitan society at the time<sup>11</sup>. In fact, a Dutch survey of the town and its hinterland in 1858 presented that, the town adjacent to the Dutch fort had an estimated total population of “18,000 to 20,000” (Yarak, 2003). Therefore, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Elmina was certainly the largest town on the whole of Gold Coast rivalling the estimated populace of Kumasi, the capital of the Asante Empire (Yarak, 2003). Today, the existence of European influence is still visible through the presence of the castle, fort, cemeteries, old merchant houses, European names and streets. With these assets from Elmina’s notable involvement in one of the worlds unforgettable trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas coupled with the rich traditional culture of the

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<sup>10</sup> Gold Coast was the name for the region on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. This region is rich in gold and also in petroleum, sweet crude oil and natural gas. It is also known as the Ancient Kingdom of Ghana, the former Gold Coast Colony, and the present-day republic of Ghana (Hilson, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Also see (Yarak, 2003)

locals and the charming fishing harbour, scholars<sup>12</sup> authenticate Elmina to be the nucleus of tourism development in Ghana (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006, p. 303)

## **2.2. The Elmina Castle and Fort St. Jago: World Heritage Sites, UNESCO.**

In the year 1482, the Portuguese constructed the first ever European building in Sub-Saharan Africa, then known as *Castelo de São Jorge da Mina*<sup>13</sup> in Elmina, Ghana (DeCorse, 2010; Hair, 1994). The magnificent structure was established due to the Portuguese believe that they had discovered the source of Africa's gold in an area they named *A Mina de Ouro* (the Gold Mine), from which evolved the Ghana's former name Gold Coast (Hair, 1994). To advance in this gold trade, John II of Portugal commissioned the building of the fortress in the Gold Coast. So, under the leadership of Diego d'Azambuja, twelve ships carrying building materials and 600 men<sup>14</sup> left Portugal for the Gold Coast to build the castle (Grinnan, Kipping, Horlings, & Cook, 2013; Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006).

The Portuguese used the castle as their headquarters in West Africa for over 150 years to maintain their monopoly of the trade in West Africa. DeCorse (2010) indicates that, the Portuguese imported vast quantities of cloths, blankets, and linen from Morocco, in addition to copper, brassware, and iron from Europe which they exchange for gold and ornaments from the local people in the Gold Coast. (pp. 214-219). Throughout the years of 1596 to 1625, the Elmina castle was attacked by the Dutch forces in five different occasions from the sea. These attacks were unsuccessfully until 1637 when the Dutch effectively utilized a new strategy on their sixth attempt by landing 800 men at Komenda<sup>15</sup> and opening fire on the Castle from a nearby hill<sup>16</sup>. This allowed the Dutch to move their trading headquarters to Elmina Castle in the 1660s and build Fort Coenraadsburg. The Fort Coenraadsburg<sup>17</sup> better known today as Fort St. Jago was built close to the Elmina castle in 1665 to protect the castle (which had become their trading headquarters) from attacks especially from inland by rival European group (Essah, 2001, pp. 39-40). According to Varley (1952), the fort was

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<sup>12</sup> Scholars such as (Bruner, 1996; Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006; Yarak, 2003) and many others consider Elmina as a destination worth visiting.

<sup>13</sup> Also known as São Jorge da Mina (meaning St George of the Mine), or Elmina Castle as called today (DeCorse, 2010; Hair, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> The 600 men included one hundred artisans and five hundred soldiers (Essah, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Komenda is a town near Elmina.

<sup>16</sup> Also see (DeCorse, 2010, pp. 228-230) and (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006, pp. 357-358)

<sup>17</sup> It was also known as Conraadsburg of Fort São Tiago da Mina, today it is well known as Fort St. Jago (MacGonagle, 2006; Varley, 1952).



built at the location of a fortified chapel that the Portuguese had built. Upon defeating the Portuguese in the ‘Battle of Elmina’, the Dutch burned the chapel to ground and erected the Fort St Jago. The fort was ceded to the British in 1872, together with the Elmina castle and the entire Dutch Gold Coast (p. 6)<sup>18</sup>.

It is important to highlight at this point that, a major shift in trade of commodities trade occurred in mid-17th century. This time, the focus was on the slave trade and it is the manner with which this trade occurred that these two structures in Elmina together with the Cape Coast castle and other slave forts have earned international attention in the tourism industry (Essah, 2001; Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century however, the abolition of slavery affected the slave trade on the coast of Ghana resulting a shift in trade to the export of ivory, gold, spices and palm oil. On the back of this, Grinnan et al. (2013) indicates that, the Elmina Castle was used as a Ghana Police Recruit Training Centre and the Edinaman Secondary School at some points (p. 358). Today, the Elmina castle and Fort St. Jago both closely located in the ancient Elmina town, are two of the only three monumental sites recognised as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in Ghana.

### **2.2.1. Other Tourist Destinations and Activities in Elmina**

In addition to the two UNESCO recognised sites (i.e. the Elmina castle and Fort St. Jago), Elmina boast of other impressive tourist destinations and activities that can be compared to tourism communities around the world. These sites include, the Dutch cemetery, old churches<sup>19</sup>, old merchant houses, Dutch streets and Dutch family names (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006, p. 303). While in Elmina, one can also visit the attractive fishing harbour, walk along the beach or go for boat tour. Finally, the Elmina community celebrates some important events of which bring a lot of people to the town. Two traditional festivals namely; Edina Bakatue and Edina Bronya (Ashun, 2017) also; Emancipation Day and the Joseph Project which are periodic festivals celebrated to enhance the principles of Pan-Africanism, African development, and diasporic relations (Addo, 2011, pp. 8-10)

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<sup>18</sup> Also see (MacGonagle, 2006) and (Essah, 2001, pp. 39-40)

<sup>19</sup> The Catholic Church in the Gold Coast / Ghana started in Elmina in the year 1880. See <http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Aad/elmina1.htm>

### **2.2.1.1. The Dutch Cemetery**

The Dutch Cemetery<sup>20</sup> was constructed on the order of J.P. Hoogenboom in 1806, the then Governor of the Dutch Gold Coast. The cemetery was constructed due to the little space left in and around the Elmina castle for the Dutch to bury their dead (Bruner, 1996; Doortmont, 2003).

### **2.2.1.2. Festivals in Elmina**

The Elmina community is known for the celebration of two wonderful festivals; the Edina Bakatue and Edina Bronya. The Bakatue Festival celebrates the “opening” of Benya lagoon, hence it is closely connected to the main economic activity of fishing. Bakatue is celebrated on the first Tuesday of July (Ashun, 2017, pp. 11-13). Edina Bronya, also known as Elmina Christmas is celebrated in remembrance of ancestors. (Ashun, 2017, pp. 16-18). These two festivals bring citizens of the town as well as tourist around the world to Elmina boosting tourism during the period.

### **2.2.1.3. The Elmina Java Museum**

This private owned tourist museum in Elmina is established on the history of the formal Belanda Hitam soldiers who were recruited in the 19th century during the Dutch Gold Coast to serve in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army. The museum was established through the visions of Dr Thad Patrick Manus Ulzen, a great-great-grandson of Manus Ulzen to house exhibits of the history of his fore fathers, the soldiers for Java and the history of Elmina (I. Van Kessel, 2005, p. 32).

## **2.3. A justification for CBT approach**

The above presented tourist sites in the ancient town of Elmina rightly suggest that, unlike many other communities and even big cities (such as Cape Coast, Mole, Kakum, Kumasi etc), Elmina is a multi-tourist destination community. By means of this, the huge tourism work load in the area cannot be easily be undertaken by government officials alone to maximise the positive results the people expect. In fact, through a development programme adopted in the year 2000 by the KEEA district called *The Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme* (ECHMP), it was expected that by 2015, “Elmina shall become the engine of equitable socio-economic development that impacts on wealth creation, poverty reduction and improved local governance on a sustainable

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<sup>20</sup> Also see <http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Aad/elmina1.htm>

basis”<sup>21</sup>. However, several scholars<sup>22</sup> indicates that, despite the economic potential of the heritage destinations and the huge number of tourists coming to the Elmina, the community has seen little development after the introduction of tourism in 1972. These scholars maintain that, employment opportunities related to tourism are practically non-existent. In effect, the standard of living in the community is at the minimum and this is evident in resident’s livelihoods, the economic activity in the area and the polluted environment.<sup>23</sup> While the fishing harbour, the beaches and the community’s drainage system are deposited and polluted with waste, basic roads and access to electricity are lacking the quality and quantity required. Additionally, there are challenging issues related to health care and education<sup>24</sup>. Therefore, when we consider the impacts that can come from the abundant tourism destinations and activities in Elmina, we can only argue for a change in mainstream tourism. Hence, the study argues for local participation and cooperation through a CBT approach to tourism for the Elmina community.

#### **2.4. The nature of tourism**

The Elmina Castle and Fort St Jago are the key tourist destinations attracting most tourists to the Elmina community. The two sites amass 100,000 tourists every year, 70,000 of these are foreign tourists<sup>25</sup>. Of these tourists coming into the community and other coastal tourist sites<sup>26</sup>, Bruner asserts that, while Ghanaians, Europeans, and North Americans make up the core group of visitors, blacks from the diaspora, specifically African Americans have gradually become the important growing segment of visitors to the areas (Bruner, 1996, p. 290). According to Addo (2011), most of these tourist partake in the diaspora-related festivals (such as Panafest, Emancipation Day, and the Joseph Project held at Elmina and Cape Coast) during the visit.

The Elmina community can be visited from any part of Ghana. Foreign tourist who arrives in Accra can drive a rented car to the town by themselves, if they are not with any organized tour operating group. One can easily use tour websites like TripAdvisor and other internet search engines to locate the town.<sup>27</sup> Driving to the town can take about three hours and yes there is a lot to see in Elmina

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<sup>21</sup> See Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 310)

<sup>22</sup> Scholars such as (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006; Oppong, Marful, & Sarbeng, 2018) highlights underdevelopment in the Elmina community.

<sup>23</sup> See Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 303)

<sup>24</sup> see (Nana Ato Arthur & Victor Mensah, 2006)

<sup>25</sup> Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 303).

<sup>26</sup> including Cape Coast, Kakum National Park etc.

<sup>27</sup> Also see [https://www.tripadvisor.com/FAQ\\_Answers-g303867-d325039-t514384-How\\_far\\_is\\_Elmina\\_from\\_Accra.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/FAQ_Answers-g303867-d325039-t514384-How_far_is_Elmina_from_Accra.html)

and the other surrounding towns including Cape Coast and Kakum National Park, so I recommend that tourist prepare for a three-day trip to really enjoy everything in these touristic areas.<sup>28</sup>

Tourism in Ghana has increasingly become important due to the economic impacts associated with it. As such, measures to sustain key heritage sites to enhance tourism revenue is a primary concern of government (Bruner, 1996). The Elmina castle like many other sites in Ghana has been commodified to bring revenue for its sustainability. Whether or not commodifying the forts and castles is in the right direction for sustainable cultural tourism is an issue which Addo (2011) believes should attract more research work. Nonetheless, there is enough evident to confirm that tourist pay entrance fees at the Elmina castle before they can tour the ancient building. On the official website of the the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), the legal custodian of cultural heritage materials for Ghana, one can easily access the various categoric fees of not only the Elmina castle but all other heritage museums<sup>29</sup>.

Due to the growing number of tourists in Elmina by the day, private investors have recognised the area as important destination for accommodation business. In recent years, two three-star beach resorts including the Elmina Beach Resort and Coconut Grove have been established with good quality restaurants to meet the needs of the increasing number of tourists (Addo, 2011). In addition, several hotels (including Essankafo Hotel, Akomapa Village, Elmina Bay Resort etc.)<sup>30</sup> have been built to take care of the accommodation sector of tourism in the community. There are also Airbnb homes available for interested tourist in Elmina.

However, during my visits to Elmina for this study, I was very surprised to find very few tour operating companies in the community. In fact, when I asked around, few names including *Origins Guided tours* and *Eco Elmina tours* (which was even closed) came up. This confirms Sirakaya et al. (2002) statement that, most of the tourists coming to Elmina through organized tours come by tour companies based in the capital of Ghana, Accra (p. 66). Bruner (1996) writes that, many young people in Elmina offer themselves as local guides to unaccompanied tourist.

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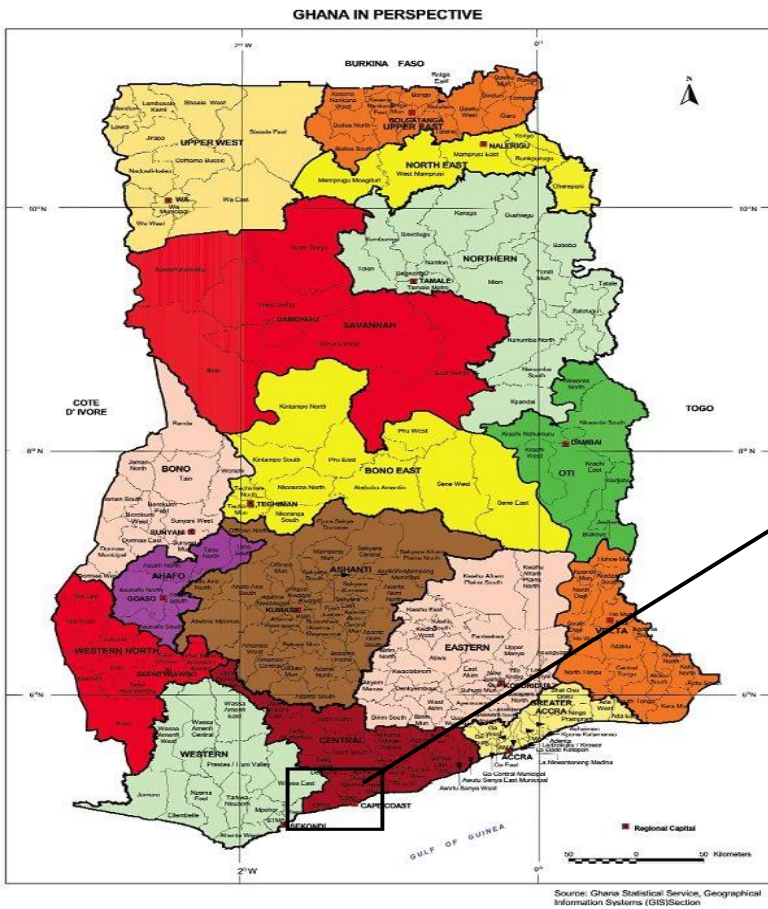
<sup>28</sup> Sirakaya et al. (2002, p. 66) in their article also describes the limited length of stay for tourist in Elmina.

<sup>29</sup> See <http://www.ghanamuseums.org/elmina-castle-museum.php>

<sup>30</sup> I personally enjoyed my stay in Elmina at one of the Coconut Grove group of hotels called Bridge House and I must say that their foods, rooms and reception were pleasant.

## 2.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to throw light on important tourism-related issues and features in Elmina. The chapter have offered readers with how tourism in the town evolved through the arrival of Europeans and their intention of trading with the local people that ended up with the slave fort and castle. Further, the chapter uncovered other important tourist sites and activities in the area and presented the nature of tourism related activities. While the topics discussed in this chapter offers readers with knowledge on the nature of tourism in Elmina, they also prepare them for the subsequent chapters.



*Map of Ghana (left) showing Elmina township, Elmina castle and the Cape Coast castle (right)<sup>31</sup>. Sources: (Graphic, 2019)<sup>32</sup> and (Google., n.d.).*

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Elmina,+Ghana/@5.0955809,-1.3764248,13z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0xfddfb94558e7037:0xf48e8df14e6d0264!8m2!3d5.1053378!4d-1.3421032>  
Retrieved on: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/new-ghana-map-with-16-regional-capitals.html> Retrieved on: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019.





*Picture 1 showing the aerial view of the Elmina castle. Source: fieldwork.*



*Picture 2 showing the Elmina castle from the sea. Source: fieldwork.*

## **Chapter Three: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3. Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodological framework of the study. It introduces the philosophical viewpoints underpinning the research. The chapter also focuses on issues such as the study area, the choice of research methodology, informant selection, data collection techniques, and explanations for the utilization of methods and strategies. The chapter further highlights methodological issues which the researcher came across while using qualitative interviews to collect data from the field of research. These issues will focus on the researcher's positions, interviewees' selection and influences, effects of research situations and issues arising from research questions. While discussions of mechanisms and actions provided by the researcher to deal with the issues will be offered, important ethical issues such as seeking consent, anonymity and confidentiality will also be discussed.

#### **3.1. Methods and strategies**

This study on community-based tourism for Elmina adopted a combination of research methods of which qualitative interviews (semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions) were used as the primary source of data collection. The philosophical worldviews guiding the research are constructivism and advocacy/participatory. The motives for the study to be situated in these viewpoints are described in the ensuing sections.

##### **3.1.1. Constructivism worldviews of the study**

According to Creswell and Poth (2007, p. 20), constructivist believes that, humans seek to interpret the world they live by developing subjective meanings of their experiences. The world appears differently to different people (Moses & Knutsen, 2012, p. 199), hence, meanings directed to situations in the social world varies (Creswell & Poth, 2007) due to the difference in individual characteristics (such as age, gender etc) or social characteristics (such as culture, language etc)<sup>33</sup>. This implies that, for researchers to obtain knowledge about the social world, they need to find the complexity of views which Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 110) believes are socially, historically and experientially constructed through individuals interaction with others. Therefore, the duty of

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<sup>33</sup> Also see (Moses & Knutsen, 2012, p. 10).

research, is to basically rely on participants' views on situations (Creswell & Poth, 2007, p. 21) to make and interpret meaning to the social world.

In practice, constructivist assumes the researcher and the participant(s) to be interactively linked (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) so that, they (participants) can produce meaning of a situation, which have been forged through participants' previous experiences and interactions (Creswell & Poth, 2007). Therefore, through a dialectical interaction *between and among* researchers and participants, constructivist holds that, researchers interpret the meanings individuals have about the social world. Thence, constructivism have come to include the notion that, researchers' accounts of the social world are constructions (Bryman, 2016) and that, their own background shapes their interpretation (Creswell & Poth, 2007). Thus, since qualitative research is an "interpretive" research,<sup>34</sup> researchers in their efforts of presenting and explaining findings may potentially influence findings through their perspectives, the research situation and even interaction with interviewees.<sup>35</sup> The dialectical interactions (between researchers and participants) also means that, the more interview questions are open-ended, the better knowledge-in-context is obtained through carefulness and self-awareness on the part of the researcher (Creswell & Poth, 2007; Moses & Knutsen, 2012). This explains why my qualitative interviews adopted an open-ended questioning to obtain first-hand information from participants who though are guided by semi-structured interview questions, are encouraged by the flexibility of interview nature to express themselves.

### **3.1.2. Advocacy/Participatory**

The Advocacy/Participatory philosophy of the study holds that, research ought to establish an action agenda that seeks to change the lives of participants and the world in which they live and work (Creswell & Poth, 2007). Advocacy/participatory studies often concentrate on important issues in the society, example the need for 'community' empowerment (Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998). The issues facing the 'relegated', alienated Elmina residents from tourism in their own community are of paramount importance to this study. As these issues are researched and exposed, the study provides participatory action for Elmina residents on bringing about change in tourism management. A change which will not only improve livelihoods, but also tourism sustainability in the community. In Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998) summary on key features of

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<sup>34</sup> See (Creswell & Poth, 2007, p. 21)

<sup>35</sup> This is the reason for providing a section with methodological issues to acknowledge the researcher's methodological awareness.



advocacy/participatory worldview, they alluded that, the paradigm is emancipatory in that it creates a political debate and discussion that loosen unjust structures which limits individuals' development. The paradigm is also practical and collaborative since it inquires "with" participants. Considering these, the study engages Elmina residents as active collaborators in inquiries.

### **3.2. Data Collection Techniques**

The study employed qualitative interviews specifically the semi-structured interview method to collect data. In using the semi-structured method, individual (or one-on-one) interviews was combined with focus group discussion to interact with participants. However, some electronic media reports, documents from the GMMB and telephone interviews were used as secondary sources of data.

#### **3.2.1 Qualitative interviews**

Considering the constructionist worldview of the study, qualitative interview was employed to; allow emphasis on generality in formulating research design, give attention to participants' individual views (Bryman, 2016, p. 470), and combine structure with flexibility (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). Admittedly, qualitative interview enables the researcher through careful listening, to understand and interpret situations from the interviewee's viewpoints which they have developed through their experiences (Bryman, 2016). Further, scholars acknowledges that, when used as a data collection tool; qualitative interview enhances greater flexibility in the interview process, give the study rich and in-depth information and even give researchers the ability to interview interviewees on several occasions (Ritchie et al., 2013). An important opportunity for me to use telephone interviews to (re)contact some participants for clarity.

Accordingly, although the approach in some cases allowed interviewees to 'go off or over' during interviews in Elmina, it equally enabled them to give detail information on issues they viewed as relevant and important to the subject of discussion in most of cases. Again, while the method allowed me to depart slightly from my prearranged question guide, it correspondingly offered me the opportunity to ask new and follow up questions that opened 'new' significant topics for further discussions. So, when I was setting out the interview structure for this study, my epistemological orientation and my level of knowledge on the topics of which the interviews will be discussed were key. However, with a flexible qualitative research structure I was confident that; participants will

raise issues to shape the interview content, the method will allow probing questions to explore new topics and help to cover topics to suit the study.

### **3.2.1.1. Semi-Structured Interviews**

In Bryman's description of the semi-structured interview, he pointed out that, the method is structured around a set of questions (or topics) for discussion referred to as interview guide. And although the interview guide ensures that interviewees 'stay' within the research structure, interviewees have a huge margin of freedom on how to reply the questions (2016, pp. 471-472). Moreover, question may not follow the sequence as structured in the pre-set guide and new questions may arise especially from what interviewees brings up, this however do not change the wording used for other interviewees (Ritchie et al., 2013, p. 111).

When setting out the research design for the study, I was mindful of the nature, advantages and consequences of employing the semi-structured interview as my data collection tool. Appropriately, I adopted an interview programme which was not based on a set of rigid pre-determined questions, instead, my scheduled questions guide largely featured a discursive open-ended form of interviews that permitted an interactive interview process which improved in every succeeding interview. While all interview process were in the form of face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews were used in few occasions to clarify information from participants from GMMB and Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA). Ritchie et al. (2013, p. 183) recommends telephone interviews to be used as an additional option for qualitative interviews.

### **3.2.1.2. Combining individual interviews and focus group**

Although the study largely obtained data through individual (or one-on-one) interviews during field research, focus group interview which included a group of four (4) 'self-trained' local tour guides and I was used in the early stages of the research. According to Ritchie et al. (2013), individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions can be well combined to produce a successful study (p. 38).

With this study, focus group was used at the initial stage to explore relevant issues and topics which were taken forward to individual in-depth interviews. Therefore, the group of four raised very important issues which my interview guide would not have attempted to ask, perhaps I was not familiar with such issues in Elmina. The focus group discussion was also necessary for the participated interviewees because they shared similar conditions in Elmina. They were all males



tour guides lacking tertiary or vocational training and none of them had any formal training as a tour guide. As such they were asked to discuss on some defined tourism related topics in the area which borders their work.<sup>36</sup> As with almost all field interviews, the focus group session was recorded and transcribed afterwards. With individual interviews, I intended to have an undiluted attention on individual participants.

### **3.2.1.3. Recording and transcription**

Bryman (2016, p. 482) posits that, qualitative interview should usually be audio-recorded and transcribed afterwards. This is because, during interviews the researcher is supposed to listen carefully, follow up conversations with questions on interesting points, probe for clarity and draw attention of interviewee's when they go off. These can perfectly be done when the researcher is not disturbed with having to concentrate on writing interviewees answers (Bryman, 2016; Ritchie et al., 2013).

During field research, all interviews were audio recorded. Recording interviews allowed me to repeatedly examine interviewees' answers during and after transcription. My recorded data will also allow for scrutiny by other researchers and allows the data to be reused for other purposes. With respect to the focus group session especially, it would have been difficult for me to take notes during the discussion, because of the need to track who says what. Recording interviews also informed my decision use telephone interviews to (re)contact interviewed participants for clarity and additional information.

### **3.2.2. Secondary sources of data**

As discussed above, the study made use of other means of data collection. One of them is media reports. Some media groups in Ghana<sup>37</sup> are very concerned with tourism in the country. Other sources include documents from GMMB and GTA. Example of such documents included the official outline of the year of return programme, statistical data of visitation to Elmina and legal documents relating to tourism in Ghana.

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<sup>36</sup> See Neuman (2007, pp. 471-472) for features of Focus group interviews.

<sup>37</sup> Example citi radio, The Mirror newspaper, Metro TV etc.

### **3.3. Study area**

Most of my research interviews were conducted in Elmina<sup>38</sup>. However, with the intention of interviewing administrators from GMMB, GTA offices and the Tourism ministry, I had to go to Accra to get access to these target group.

### **3.4. Participants**

Participants were categorized into two main groups. The first group was made up of local Elmina residents including, local tour guides, curators from Elmina castle, interviewees from the Elmina chief's palace, hotel staffs, visitors to the castle and tourists. The second group included participants from the GMMB, GTA, and the tourism ministry.

#### **3.4.1. Participant Selection**

Two key sampling methods were adopted for selecting participants-Purposive sampling and Random sampling methods. I employed the former in selecting participants from my second group, the chief's palace as were as curators from the castle. The Random sampling was used to get Elmina residents as participants.

Bryman indicates that, purposive sampling is used to carefully select participants who's views on a topic or research question possesses the capacity to provide rich and in-depth information related to the study (2016, p. 418). Hence, the method was used to select participants whose unit of analysis will benefit the goals of this research study. Curators and participants from my second group have had formal training and experience with tourism in Ghana. They are also the official institutions through which the government of Ghana runs tourism in Elmina. So, selecting participants from these institutions do not only assist the study with first-hand information to official policy plans and activities, but also, they help to balance the debate and avoid the study being bias especially if information from Elmina residents were the only data for discussions. The mode of reaching participants from these government institutions was that, letters were sent to the offices of their offices to seek their permission to interview some of their personnel.

Random sampling was used to select informants from Elmina. This selection technique was used to give these informants equal opportunities of being selected. The involvement of this group of

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<sup>38</sup>For more information on the Elmina community, the study area, see chapter 2.

informants is based on the constructionist and advocacy/participatory worldview of the study. As seen in section 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, since Elmina residents are directly at the receiving end of the managerial issues of tourism in their area, their viewpoints on tourism which have been forged over the years from experiences and interactions are key to objective of the study. Hence, with their views, debate and collaboration, findings tend to loosen the unjust structures which limits tourism and community development in Elmina.

### **3.4.2. Sample Size**

Together with the four persons in the focus group discussion, a total fourteen (14) participants took part in the study. Five females (5) were interviewed, all but one (a tourist) were residents of Elmina. Of the nine (9) males interviewed, two (2) were from the second group, one (1) was a tourist, four (4) formed the focus group discussion and the remaining two (2) were interviewed individually. In chapter five, a table sample has been provided to summarize these categorizations and informant's socio-demographic background.

Many scholars believe that, the sample size that can support conclusive findings for qualitative research vary somewhat from situation to situation (Bryman, 2016). By means of this, the study focused on the occurrences that will give a true meaning for its objectives. Mason (2010) confirms that, the aim of a study is to get meaning and understanding on the topic it seeks to discuss, as such upon realizing in the process of my interviews that my interviewees shared similar knowledge levels and experiences about my topic, I realized that, subsequent informants would only repeat the data already collected. Besides, I am aware that where sample size in qualitative research is too large, it makes it difficult to undertake a deep, case-oriented analysis (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007, p. 289). Upon realizing that the size of data collected has reach the point of saturation, it was enough to establish that the views of informants were satisfactory for the study.

### **3.5. Gaining access to Participants**

Gaining access to participants especially government institutions and organizations is a matter that should involve strategic planning and hard work (Bryman, 2016, p. 435). With respect to this study, getting access to interview participants from the first group, the Elmina residents was not as difficult even though I had to go through certain gatekeepers to interview an informant from the chief's palace. However, gaining access to interview participants from the second group was one that I had to go through some bureaucratic hurdles before such 'administrators' could be interviewed. As

McDowell (2010) infers, the motive behind this difficulty is that, people in such public institution are very careful of giving information to people they are not familiar of their background. As such, before I got the opportunity to interview participants from these institutions, I had to provide a clear explanation of the aims and what I intend to do with the study. Moreover, I had to provide some of the questions to be talked about and my personal background information through official procedures. These were however aided by the letters I got from the University of Tromso through my supervisor. Once these bureaucratic processes were done, I was sure of achieving first-hand information from the officials of the institution.

### **3.6. Methodological issues and field reflections**

Throughout the research process, certain methodological issues associated with employing semi-structured interviews to collect data emerged, and it is important that they are presented and resolved. Since these issues have the potential to influence study findings, Diefenbach (2009) advises that, researchers should ensure enough methodological awareness to resolve the downsides of methodological problems connected to subjectivity, generalising findings, conscious and unconscious biases and effects of leading paradigms. Regarding this study, issues such as the influence of the researcher on the research design, the selection of interviewees and interviewees being influenced by the research design befell as the research process went on. Also, issues related to research questions, confidentiality and anonymity will be discussed in this section. While these issues are presented, discussions of activities which the researcher used to deal with them will be outlined.

#### **3.6.1. Influence of researcher's perspectives on research process<sup>39</sup>**

According to Pyett “a researcher’s theoretical position, interests, and political perspective will affect, if not determine, the research question, the methodological approach, and the analysis and interpretation of data” (2003, p. 1172). This is true for many qualitative research process which scholars like Collins (1992) has criticised to be fundamentally biased by implicit assumptions, interests, worldviews and researcher one-sightedness (p. 182). Realistically, the goal of qualitative research is not to produce a standard set of results that can be repeated by other scholars studying

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<sup>39</sup> And being reflexive.

the same situation. Qualitative research produces informative description situations through the perspectives of not only the interviewee but that of the researcher through a detail study of the situation (Diefenbach, 2009). This concludes that there is a great deal of a ‘human factor’ in qualitative research. But this is why qualitative researchers are advised to be reflexive of the methods, values and biases they apply to generate knowledge to the social world (Bryman, 2016). Relevant to this study, my personal characteristics, such as gender, race, affiliation, age, immigration status, personal experiences, language tradition, theories, biases, political and ideological stances, and even emotions may have come into play throughout research process. Yet, through reflexivity, it was important that I acknowledge the role of my worldviews in the creation of this study. Also, as Berger (2015) advises, I am tasked as a researcher to monitor the impact of my personal characteristics on my research to maintain the balance between them and the situation in the social world.

This study’s underpinning worldview of advocacy/participatory philosophy is a key suspect for ‘biases’ in the quality and validity of research findings. While the objective of the study is to propose a Community-based Tourism for the economic development of locals, one can rightly argue that the advocacy philosophy was consciously selected not to only satisfy interviewees perspective but also that of the researcher as well as a community or humanity’s interest of a policy action agenda that seeks to change lives. Moreover, since the semi-structured interviews allow the researcher the freedom to come up with prearranged questions as a guide for the interviews without precise evaluation mechanisms to the questions, I may have had questions which lacked quality to collect in-depth ‘reflective’ data.<sup>40</sup> In fact, during my interviews, new questions came up, some questions were changed, and probing questions brought new topics. Some of these new questions did not only come out from interactions with participants but also by seeing for myself the poverty, insufficient economic activities and polluted environment characterising Elmina. Even though these ‘emotional’ questions can possibly influence how I will analyse and make sense of my data, Diefenbach (2009) establishes that “Researchers are humans” and even though we are ‘neutral observers’, we are not only touched by the issues we investigate, but normally, we also have opinion about how the things we investigate should be (p. 877).

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<sup>40</sup> a reason for employing the focus group discussion at the early stages to allow respondents to bring out the issues in the area themselves

Still, with this same subjectivity lying in the human factor, I was creative enough to use purposive sampling to select interviewees from the government institutions<sup>41</sup>. This tends to give both sides of the argument an equal chance to the discussion thereby dealing with issues of conscious or unconscious biases and the possible downside of subjectivity. This, Pyett (2003) underlines the human factor in qualitative research as the method's great strength which one should not exclude from the research process. So, through reflexivity and awareness, I have scrutinized my personal practices and suppressed my philosophical, intellectual and political perspective which may have influence the findings in this study.

### **3.6.2. Questioning research questions**

Diefenbach argues that, for researchers to ensure quality of their research questions, they should adopt evaluative tools such as methods, theories and models to investigate them (2009, p. 877). But where a researcher adopts a qualitative method such as the semi-structured used for this study, he/she is not guaranteed of such investigative tools because as criticised by positivist, qualitative research methods lacks precise qualitative scientific methods to evaluate the quality and reliability of research questions (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001, p. 525). Also, qualitative methods is often perceived to lack precise research questions in their early stages thereby following (re)formulations or redesigns during the research process (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 877). This explains why some scholars highlights the difficulty in achieving reliability and validity in qualitative research methods.

Like many qualitative researches, the research process of this study was characterized with reformulations and changes in research questions. This occurred especially during early stages of determining the right questions to ask. How was I supposed to be sure that the questions I have prepare before interviews were quality enough to obtain reliable data? Besides, the process can be time consuming. Of course, there are no precise or standardised set of rules to guide questions for qualitative interviews. The exact questions to ask became clearer after conducting some few interviews especially with the focus group in the initial stages. Still, I continued asking myself throughout the research process to find out whether I was asking the right questions. In the end, upon realising the impacts that can be realized through this study, I trusted (*trustworthiness*) the

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<sup>41</sup> Thus, interviewees from my second group namely the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB), the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) and the tourism ministry.



*authenticity* in my research questions- two key criteria alternative to *reliability* and *validity* on which Guba and Lincoln (1994) propose that qualitative research should be evaluated.<sup>42</sup>

### **3.6.3. Generalizability issues and interviewees selection**

In qualitative research, achieving a sustainable empirical generalisability of data can be a difficult task (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 879) especially when qualitative interviews are employed with a small number of individuals (Bryman, 2016, p. 406). But generalizability is necessary for research studies to achieve external validity of findings. Whittemore et al. (2001, p. 532) argues that, although significance of generalizability to qualitative research goals is minimal, study findings should fit into contexts outside the study situation. But while quantitative research findings tend to generalized beyond the confines of area the study was conducted, it is impossible to use small number of qualitative interview participants to generalize the findings to other settings (Bryman, 2016, p. 406). Again, some scholars argue that in qualitative interviews, the selection of interviewees is frequently depended on who's worldviews, opinions, and interests is of importance to subject of discussion (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 880; Owusu, 2017). Hence, using the method can be a catalyst for bias presentation of opinions.

Mindful of the above issues surrounding the use of qualitative interviews, two key measures were used to deal with the issues to improve quality, validity and reliability in findings. First, the inclusion of the second group of interviewees, who were all not residents of Elmina. Second, employing a random sampling method for selecting interviewees in the study area. While the former aims to make the debate fair by making sure that the opinions of all parties (participants) are considered, the latter ensured that every person in the study area had equal probability of being selected.

### **3.6.4. Interviewees influenced by the interview situation**

In qualitative interviews, the interviewee(s) can *unconsciously*, 'destroy' data. Diefenbach asserts that, this can happen through the influences of the interview situation and through the actions and background of the interviewer as well. (2009, p. 880). Destroying data can also be helped by 'how people react to what' in certain cultures. The cultural aspect can stem from the age difference between the interviewer and the participant, also gender difference, background of both interviewer and the interviewee etc. According to Alvesson (2003, p. 169), humans bear internalised cultural norms which usually determines how we express ourselves on certain issues and to certain people. This, he explains that, in many qualitative interview situations, the interview is "better viewed as

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<sup>42</sup> Also see (Bryman, 2016, pp. 390-393) for detail submissions on trustworthiness and authenticity.

the scene for a social interaction rather than a simple tool for collection of “data”.” This is not the case with survey questionnaire which due to the absence of the researcher, prevents issues that has to do with the interview situation and the interviewer.

During field interviews, some participants asked for personal benefits before they will be interviewed (they are talking about money). In most cases when I tell them that the study is not government or institutionally supported, but for academic purpose and that as a student I cannot give money most of the participants understood for the interviews to go on. Those who however insisted were not interviewed. While I was able to convince and probe interviewees to give me accurate data, cultural attitudes (of using money to thank people) could have influence data if not given attention. Moreover, the flexibility nature of the semi-structured interview can influence the interviewee to ‘talk too much’ or say things which are unrelated to the topic of discussion. Unlike structured or close ended questionnaire, the flexibility in qualitative interview give the participants the freedom to expresses themselves making them ‘go over or off’ during interviews. Also, my background as a research student from Europe sometimes may have influence the interview situation. In some situations, few interviewees become too nice and that they try to answer questions to deliberately please me. E.g. during the focus discussion, one member said...

*Borga<sup>43</sup>, as for you we will tell you everything oo, we want to show you love so that you will show brothers some love too. -C2*

Aware of these and many other issues, several actions and decisions were taken to ensure quality and reliable data. For instance, research questions were structured on purely academic research principles and designed. Interviewees private life experiences which were unrelated to the study were ignored. Also, I tried my best to stay formal when needed to avoid informal actions which might have distort the interview process.

### **3.7. Ethical considerations**

In any research study, there are ethical issues that need considerations (Bryman, 2016; Ritchie et al., 2013). The issues to be discussed here are relevant to this research study which employed qualitative interviews to collect data. According to Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden, the research process is characterised with tensions between maintaining participant’s rights to privacy and achieving generalizations for the good of external validation (2001, p. 93). The interactions between

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<sup>43</sup> Borga is a term in Ghana use to refer to one who has travelled to and come back from an advanced country.

researchers and participants facilitate access to information which the researcher rely on to put his or her study out there. Once the information is out there, participant information is exposed to harm. As such, researchers are ultimately responsible for protecting participants' privacy. Ethics pertains to doing good and avoiding harm. Harm can be prevented or reduced through the application of appropriate ethical principles (Orb et al., 2001). Below, the study outlines key ethical principle it adopted to protect participants privacy.

### **3.7.1. Seeking consent**

Regarding this study, ethical principles commenced from getting the consent of participants to participate. Here, once access was gained, information about the purpose of the study, sponsorship, researcher's background, how the data will be stored and used, and what participation requires from interviewees were provided to potential participants. Also, the subjects likely to be covered, how long interviews take and how participant's comments and information will be treated were made clear. Although Ritchie et al. (2013) argues that giving a lot of information about the study to potential participant may deter them from truthful to the subject matter, I realised that once the information were given, participants were more relaxed and open to share their views. Perhaps, assuring them of anonymity and confidentiality throughout the research process facilitated this.

### **3.7.2. Anonymity and confidentiality**

When compared to quantitative methods, qualitative interviews (or research) are more intrusive in respondent's personal and private views (Josselson, 1996), making it difficult for researchers to protect their identities. In fact, according to Holloway and Wheeler (1995), qualitative researchers work with small number of participants, and that they tend to present everything in great detail which sometimes leads to exposing participants' identity.

In this study, the processes of confidentiality and anonymity were important ethical guidelines due to how people are careful of giving information out in Ghana. People became more concerned when told that they will be audio recorded. As such, it was important to assure participants that, their identities will not be known outside the research. On top of this, participants were informed that, the study will avoid attributing comments and presentations to identified participants. On the issue of recording, transcribing and storing of data, all informants especially those from the second group were assured that, I have my private storing devices like voice recorder and Laptop which are all protected with passwords. Moreover, I assured participants that, I will be responsible for the protecting their identity and that their names and details will be anonymised. I must say here that,

my background as a student from Europe also convinced participants that they would not have any issues with media reports in Ghana. Upon revealing research letters from my university and students ID card, participants believed and trust that I have better data protection mechanisms to properly work with data.

### **3.8. Chapter summary**

With this chapter, the study has presented in detail the methodological frame through which data was obtained. The chapter started by describing the philosophical worldviews (constructivism and advocacy/participatory) underpinning the entire study. It has presented the data collection techniques of which qualitative interviews, specifically the semi-structured interviews (through individual interviews and focus group discussion) were used as primary data source. Moreover, an outline of the study area, gaining access to participants and number of samples were presented. Finally, the chapter touched on some significant methodological issues which came about from employing a qualitative method of research to collect data.

With this presentation on methodology, the stage is set for the study to present and analyse related literatures on community tourism in Elmina in the ensuing chapter. This will result in an analytical presentation of the concept of community-based tourism, an academic position within which this study is stipulated.

## Chapter Four: RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FOCUS

### 4. Introduction

In this chapter, a survey of literatures relevant to this study is presented with theoretical perspectives. While the review of related literatures assists the study to identify unresearched area which informs the point of departure, discussing theories will reveal the stream of academic ideas within which the study is situated. Presentations on theoretical perspectives will feature definitions, typologies and limitations associated with the CBT concept. In addition, key related theories used in discussing the CBT concept will be outlined to assist the study in adopting a CBT model for Elmina. But before these are offered, let's begin to explore and review literatures which are related to our topic- *'a community-based tourism approach for sensitive tourist destinations: the case of the Elmina castle and the community'*.

#### 4.1. Literature review

Many literatures have been written on the historical forts and castles along the coast of Africa. While most of the early writings emanated from academic disciplines such as history, sociology, politics and anthropology, majority of the recent scholarly works have been done along the field of tourism. Most of these tourism literatures on the historical monuments have however concentrated on topics including their historical background, authentic presentation of their stories, their commodification, renovation and sustainability, visitors' perspectives, and marketing challenges. This have left few literatures to focus on the host communities. Of the tourism literatures addressing the concerns of the local people in communities that host sensitive sites, few of them tends to focus on the local community as the principal agent to tourism development planning. In fact, it is unclear if any literature proposes a CBT approach for the forts and castles and their respective communities along the coast of sub-Saharan Africa. The issue is disturbing when limited to the Elmina and Cape Coast communities which are home to three World Heritage Sites: the Elmina Castle or St George's Castle, Fort St. Jago (Elmina), and Cape Coast Castle<sup>44</sup> (Koutra, 2007). In truth, the many tourism and other academic literatures written on these 'sensitive' tourist destinations have failed residents in addressing issues of collaboration, community ownership, participation and other policies that

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<sup>44</sup> Cape Coast castle is also located in the Central region of Ghana and it is about 10-minute drive from Elmina.

tends to empower the locals to undertake key tourism roles and decisions to enhance community tourism development.

In Austin's article<sup>45</sup> for instance, issues related to visitors' perspectives that generally determine the nature of visitation at sensitive historical sites is discussed relative to marketing (2002, p. 447). The issues identified in this article included visitor's emotional state at the sites, their prior expectations of the sites and what is to be learnt by managers of the tourist museum to enhance effective marketing for increased commodification. Austin's study elaborated the significant implications of tourist behaviour on the design and implementation of effective marketing programmes for sensitive tourist sites (Austin, 2002, p. 453). Although residents are considered vibrant participants and the most important audience for marketing processes (Zenker & Seigis, 2012) in tourist destinations, Austin's study failed to recognise the community influence on marketing tourism sites.

Similarly, Bruner's extensive work on the Elmina castle overlooked the local community's participation as a potential tool for dealing with the issues he discussed. His study explored the castle's several conflicting issues such as the struggle over its meaning, the ownership of the site, the presentation of history and the conflict over renovation (Bruner, 1996). In addition, residents related issues including their different perspective and perceptions of the African American, the extent to which residents are separated from the castle, and their quest for economic development from heritage tourism were discussed. Bruner's work also identified sensitivity and emotional issues that has been built up from visits of the diaspora blacks to the dungeons and the slave experience. The controversial issues of emotions he explained, can introduce into the Ghanaian society increased tension between the African Americans and Ghanaians, and perhaps a heightened awareness of black-white opposition. Although Bruner's article managed to identify the challenges surrounding the Elmina castle as a tourist destination, it failed to recognize community participation as an approach to tackle the problems. The tourism industry is dependent on both internal and external issues, as such to increase feasibility and longevity, Okazaki (2008) advises that all developmental plans should recognise the activities of host communities. Regarding the conflicting issues raised in Bruner's work, a concept that enhances community participation and collaboration could have been identified to deal with the issues, however, such theories were entirely ignored.

In the same vein, literatures by MacGonagle (2006), Mowatt and Chancellor (2011), Essah (2001) and others presents the extreme brutality and violence of the slavery activities that transpired

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<sup>45</sup> Article by (Austin, 2002); Managing heritage attractions: Marketing challenges at sensitive historical sites.



throughout the years at the castles. These literatures concentrate on the shameful commerce in human beings that the monuments bear testimony to. Also, some of these literatures indicates that, the existence of the castles serves the inextricably link of fate of peoples of three continents: Africa, the Americas and Europe. While these literatures may have been interested in the tourism benefits which now comes with having the slave dungeons in Elmina and other communities, they do not focus on the lack of tourism development in the communities which can be resolved when community participation is encouraged.

Even though some studies have researched on issues of poverty and lack of employment in the Elmina community, they did not recognise the community participation as a mechanism to deal with the issues in the area, rather, government interventions. In Holden, Sonne, and Novelli (2011) and Gbedema (2011) issues of poverty constructions and lack of employment are discussed concurrently with tourism as a provider of alternative livelihood opportunities. Holden et al. (2011) particularly indicates that, poverty is a multi-dimensional construct which conveys problematic issues such as low and irregular incomes, a lack of access to social or communal assets and denial of meaningful participation in society. Even though the articles identified these problems to be community related, the CBT approach which is considered the best participatory mechanisms to community tourism (Okazaki, 2008) was missing in their submissions. Likewise, Koutra (2007) article on building capacities for tourism development and poverty reduction in the communities of Elmina and Cape Coast slightly mentions ‘bottom-up’ decisions to tourism and real participation, but fails to present in theory and practice, how such approaches could be implemented.

Furthermore, Addo (2011) extensively focused his study on the sustainability of these sensitive historical sites. The content of his article highlights the importance of improved preservation practices which are believed to enhance development of sustainable tourism practices in the future. Addo (2011) further outlines the tourism policies on the castles that intends to draw the attention of government, developers and other stakeholders to the importance of sustainability in community tourism. Although this study focused on conserving historical and environmental heritage to deal with environmental and socio-economic problems in respective communities, issues relating to diversification of tourist accommodations involving hotels and resort operations were largely discussed at the expense of resident’s collaboration and participation.

Finally on reviews of related literatures, Sirakaya et al. (2002) study on understanding residents’ support for tourism development in the Elmina and Cape Coast communities revealed two

dependent variables: support for the hospitality industry and support for the infrastructure and tourism attraction development. In determining factors that influences these variables, several social-psychological factors were discovered; these included residents' perceptions of tourists, tourism impacts, residents' employment status, membership in community organizations and awareness of tourism development projects (Sirakaya et al., 2002, p. 65). When explaining these factors, Sirakaya et al. (2002) provided the social exchange theory to indicate that certain perceived benefits that residents may stand to enjoy will determine their positive response to tourism development. While this suggestion may be true for local community tourism, the community-based tourism approach which best determines residents' support for tourism development projects (Blackstock, 2005) was entirely ignored.

#### **4.1.1. Summary of literature reviews**

In all the related literatures presented above, discussions of community participation to deal with the identified issues relating to tourism in Elmina is conspicuously absent. This is difficult to comprehend especially when scholars consider the community approach to increase the community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts. We have therefore identified two major areas of research vacuums which can be dealt by a CBT approach but has entirely been ignored by many tourism literatures. First, a CBT approach to tourism that appears to deal with local residents' issues of participation; and second, a CBT model that intends to deal with the issues of sensitivity relating to sensitive tourist destinations.

In literatures by (Gbedema, 2011; Holden et al., 2011; Koutra, 2007; Sirakaya et al., 2002) and others, important contributions on residents' support for tourism development in Elmina were rightly identify but there were minimal commentaries regarding community participation to deal with the issues. Likewise, literatures by Bruner, Austin and others identified the sensitivity and emotional issues but did not consider local residents' participation as a mechanism to deal with the sensitive issues that possibly hinders tourism growth. With minimal commentary to utilizing the CBT approach to community tourism in Ghana and in some respect other African countries, it seems clear that a study is needed to reveal the positive impacts of the approach for policy (re)consideration and fill the academic vacuum left on CBT regarding sensitive destinations. This informs the point of departure for the study.

The CBT concept have however been described in different ways by different scholars. Apparently, not every form of community participation can enhance the realization of the benefits expected from

tourism. Although arguments for community participation in the tourism development process have been widely embraced, an agreed form of the concept desired by interest groups have not been realised (Tosun, 2006). With the ensuing sections, the study outlines the different ideas of the CBT concept and employs a suitable model for Elmina tourism based on data collected.

## **4.2. The Community-based tourism concept**

The tourism industry is characterised with a deficiency in coordination and cohesion of which planners and managers needs to find solutions to (Jamal & Getz, 1995, p. 186). In truth, Gunn has advised that, all tourism planning which incorporates social and economic development should be modelled as an interactive system because "... No one business or government establishment can operate in isolation" (Gunn, 1988, p. 272). Hence, many scholars call for a community participation approach desired by interest groups in the development of tourism (Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2006). The community participation term itself is considered elusive, complicated, comprehensive, and subject to multiple interpretations and definitions by many scholars (Tosun, 1999). However, while tourism planning at the community level may be different in terms of development and planning paradigms from one region to another, Haywood indicates that, the underlying idea in community tourism is the quest for greater degree of community participation (1988, p. 105).

A community-based approach to tourism is imperative to sustainable tourism development. The approach intends to boost a community's carrying capacity by reducing the negative impacts of tourism and enhancing tourism's positive outcomes simultaneously (Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Okazaki, 2008). In fact, Okazaki argues that the approach is the best course of action if a community is to develop through tourism (2008, p. 512). But how have scholars described the approach? And which typology of the model is ideal for local sensitive tourist destinations? With the following sections, the study presents a theoretical analysis of the key typologies of community participation and move on to establish a model suitable to tourism in Elmina.

### **4.2.1. Defining the CBT concept**

Community involvement in tourism comes in a number of different formats. In deciding whether to proceed with a particular form of community participation, Haywood (1988) advises for an assessment of the community's tourism environment- example; what are the issues? Who are the concerned people and what their responses to the issues are? Scholars define the concept depending on the part they seek to address. Jamal and Getz tend to focus more on the collaboration among a

community's key tourism stakeholders in finding solutions to conflicting issues hampering tourism plans. To these scholars, the community-based tourism planning is "a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain (1995, p. 188). Since stakeholders are directly influenced by tourism actions, the idea in this definition calls for them to work together to resolve tourism issues for development. But while the attention of Jamal and Getz definition is largely concentrated on corporate businesses and key governmental agencies in the community, some literatures largely consider the involvement and participation of the locals in community tourism planning.

According to Haywood for example, "Community participation in tourism planning is a process of involving all relevant and interested parties (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such a way that decision making is shared" (1988, p. 106). Although Haywood's definition incorporates all section for a community to contribute to decisions on plans to tourism, it is silent on the distribution of power which enables the society to fairly redistribute benefit and cost as argued by scholars such as Arnstein. In fact, Arnstein (1969) understanding of community participation tends to focus on the less privileged focusing on their political and economic empowerment. He specifies that, 'citizen's participation is the

redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from ... process, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society (1969, p. 216).

Finally, Tosun (2006) perceives the community participation as a categorical approach that allows citizens of a host tourism community to actively take part in tourism matters that affect them at different levels and various forms (p. 494). He champions three key levels of participation; coercive, induced, spontaneous to explain the degree of citizens participation at the local, regional or national level.

Considering these and many other explanations relating to community tourism, it is evident that the central theme of the concept is not just to call for greater community participation as perceived by (Haywood, 1988, p. 105), but also, to promote partnerships among groups and individuals for community tourism development. But while many studies acknowledge community participation to be important to local tourism development, they do not give much attention to implementing and

sustaining the concept. Okazaki (2008) for instance underlines that, the practical actions needed to promote the concept is not vehemently expressed, and this is possibly because many literatures fails to identify the existing levels of the community participation. Additionally, literatures on community tourism planning fails to identify that, local involvement does not automatically lead to participatory decision-making, rather, the outcome of many local decisions depends on the will of the few holders of power at the local level (Blackstock, 2005, p. 42). Further, many CBT literatures fails to recognise the structural inequality issues existing in communities as an influencing factor in local decision-making on tourism. Blackstock argues that, the power struggles within societies is an impediment to adopting the CBT model in local communities (2005, p. 42).

So, what then should a CBT approach to sustainable tourism development be made of? Which typology will suit the situation in Elmina? Perhaps, an outline of some key forms of community participation provided by scholars will help explain the concept in great detail. In presenting these, the study will also assess the strength and limitations of the typologies to adopt a more comprehensive CBT model suitable for Elmina and possibly other tourism communities.

#### **4.2.2. Forms of community participation**

Although Tosun (1999) states that most of the ideas surrounding community participation are similar, different experts have often presented the concept with different terms. With this study, the idea of community participation employed by Arnstein (1969), Tosun (1999) and Pretty (1995) will be adopted to explain the typologies.

Arnstein introduced the ‘ladder of citizen participation’ to explain the necessary steps in citizen’s participation and the degree of their power in planning. Besides this model, she emphasized that citizen participation should be accompanied by the redistribution of power to change situations (1969, p. 216). The ladder pattern is arranged into eight rungs with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens’ power which determines the outcome of a program. The extent of citizen’s power is categorised into three gradual evolution levels: Non-participation, degrees of tokenism and degrees of citizen power. The lowest rungs of Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation includes ‘manipulation’ and ‘therapy’. They represent the “non-participation” level of the degree of power. Arnstein explains that, whereas this level of community participation may have been manufactured for genuine participation of the citizens, in reality, their (citizen’s) ‘decision-making power or planning’ are manipulated by power holders (1969, p. 217). As shown in figure 1, Arnstein’s lowest rung is similar to that of Pretty (1995) who uses manipulative and passive participation in his seven

levels community participation which explains the power relationships between external involvement and local control. Correspondingly, Tosun (1999) adopts the term coercive participation to represent this rung. He stresses that the level is a top-down style of tourism planning which have basic local needs at heart but do not necessarily allow sharing benefits. The actual aim here is not to allow people to be part of the tourism development process, but to enable power holders to educate or cure host communities to protect the future of tourism (Tosun, 2006, p. 495).

The Third, fourth and fifth rungs: *informing*, *consultation* and *placation* respectively, represents the degrees of citizen's tokenism which allows the locals to be heard. With '*informing*', Arnstein (1969) stipulates that the locals are only informed of their rights and responsibilities (p. 219). And that, citizens are not provided any channel or power for negotiation on tourism benefits. 'Consultation' however allows residents to express their opinions while public influence on tourism policies grows during '*placation*'. According to Tosun this level is common in developing countries where host communities only endorses tourism related decisions made for them rather than by them. Thus, a top-down, passive and indirect strategy which may allow host communities to implementation and tourism benefits, but not in the decision making process (2006, p. 495). Under placation strategy however, a few citizens may be handpicked to be represented on tourism planning programmes or boards. This degree of citizen tokenism tallies with Tosun's induced participation and Pretty's 'consultation', 'material incentives' and 'functional participation'.



7. Self-mobilization	←	8. Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power	→	<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Bottom-up; active par.; direct participation; par. in decision making, authentic participation; self planning;
6. Interactive participation		7. Delegated power			
		6. Partnership			
5. Functional participation	←	5. Placation	Degrees of Citizen Tokenism	→	<u>Induced Participation</u> Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback.
4. Participation for material incentives		4. Consultation			
3. Participation by consultation		3. Informing			
2. Passive participation	←	2. Therapy	Non-participation	→	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation.
1. Manipulative participation		1. Manipulation			
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation	Arnstein's (1971) typology of community participation			Tosun's (1999a) typology of community participation	

Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology    →    ←

**Figure 1. Normative typologies of community participation (Tosun, 2006, p. 494).**

Arnstein's final level of citizen's participation, 'degrees of citizen power' corresponds to Tosun's Spontaneous participation and the self-mobilization and interactive participation in Pretty's model. The 'partnership' rung insures that power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders which enhances shared decision-making (Arnstein, 1969, p. 221). Partnership works effectively when there is an organized power-base in the community which enforces accountability of its leaders (Arnstein, 1969, p. 221). 'Delegated power' allows citizens to be recruited to public offices achieving dominant decision-making authority over tourism program. 'Citizen control' is the highest category of the ladder. It is at this stage were citizens are guaranteed full control and power over tourism policies and management. Here Arnstein (1969, p. 223) writes that...

“People are simply demanding that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which “outsiders” may change them”.

Citizen control encourages citizen's empowerment through involvement in decision-making. Tosun used the term authentic participation to describe this level of participation. He indicates that, the stage warrant communities, the demand to be decisive and responsible for their own affairs and influence the content and outcomes of development.

These typologies are not enough to establish a model for community participation in tourism. In fact, Okazaki (2008) argues that, a 'complete' empowerment allows only tourist destination communities access to resources and authority, take action and control tourism development. In other words, governments, multinational business sector and other key stakeholders to community tourism are left out. But this is not what scholars like Haywood, Jamal and Getz etc prefer envisage community participation to be. Indeed, when we analyse these scholars' definitions of the community participation concept in relation to the typologies we have just provided, we can clearly point out some limitations which makes them incomplete to develop our model.

#### **4.2.3. Limitations**

Undeniably, the forms of CBT presented above helps to understand the state of local participation in tourism development (Okazaki, 2008, p. 514). However, when evaluated, the study does not consider them comprehensive enough to tackle the tourism situation in Elmina. This hypothesis is not only born out from data gathered from Elmina, but also, scholars' perspectives on what community participation should include, how it should be discussed, planned and implemented. In fact, when Okazaki was reviewing the principal theories of community participation for instance, he added power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital creation to Arnstein's 'ladder of citizen participation' to be the basis for defining a CBT model (Okazaki, 2008, p. 512). It has been established earlier that, Arnstein's definition and degrees of citizen participation includes power redistribution. However, it is clear from the above discussions that collaboration and partnership processes and social capital were ignored upon their importance to community participation. At this point, the study intends to build on the community participation ideas provided by the three scholars with collaboration processes and social capital to establish a suitable model for Elmina.

#### **4.3. Building on Pretty, Tosun and Arnstein's ladder**

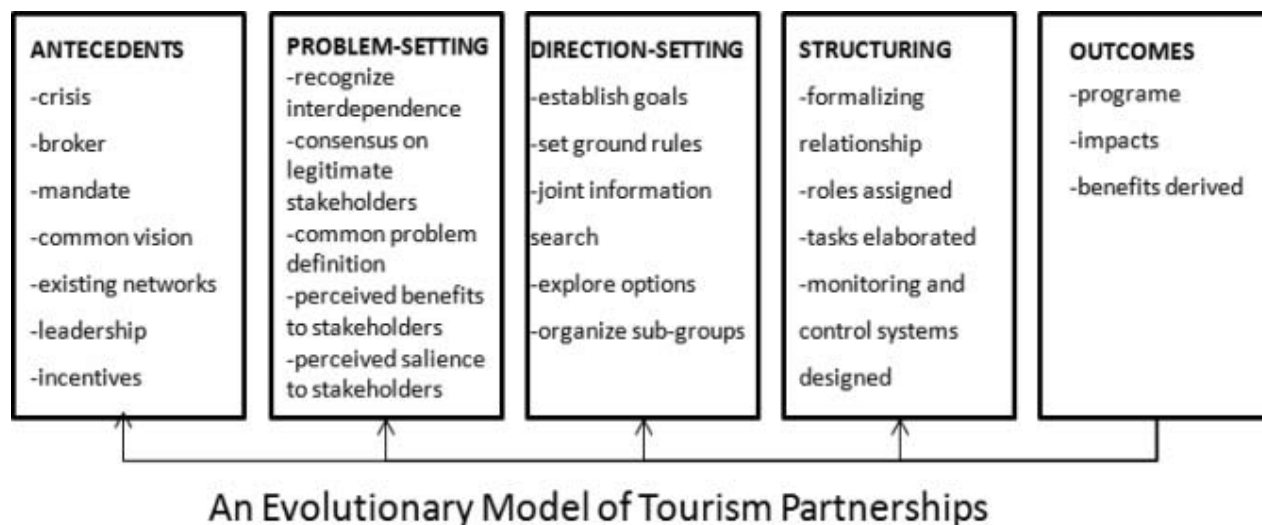
This section will focus on other principal theories which are key to the discussion of community participation. They are Partnerships and collaboration and social capital; with these theories and the

ladder of citizen participation and power redistribution, Okazaki (2008) posits that one can define a community based tourism (CBT) model.

#### **4.3.1. Partnerships and collaboration**

According to Jamal and Getz, lack of coordination and cohesion is one key problem in the tourism industry (1995, p. 186). This problem has however received minimal attention even though tourism operators work in an environment where economic, social, and political forces influence policy and management direction (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 845). Building partnerships and collaboration are important concepts in developing tourism. This is because, the industry is reliant on factors which cannot be undertaken by a single party. In reality, the increasing interest in interorganizational collaboration among groups is that, the concept enhances the pooling of knowledge, expertise, capital and other resources. Also, it encourages coordination of relevant policies, allows general acceptance of the outcome of policies and enhance efficient implementation (de Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Pretty, 1995) . The tourism industry requires interdependent stakeholders to grow. As such multiple stakeholders featuring ‘community-government partnerships’, community–private sector partnerships and even shared decision-making processes are necessary to deal with divergent conflicting problems (Okazaki, 2008, p. 514). If residents or any other stakeholder attempts to deal with problems alone, other stakeholders including businesses in the accommodation sector, restaurants, tour operators etc will be frustrated to pursue their own goals especially when their interest are not considered in decision-making. Shared problems and solutions are realized through collaboration.

The partnership concept have been introduced into tourism by scholars such as Selin and Chavez (1995), Jamal and Getz (1995) and others. It is defined as a “voluntary pooling of resources (labour, money, information, etc.) between two or more parties to accomplish collaborative goals” (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 845). The concept is evident in situations where two or more organizations interact around a common problem. According to Selin and Chavez (1995), the partnership may be legally binding or be characterized with a verbal agreements between participating organizations. Scholars have introduced an evolutionary model for tourism partnerships (Figure 2). The model suggests that tourism partnerships begin in a context full of environmental forces and progress gradually through problem-setting, direction-setting, and structuring. At the end of these, partnership outcomes and feedback complete the cyclical nature of the evolution (Selin & Chavez, 1995).



**Figure 2: Model developed by Selin and Chavez (1995, p. 848)**

As shown in figure 2, the first stage of partnership is the *antecedent*. This is the stage where various environmental forces or factors contribute to initiating partnerships among stakeholders. Examples of such forces includes crisis, a common vision, existing network, incentives, broker etc (Selin & Chavez, 1995). Second, *Problem-setting*: here the potential partners begin to acknowledge the interdependencies existing among them. They then realize that, solutions to problems will require their collective action. Third, *Direction-setting* is where partners start to recognize the common purpose existing among them. According to Selin and Chavez (1995), stakeholders are engage in searching information together at this stage. This is often done to establish goals, set ground rules, examine subgroups etc. The fourth stage is the *structuring* phase which comprises the legalization of partners shared meanings. Thus, the groups devise regulatory frameworks to guide collective action in the future. *Outcomes* is the fifth stage which are achieved through implementing common programmes. From programmatic outcomes, feedback as illustrated with arrows in Figure 2 are sent. The partnerships therefore undergo a cyclical re-evaluation of their programmes to improve and flourish relations (Selin & Chavez, 1995, pp. 849-850).

### 4.3.2. Social capital

Social capital has many significant implications for economic development and poverty reduction of any community (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The concept has been adopted into tourism because of the role it plays in economic growth (Okazaki, 2008). Social capital refers to “the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 226). Language, social ties, trust, etc are examples of the features of social capital. According to

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) communities endowed with varied stock of social networks have greater opportunity to deal with poverty and social issues. The concept has been categorised into four distinct perspectives: the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional view, and the synergy view (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

The ‘communitarian’ view considers social capital to be local organizations such as clubs, associations, and civic groups which are central in social ties to enhance economic growth. The networks view focus on the benefits and costs of social capital caused by horizontal connections between communities and informal institutions. According to Okazaki (2008) the ‘network’ view stresses on the importance internal associations: thus, bonding of internal community ties, such as families, friends and neighbours and external associations which bridges groups with diversity. The network view provides valuable services for community members, but there are costs involved considering the noneconomic activities associated with traditional bonding relations (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The ‘institutional’ view is linked with formal institutions including political, legal and others forms of community networks like civil society. These institutions are the determinants of a society’s vitality to act in their collective interest (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The ‘synergy’ view integrates the works of the networks and institutional views. The synergy view indicates that, states, firms, and communities on their own do not have the resources and capacity to promote sustainable development, as such partnerships formed within and across different sectors of the society are important for growth (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 236). Therefore, the ‘synergy’ perspective adapts the ideas of bonding and bridging social capital (the networks view) and state–society relations (linking social capital- the institutional view)<sup>46</sup>.

#### **4.4. A Community-Based Tourism (CBT) Model for Elmina**

To this point we can agree to adopt a CBT model (figure 3) which integrates the concept of the ladder of participation, power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital. This form of model was adopted by Okazaki (2008) to study a case in Palawan, a province in the Philippines. In his remarks, Okazaki acknowledged that the model can be used in practical tourism planning to assess the status of community’s involvement in tourism development; and determine the initiative that can be implemented to enhance CBT for tourism development and sustainability. Having

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<sup>46</sup> See (Okazaki, 2008, p. 516)



carefully analysed the ingredients of the model and the data collected from Elmina, this study intends to rely on it to discuss the research questions.

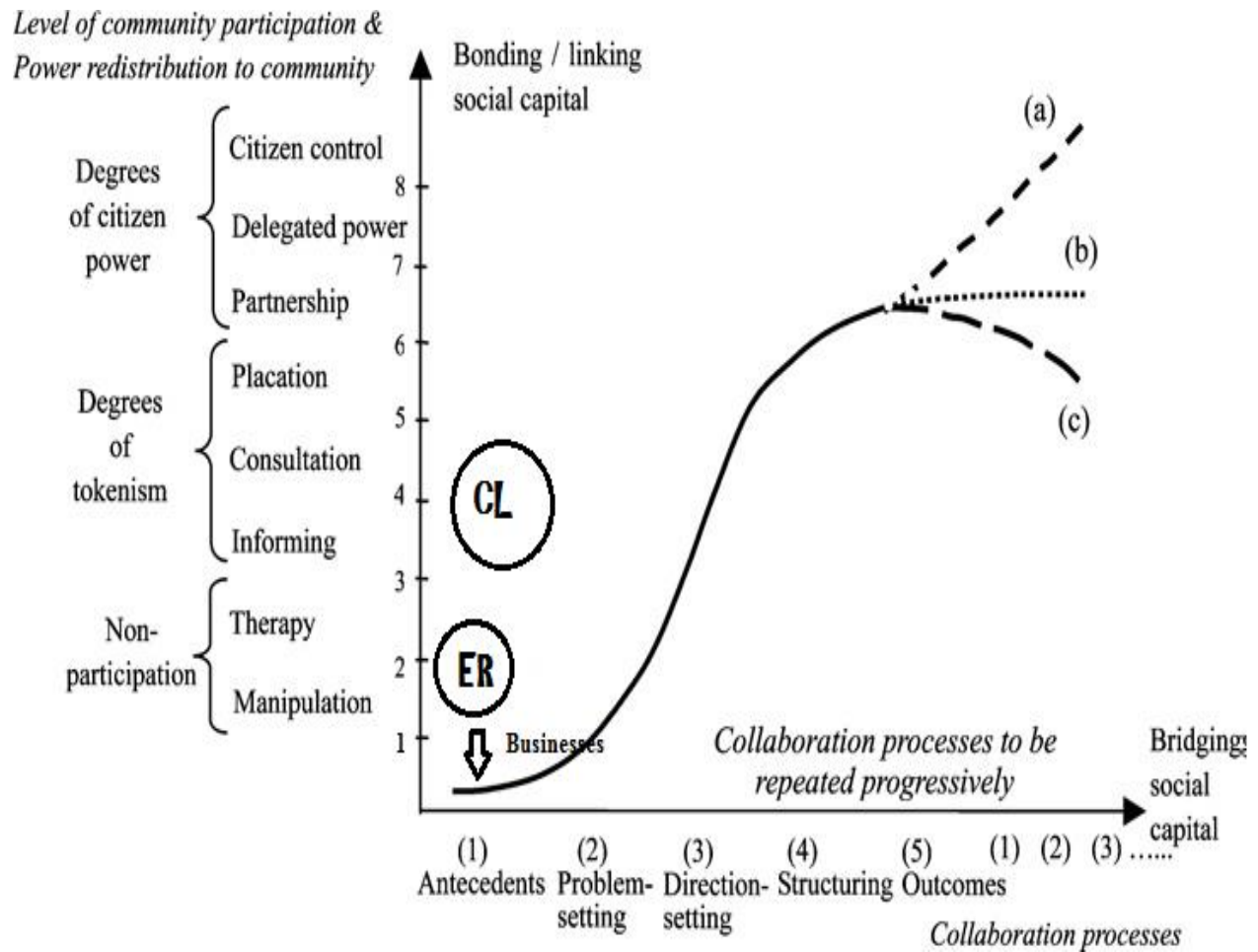
Regarding the model, Arnstein's ladder of participation, power redistribution, and bonding and linking social capital will explain the internal and vertical participation levels of the community, while collaboration processes and bridging social capital will focus on the external and horizontal relationships with other stakeholders (Okazaki, 2008, p. 517). At this point we can emphasize that; the study will largely refer to Haywood's definition of community participation as the context for discussion. This is because it recognizes all relevant stakeholders including local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners in planning community tourism (1988, p. 106). Also, it incorporates the principal theories for defining and establishing a CBT approach- the 'ladder of citizen participation' and power redistribution, (Arnstein, 1969; Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2006), the collaboration processes (Jamal & Getz, 1995) and the social capital creation (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). These pronouncements form the basis for adopting Okazaki's CBT model to analyse and discuss data from Elmina.

The model applies the fundamental theories use to describe the CBT concept on a two-dimensional graph as shown below. The horizontal axis displays the *collaboration processes and the bridging social capital*. The five stages of the collaboration processes are repeated after every outcome<sup>47</sup>. The vertical axis shows the *level of community participation, power redistribution to the community and the bonding social capital*. The social capital acts as lubricants to accelerate participation, power redistribution and collaboration processes. The application of the S-shaped curve of the product life cycle in macroeconomics, which is also introduced in tourism life cycle by Butler (1980) is used here to displays the relationships among the concepts on both axes. The shape of the curve is determined by internal and external factors concerning tourism. Some related internal factors in Elmina includes: the poor state of tourism development; economic, social, and environmental conditions in the community<sup>48</sup>; the neglect of the other sites; the level of Elmina residents' support for tourism; the chieftaincy conflict etc. Among the external factors are: stakeholders such as businesses lacking the opportunity to influence tourism development and the government continues disregard of other stakeholders' ability to contribute to tourism.

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<sup>47</sup> Further explanation of the collaboration and partnership process have been explained in section 4.3.1. and shown in figure 2.

<sup>48</sup> Discussed in detail in section 5.2.2.



**Figure 3: A community-based tourism model developed by Okazaki (2008), facilitating the principal theories used to discuss community participation, including the ‘ladder of citizen participation’ and power redistribution (Arnstein, 1969), collaboration processes (Selin & Chavez, 1995) and social capital creation (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).**

As shown on the vertical axis, the community has limited powers at the beginning of the participation process and is well empowered when social capital is high, and the community have been able to advocate for control over tourism resources and development (Okazaki, 2008). The slope in the process of progression is generally gentle at both the lower left and the upper right of the graph. Also, the cyclical nature of the collaboration processes determines the respective conditions between the citizens and other stakeholders. So, for example: citizens might be in control of tourism development but can still identify problems with other stakeholders in their collaboration

processes. Thus, the graph representing this relationship will show a gradual increase in slope towards the upper right. According to Okazaki (2008, p. 518), the following propositions (indicated with *a*, *b* and *c* on the graph) occurs when the community reaches the *partnership* stage on the vertical axis:

“(a) the graph will continue to move upwards if other stakeholders agree with or are forced to agree with further community participation and power redistribution to the community; (b) it will stay constant if the community and other stakeholders are satisfied with the level of participation achieved and do not desire a further power redistribution; or (c) the graph will move downwards if the other stakeholders reject the power shift to the community or if the community is internally divided.”

Finally, the collaboration processes may come to a halt in the horizontal axis if the partners lose interest in issues or a split coalition develops when the purpose of the partnership is achieved or if the problem cannot be solved (Selin & Chavez, 1995, pp. 850-851).

With data from Elmina, this model will be used to identify the current status of stakeholder’s involvement in tourism development and determine the initiatives that can be considered to establish CBT. Also, we will determine from utilizing the model the impacts can be realized when community participation is achieved. However, let us identify the few shortfalls in model regarding sensitivity which the study intends to resolve.

#### **4.4.1. limitations to Okazaki’s model**

A key limitation of this CBT model designed by Okazaki (2008) is that, the model is incapable to deal with tourist emotional experience during their visits. Indeed, the model is host oriented in the sense that, it focusses on the interest of the host community at the expense of the tourist who routinely bring revenue for the survival of the industry. On this account, the study recommends<sup>49</sup> in chapter 6 that any CBT approach to sensitive tourist destination should incorporate therapy units in its ranks to deal with tourist emotions during and after their visits.

Other limitations of the model includes the following: it does not consider the number of citizens to be included in the levels of participation; it does not consider certain social obstructions such as paternalism, racism, gender discrimination etc (Tosun, 1999); also, resident’s enthusiasm in

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<sup>49</sup> See section 6.2.1.

participation, the intensity and longevity of community participation cannot be determined due to issues which are beyond the community's control, for instance political instability (Tosun, 1999).

#### **4.5. Chapter summary**

This chapter have successfully presented reviews of related literatures as well as the theoretical framework that underpins the study. It compared the variety of definitions and the forms of community participation offered by different scholars to acknowledge the divergent views of the concept. The chapter also outlined the partnership and collaboration process and the social capital theory which were concealed from early tourism scholars in describing a CBT model. The chapter ended by presenting a CBT model within which data from Elmina will be analysed and discussed. Here, the limitations of the proposed CBT were exposed to allow us to indicate the position of sensitivity in the model.

## Chapter Five: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 5. Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse and discuss data collected from the field of research. The chapter utilises field data to discuss the research questions outlined in section 1.3. To begin these analyses however, a brief presentation of informant's demographic information which perhaps might have meagre chance of influencing responses is outlined in the next section. The information includes informants' education level, their employment status, age range and gender status. It is worth mentioning here that, respondents are denoted with alphabets and numbers to slightly differentiate them. In specific terms, the letter C1 for instance indicates first respondent from the community, while P denotes community leaders, T is tourist and G represent respondents in the second group from the government agencies.

#### 5.1. Brief Background of informants

As shown in section 3.4.2, a total of 14 informants, including 9 males and 5 females, were interviewed for the study. The age range of respondents was between 19 to 60. Informants (from the community) level of education and employment were not selected on purpose. Every informant's view was considered irrespective of their socio-demographic background. Also, where informants struggled to understand certain technical words, explanations were offered to them for clarity of the questions they answer. Regarding informants from the second group, their education and employment background were important for some part of the study hence the *purposive* selection. Education (and work experience) determines people's ability to assess certain information and make sense of them (Kam & Palmer, 2008). The level of education and occupational status of informants from this group as well as curators offered in-depth and rich tourism information for the study. While these informants' line of work had equipped them with experience, their level of education enabled them to critically analyse topics of discussion. Indeed, during interviews with public officials, hotel staffs and curators I realized that, most of them were equipped with detailed information regarding some topics as compared to respondents from the streets. This in no doubt enriched data.

*Figure 4: Summary of The Socio-Demographic Background of Informants.*

No.	Informant	Age range	Gender	Education level	Employment
1	C1	55-60	Female	Bachelors deg.	Employed
2	C2	25-30	Female	Not known	Unemployed
3	C3	20-25	Male	JHS	Self employed
4	C4	25-30	Male	JHS	Unemployed
5	C5	25-30	Male	SHS	Unemployed
6	C6	40-45	Male	SHS	Unemployed
7	C7	25-30	Female	SHS	Unemployed
8	P1	35-40	Female	First degree	Employed
9	P2	40-45	Male	SHS	Employed
10	T1	40-45	Female	Not known	Employed
11	C8	20-25	Male	Vocational	Employed
12	T2	50-55	Male	First degree	Employed
13	G1	35-40	Male	Masters lev.	Employed
14	G2	35-40	Male	Masters lev.	Employed

*Source: Fieldwork in Elmina, Ghana 2018/2019.*

## 5.2. Study results and analysis

At this point, the study will present and analyze in detail data from the field of research. This will be categorized in three main parts correlating to the research questions in section 1.3. This means that, research issues which includes - the current status of stakeholder's involvement in tourism development and the initiatives to consider in establishing a CBT model in community tourism planning will first be discussed. This will be followed by discussion on the impacts that can be realised if a CBT model is employed to sensitive tourist destinations. These impacts will focus on the economy, social and environment. Finally, the constraints that impedes the implementation of CBT for local communities in Ghana will be discussed.



In our presentations, responses of informants are outlined in italics for purposes of differentiation. Also, the responses are explained and further discussed to assist readers to understand the issues as gathered from the perspectives of respondents.

### **5.2.1. Stakeholder's current positions and suggested initiatives**

For us to develop a CBT model for local community tourism, it is important that we assess the current positions of stakeholders' involvement in tourism development. This is necessary for us to determine the degree to which they have been side-lined, isolate or involved in tourism planning and decision-making. By knowing this, the study can argue for its case of proposing a particular model for tourism in the community. Having assessed stakeholders' current positions, we will then determine initiatives that should be considered if we want to establish a model for local community tourism. This will be done from the views of respondents used for this study. We have established in section 4.3.1. that, local residents or any other stakeholder alone cannot have a complete authority over community tourism development. This will only leave other stakeholders frustrated to pursue their own goals. Besides, many scholars<sup>50</sup> call for partnership and collaboration in CBT because as identified in the limitation of the traditional forms of community participation, a 'complete' empowerment of the residents will leave out other significant stakeholders from decision-making<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, we will not only consider resident's current status here, but that of the other significant stakeholders. These stakeholders are involved in Elmina tourism in different ways, hence, per their disparate status they are examined separately. Accordingly, based on the CBT model suggested (figure 3), we will identify and discuss stakeholders' current positions and significant suggested initiatives from the perspectives of; (a) community residents of Elmina (ER), (b) Elmina community leaders (CL), (c) businesses and (d) local government officials.

#### **5.2.1.1. Community residents' perspectives**

With respect to community residents in Elmina, perspectives on their status in tourism development revealed that, they were still at the *non-participation* level. What this tell us is that tourism programmes and plans are not discussed with residents. The people are not asked if a particular programme is needed in the community or not. In fact, what they expect from tourism are adjusted to the needs of government and its agencies. Thus, government provides what it thinks will be good

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<sup>50</sup> Haywood (1988), Selin and Chavez (1995), Jamal and Getz (1995) and many other scholars call for the collaboration of relevant stakeholders in shared decision making in tourism development.

<sup>51</sup>See sections 4.2.2. and 4.2.3.

for the community without really consulting them. When informants were asked about how they partake or influence tourism programmes and decisions, responses showed that residents are at the manipulative and therapy rung and hence, they do not have power in tourism decision-making.

*We don't have any say about the affairs of the castle in Elmina, what they want to do with the money from the castle is directly from Accra. We want to have a say in what goes on here. At least they should listen to us sometimes. We want to establish shops and pubs around this place to keep tourist in the community for some days, but they won't give us the land you see here. -C4*

*Me, the castle is nothing to me. The only thing I can proudly say when I am out of Elmina is that there is a castle in my hometown. Apart from this, I don't get anything from it. Even when my children want to visit it, I have to give them five cedis each. The money they give to the community through the traditional leaders is very little and even that I hear it is just for celebrating the festivals. we don't even have a proper hospital. – C2*

*We just want to receive our percentage of the money if the government don't want us to have a say in tourism. Is like we know what help will us the youth here, but we don't have anyone to complain to. Not all of us can go fishing so I expect that they use the money to open some companies or train some of us to get some jobs. Borga, as early as 6oclock pm the whole town goes to sleep. -C3*

The above comments show that, residents are hugely alienated from tourism development at the expense of government who solely own and run the Elmina castle. Besides, most of the residents feel that, benefits from tourism activities are not used to develop the community as expected. They want jobs, entertainment facilities, healthy environment and many other social amenities. They are aware that, all the money coming from tourism cannot overturn the fortunes of the community, but it is clear that they have lost hope in the current administration system to use tourism to develop the community. Hence, many of them prefer a change in the administration of tourism in the area. But interestingly, when respondents were asked if residents should own the castle, there was a lot of divided opinions. Respondents expressions showed that, they do not know if they can be part of decision-making. In fact, while few expressed interests in allowing the locals to own and manage the sites, some of them felt that the government should manage it alone but should come from time to time to discuss matters with the people. Some also wanted the community elders to be part of the planning board of tourism in the area. Others also suggested a private-government partnership or something that will enhance accountability and development. The divergent opinions on ownership suggest the failure in the current managing style of the site. They also suggest collaboration and cooperation style of management between the government, residents and private businesses.

*Me, I can't sit with any politics people, I just want them to give us our share. We can't manage this huge tourist site as a community. We don't have the skills, we don't know how to even start. So, let the government come from time to time so that we can tell him<sup>52</sup> how we feel in the community. -C5*

*We can run the site very well than even the government. We have many other sites that the government cannot develop but we can develop them. We have educated and ambitious sons of this town who can lead us. We have...<sup>53</sup>. They are all successful business people in the country who can help to develop the other sites and run them together. -C4*

*I think we can help the government officials to run the sites. I mean it is obvious that they need help. They are just small, small school boys who don't know the history. They don't know how to even talk to the tourist. We have been here since childhood and we know what we need. -C1*

*For me, I don't want us to own or manage the sites. The cost and time alone to train this people is not easy. If the leaders are few like 3 or 5, they will squander the money or mismanage the sites. So, the government should just keep it, or we should allow private businessmen to come in, but Elmina should be developed. -C3*

Residents were further asked about their perspectives on a CBT model suitable for their community. These streams of questions aimed at determining initiatives that will establish a CBT model that intends to encompass large majority of Elmina residents into tourism planning and development.

*If we should choose leaders to represent us, then they should be accessible, transparent and accountable. We should be able to meet them from time to time to review everything. The leaders presenting us on the board should include a representative from all sectors of the society. I mean a fishermen representative, the driver, the youth, women, a police officer, chiefs' palace representative and others. To make it very inclusive -C4*

*They say they want to promote tourism, but they tell tourist that the youth here can be dangerous. That is wrong. We even protect the tourist sometimes. The negativity must first be dealt with in this case. -C3*

### **5.2.1.2. Perspectives of community leaders**

Regarding Elmina community leaders (thus, traditional leaders including chiefs, leaders of the Asafo groups and others), they can be considered to have attained the *consultation* rung. Interviews with respondents revealed that, some of these leaders, perhaps the chief are consulted and involved in tourism meetings. However, their presence does not have significant influence on the outcome of these meetings. This reflects why on the model, a circled CL is positioned at the *consultation* on the vertical axis in figure 3 indicating that, although traditional leaders are consulted, they do not have official powers to negotiate on behalf of Elmina citizens.

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<sup>52</sup> Referring to government officials or agencies.

<sup>53</sup> Respondent mentioned names of successful businessmen from the town

*I think there is a board for the castle which includes some leaders, maybe the chief. They don't often meet but I think they (tourism officials) can't by-pass the chiefs to do projects. They engage the chiefs from time to time, but the chiefs are powerless when it comes to tourism decisions. if you take part in meeting but cannot do projects or get the revenue for developing your town what have you achieved? -P1*

*Master, the chief receives nothing, if he does, he will tell some of the people. They just come to him during election time. His power does not go to the castle oo. He is only told what they have for us. But these promises don't even come. Look at the fishing cold store they built. It is useless now. The chief doesn't have the means to continue the project again. -P2*

These leaders also suggested some initiatives that can be considered to establish a CBT model for the community. Their views focused on training and social capital as agent for selecting representatives for tourism management.

*We have plans to develop other sites. But it is not easy considering the executive burdens we will encounter. We have not taken the opportunity of the numerous tourism sites in the area at all. We need training or education on tourism, I think. Training for tour guides, marketers, website creators, safety boys ...but that one we have the Asafo groups to do that, so it is not a problem. -P2*

*Groups should be formed. A tourism planning board for instance to oversee that sites are established and sustained. A marketing team as well, a safety team, official community tour guides should be established and trained. Their training should include counselling courses to help with the emotional aspect of some tourist. -P1*

### **5.2.1.3. Perspectives of respondents from businesses**

Opinions of business groups in Elmina were also considered. These businesses included hotels, restaurants and the few tour firms. With respect to the collaboration processes between these businesses and the residents, responses revealed that they are at the stage of *antecedent*. Thus, there are glimpses of an informal 'healthy' partnership between the businesses and the people. The residents have been working with some of the hotels in the area over the years, there are traces of shared goals in connection to sponsoring festivals, games, etc. However, there is no consensus or a legitimate mutual acknowledgement of roles between the parties. The following responses indicates why on the collaboration process on the horizontal axis in figure 3, an arrow labelled business have been positioned on the *antecedent*.

*For us, we are very aware that if the tourism here is well developed and well managed the residents themselves will get a lot of works to do. So, we share their vision. Besides if they are given the opportunity to own and run the sites, our business will grow. So, with this CBT idea I think it can be feasible especially if we critically analyse and plan it well. -C8*

*We have been working with Elmina residents for years already, and even the local government here. We have good relations with the traditional groups. They normally come for sponsorships during the Bakatue and the other festivals. so, we have been working together already. The network is there. If they call us to help or come on board, we are ready to help. But for this CBT issue, it is not on the table now. -C1*

*They need a united front to advocate for this. The chieftaincy dispute in a way might make it rough along the way. But it is not that intense so they can resolve it if they really want to participate actively in tourism. -C8*

Respondents from this group also revealed a number of initiatives that can be considered to establish CBT. Per their functions as businesses, it was no surprised that their submissions were along the formal functions of the model.

*An executive board. Very important. To administer and manage tourism in Elmina. The team can include all the heads of the various groups in the community. I mean the Asafo heads, official from government, traditional leaders, the police, the businesses head, even a representative from the diaspora. We need massive inclusion to get more ideas. -C1*

*Monthly, quarterly, yearly meetings, reports and accounts should be considered for transparency reasons. A bank account should be opened for tourism in Elmina too. How to share benefits should be outlined. You see all these will create jobs for the youth. We already have the market so what are we waiting for? -C1*

*Researchers from the cape coast university can be brought on board, they are right here. I just think that if we should have a CBT then it should be a broad one otherwise it will be like how tourism is run currently. The culture of centralization in Ghana is the problem. Everything, governments want to control it. So, convincing the government is very important -C8*

#### **5.2.1.4. Views of local government officials**

The views of some local government officials including castle curators, municipal officials etc. were also considered. Although some of these respondents were concerned of their positions when a CBT is established, they did not hesitate to share their views.

*I think they need to present a well thought of plan to the government. One that will not take away the government from the picture. Also, how the government or the country will benefit from the CBT should be presented.... If other communities should come with plans to control the means to revenue in their respective communities what do you think will happen? So, with this new idea they should do further research and draw plans to convince government. -G1*

*I don't think Elmina people should own the castle. Running tourism needs a lot of expertise. You know it will be difficult for them to get the organizational structure to run the tourist site. But I think they should be made an important stakeholder. Not because it is their land, but it will help take away the negatives that come from the people sometimes. .... yes, like the littering and desecrating the environment.... or they can develop the other sites and make them their own. - G2*

*Imagine every community coming to the government to own what is in their land. Government will not have peace. The current system is not bad, the community is given a percentage for their projects like funding the festivals, chiefs' scholarships for some student and others. But this money goes to just the traditional leaders. So, I will encourage the residents to ask for what they deserve. If it is through the CBT like you say, then they should be partners. -G1*

### **5.2.1.5. Discussions to stakeholders' positions and initiatives**

The results of the analyses above call for discussions into three key issues which includes: (i) discussions on the positions of stakeholders and their levels of participation in tourism development; (ii) reflections on partnership and collaboration processes among stakeholder, and (iii) reflections on the initiatives to establish a CBT as revealed by respondents.

First, with regards to stakeholders' current position in tourism development, we recall that, local residents are at the *non-participation* stage of the study's proposed CBT model. This means that, although residents may rightly have a stake in tourism activities in their own land, their decision-making power is manipulated by the government who persuades and instructs the people on what is best for them. In figure 3, the position of Elmina citizen's participation in tourism development is indicated with a circled *ER*. Regarding community leaders, responses showed that, they are still at the *consultation* rung as indicated with a circled *CL* in our CBT model. What this means is that, Elmina community leaders are indeed *consulted*, and their views are *heard*, but they lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the government. Thus, since community leaders' participation is restricted to the consultation level, they do not have the 'muscle' to change, demand or influence the concerns of citizens when they get the opportunity to engage government officials. The commentary above implies that, Elmina residents do not have proper channels to address their grievances except through their traditional leaders who as well lacks legitimate power to put citizens' concerns into action. Community leaders are considered the representatives of the people in the traditional setting, so if they are unable to influence decision outcomes, then it shows how far citizens have been isolated from tourism development. Again, if community leader's participation is limited to the consultation level, then power redistribution to community members is far from achieved. The community cannot induce significant social reforms which may have enabled the sharing of benefits. This to some extent explains the high rate of unemployment and poverty, the poor drainage and environmental pollution, high illiteracy rate and the absence certain economic



facilities (including cold storage and the Fish processing facility for the fishing industry etc) characterizing the community<sup>54</sup>.

The call for greater community participation is therefore imperative to change the status quo and redistribute power to community members. In fact, power to tourism decision-making in many communities in Ghana is solely held by the government and its agencies. Due to this, many tourism stakeholders are forced to pursue their own goals. They only collaborate when there is a noticeable benefit to a tourism project. Businesses for instance sponsor festivals because they want to advertise and increase clients during the period. But these unproductive efforts to tourism development in Ghana is insufficient to improve the industry to positively impact communities as expected. Neither does it enhance tourism to be self-sustaining. If residents cannot rely on the tourism industry in their area to enhance economic, environmental and social impacts, residents will cease to support tourism projects (Murphy, 2013). Many tourism communities in Ghana are experiencing stagnant growth due to the lack of support from community members and the sole management of government. The CBT approach ensures that residents support tourism projects by becoming the driving force to protect the community's natural environment, culture and other tourism products to maximise revenue. The approach also resolves local issues which may have created citizen hostile behaviour towards tourist experience (Okazaki, 2008, p. 512).

Second, partnerships and collaboration processes have become important in tourism management circles because they assist to accomplish collective goals (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 844). When respondents' views were analysed, we identified that collaboration processes among tourism stakeholders in Elmina is at the stage of *antecedents*. This was not much of a surprise since community residents, businesses and government agencies and other stakeholders have not had any formal agreement that allows them to partner to accomplish tourism development goals. The stakeholders have therefore frequently gone about pursuing their own tourism agendas in the absence of consensus partnership agreement.

But this does not mean that the forces needed to initiate partnership is completely absent. In fact, the stakeholders have long been working with each other in different ways to achieve certain goals of which tourism is an example<sup>55</sup>. The hotels and other businesses have been sponsoring Elmina festivals, while government have collaborated with the businesses to provide social amenities such as lavatories, equipment to improve drainage, scholarships for some students etc. Besides these

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<sup>54</sup> See Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 307)

<sup>55</sup> Refer to the first comment of C1 in section 5.2.1.3.

existing networks, stakeholders seem to share other tourism visions such as growth and sustainability of the industry, the economic effects and a hospitable environment. Finally, the long chieftaincy crisis can be a catalyst for building collaborations. It appears that, all the stakeholders have recognized the absence of the dispute to play an important role in maximising their interests. While residents and local businesses want a united front to establish a CBT capable of transforming the tourism industry, the government's interest is on a peaceful friendly tourism environment that increases visitation and revenue. These identified *antecedent forces* can become the context within which stakeholders in Elmina tourism forms partnerships. But the stage of *antecedent* is just the beginning stage of the partnerships process. Developing stakeholders' partnerships should progress gradually through problem-setting, direction-setting, and structuring frameworks (Selin & Chavez, 1995). It is through these gradual partnership evolutions that programmed tourism outcomes can be achieved.

Third, on the initiatives to establish CBT, respondents were faced with difficulties to come up ideas because the CBT approach is not well known in Ghanaian tourism. Therefore, respondents' views largely focused on activities that can enable community residents and associates to work together. Some respondents suggested broad participation through the selection of accessible leaders from various community groups. Also, the cooperation with researchers from the nearby University of Cape Coast and successful businessmen and women were encouraged. Respondents perceived that, the expertise of these individuals and institutions will be important to accomplish their course. The training of selected staffs, the invitation of private businesses, the formation of a board and administrative team, sensitization of the negatives surrounding the youth and tourism etc also came up.

The analyses from these views indicates the call on individuals and groups to commit to the course of community participation. The community wants to work collectively to lobby for a CBT approach to tourism. The common adage "*there is strength in numbers*" sums up respondents' quest to nurture social capital. The basic idea of social capital is that a person's family, friends, and associates form an important asset, one that can be relied on to achieve something that could not have been achieved singlehandedly (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Elmina citizens including the youth, churches, fishermen, traditional leaders etc and their associates can work together to lobby for CBT. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) argues that communities endowed with varied stock of social networks and civic associations have a stronger ability to tackle poverty, resolve disputes and take advantage of available opportunities. This means that the more participation is inclusive, the

greater chances of achieving community goals. The concept of social capital is deemed to have important implications for economic development and poverty reduction (Okazaki, 2008). Responses show that, social capital has to be fostered to bond relationships, bridge partnerships and ensure collaboration with other potential stakeholders so that community participation can be achieved. In truth, without social capital, there will not be progress in attaining power or collaboration. The ‘synergy’ view of social capital will therefore be ideal for the case of Elmina because it combines the ideas of bonding and bridging social capital (the networks view) and state–society relations; i.e. linking social capital (the institutional view).<sup>56</sup> Thus, residents, businesses and other associates representing the *society* can collaborate with the *state* to achieve tourism outcomes. Other initiatives that came up included a well drafted CBT plan capable of convincing government. Such draft may identify organizational structure, mandate, vision, ownerships, revenue allocation, etc. Moreover, laid down rules, constitutional backing, bank accounts for the project, issues of accountability, transparency etc.

The above contributions clearly show that, respondents views on CBT were constructed along the key theories that defines the concept. Community participation can provide power redistribution to residents if it is well planned and promoted. However, if collaboration processes are not facilitated among stakeholders, neither community participation nor power redistribution will be achieved and vice versa. Accordingly, for a CBT model to be successful, Social capital is required to accelerate community participation, power redistribution and collaboration. (2008, p. 517). This vindicates the study’s underpinning constructionist paradigm in amassing information which have been formed knowingly or unknowingly along the CBT concept. Consequently, if the ideas are true for tourism development and sustainability, then we can understand the study’s second underpinning paradigm, thus, advocacy/participatory to propose a CBT model for tourism administration in Elmina. The idea of establishing CBTs for tourism communities agrees with scholars’ intention of advocating people to simply demand that degree of power (or control) which will guarantee them of undertaking managing programs, be in full charge of decisions and policies, and be able to negotiate the benefits they deserve (Arnstein, 1969).

If residents become important tourism stakeholders through the CBT model proposed by this study, what kinds of impacts can be realized? The section below discusses the impacts of CBT from the reflections of informants interviewed in Elmina.

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<sup>56</sup> See Okazaki (2008, p. 516).

## 5.2.2. Respondents' perspectives on the impacts of CBT

Respondents revealed a number of positive impacts that can be realized if community participation is considered in tourism development. These are grouped under the three main types of tourism impacts described by Hall (1991); economic, social and environment. Hall have stated that when planning for tourism, one needs to consider these influential factors because, they seek to enhance the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality (1991, pp. 177-178).

### 5.2.2.1. Economic impacts

Tourism has become a major source of economic development in recent times. For many developing and underdeveloped countries, the industry is seen as a fast track to development. Hall (1991) indicates that, governments encourages tourism development because the industry has become a fundamental source of economic and regional development. Tourism makes a major contribution to employment, develop isolated areas and improve domestic growth (Hall, 1991). During interviews in Elmina, respondents' perspectives on the economic impacts of a CBT approach to tourism were formed along these contributions;

*If we have the means to tourism here, we can develop the other sites from the revenue we will get...the government will use this money for other things in other parts of the country, but we use the money to develop the community and get extra income from visitors staying in Elmina for a greater number of days. -C6*

*We can complete and get the community cold store, fishing harbor and the other undeveloped sites started because we will have access to most of the revenue ourselves for these developments. There will be more new jobs in Elmina for the locals and other Ghanaians. -P1*

*The government wouldn't have to worry about marketing the tourist sites because we will take it upon ourselves. I mean in terms of developing tourism in this region, we can relieve the government of its burdens. - C7*

*I think if the community is allowed to manage tourism here, it will help to sustain the sites because they know it brings them money. But since they are neglected, it seems some of them don't want tourist to be here. It is livelier in Cape Coast than here. -T1.*

The focus of economic contribution of tourism for governments has mostly been concentrated on the balance of payments and the ability of the industry to reduce levels of overseas debt (Hall, 1991). Perhaps, due to these limited views held by some governments concerning tourism benefits, governments of some developing countries have not paid much attention to the effective

development of their tourism industry. Governments need to know that the tourism industry is no longer an incidental source of development (Hall, 1991). In truth, the broad nature of the industry suggests its many potential economic contribution to natural economies which are difficult to document. This explains why scholars advise using economic impact studies to determine specific economic benefits resulting from tourism.

Regarding the case of Elmina, we can clearly deduce from respondents' views that the people are not just concerned about creating new jobs through tourism for community members alone, but also, they want to relieve government burdens of the lack of employment and varied economic activities characterizing the region. But like many communities in Ghana, there is not enough direct or indirect employment coming from tourism in Elmina. This is because, while the developed tourist sites are few, there is also limited entertainment facilities like pubs to entice tourist to stay and spend in the community. Tourist coming to the community can actually use some few hours to tour the Elmina castle and the fort St. Jago leaving the other sites since they have not been developed for tourism. So, with a community like Elmina where there is high illiteracy rate<sup>57</sup>, youth lacking tourism skills, and inadequate government support for community tourism development, how do you increase tourism related jobs if not through CBT? Surprisingly, respondents revealed that, less than 70 residents have jobs from the castle which currently seems to be the only official source of tourism revenue in the area. This means that commutants can only fetch indirect jobs from the hotels in the area who also recruits their staffs are from head offices in Accra.

Apart from creating jobs, residents also want to ensure the longevity and sustainability of these sensitive monumental sites which holds one of the world's most horrific trade history between Africa, Europe and the Americas. Further, they want to develop other major economic industries in the area such as fishing and salt making by getting the community cold storage started, establishing processing facilities for the fishing industry, and constructing a fishing harbour through a CBT approach. These effects of tourism economic impacts are what scholars describe as 'multiplier effects' of tourism. Tourism has a way of stimulating other sectors of the economy through its direct and secondary impacts (Archer, 1982). While the direct impacts are resultant of tourist direct spending which may be used to enhance tourism development, the secondary or indirect impacts may be seen in the (re)spending of tourism connected income to develop other economic sectors (Hall, 1991). Let us assume that, CBT has triggered many tourists to stay in Elmina hotels. Accordingly, the hotel will respond by employing constructors or renovators to improve the

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<sup>57</sup> See Nana Ato Arthur and Victor Mensah (2006, p. 307)

standards of hotels to stay in competition. This will only enhance economic growth through tourism in the community.

Contrary to the above, we cannot overlook the cost of establishing CBT for Elmina. Okazaki points out the high transaction and other non-monetary cost involved in terms of getting a CBT started and also maintaining it. Nevertheless, to allow these barriers to impede establishing CBT in Elmina will be grievous. This is because the current management style has failed to develop tourism in a way expected by community residents. Hence, looking at the positive economic impact described by residents, a change of Elmina tourism management to a CBT is imperative as the economic nature of the community is nothing to write about. The poor fishing condition and salt making seems to be the readily available job in the area but most of the youth do not find these jobs attractive as described by *C3* in section 5.2.1.1. As such, community participation is necessary to change the poor economic structure of the community.

#### **5.2.2.2. Social impacts**

According to Hall, the social impact of tourism refers to the way by which tourism effects changes the value systems, behaviors, patterns, community structures and lifestyles of the collective community and individuals. The social impacts of tourism are often seen to be negative because of residents' perception that tourists enjoy all the luxury in the community (1991, p. 231). While cultural differences between host communities and tourists creates hostile atmosphere at times, poverty, non-local investment and residents isolation<sup>58</sup> which reduces community control over tourism resources sometimes result in a backlash from locals and their disapproval of tourism projects (Hall, 1991, p. 231). Besides these host related issues affecting tourism development are sensitive tourist behaviors necessary for tourism operators to resolve (Kals & Maes, 2002).

In the case of Elmina, two major sensitive issues came up; one related to the youth and the other; slavery issues concerning African American visitors. As shown in the comments below, respondents revealed evident of visitor's emotional experiences and that of the youth. The comments also considered the CBT approach to better deal with the issues as compared to the current government paternalism management.

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<sup>58</sup> Discussed in detail in previous sections.



*We sometimes talk to some of the Black Americans and we tell them how we are brothers. Sometimes we advise them to forget about the slave stories and come back to help the community.... But some residents also need education too on how to deal with visitors. -C4*

*I think with the community getting involve, the local people can better get close to Black Americans to build a better relationship. We will understand them more and they will understand us as well. I know some of them hate to see the local people. -T2*

*The youth here have been tagged as bad by some tour guides from Accra. They say we are thieves so tourist should be careful not to get close to us. But you cannot promote tourism by telling negatives about the people hosting your tourist. That is not good marketing. -C1*

#### **5.2.2.2.1. Managing sensitive social issues**

Tourist emotional state relative to the site is a dominant factor in determining what will constitute their satisfying experience (Austin, 2002, p. 453). Sensitivity issues can influence problems relating to morality, ethics, commercialization, commodification and management of authenticity. Austin identified that, some highly aggrieved African Americans argues that perpetrators of slavery i.e. Caucasian should not be allowed to enter the former slave castles. Some also struggle to accept why their past was on sale for revenue (2002). Moreover, Bruner identified African Americans displeasure in seeing the castle made beautiful (renovated) because they do not want their sacred home desecrated. He also reveals the tensions in the Ghanaian society when diaspora blacks visit the dungeons ‘to get the slave experience’ (1996, p. 294).

These and many other emotional issues relating to sensitive destinations can better dealt with through greater community participation. The responses above shows how residents have better opportunity to engage tourist due to their ‘close’ proximity. Government management style is revenue oriented, hence formal or informal structures to dialogue emotionally traumatised tourist are non-existence. A respondent comment below showed how the current managerial style at the castle is coping with tensions from sensitivity.

*Eii, you cannot put them together oo, there will be too much tensions and fireworks. We have had experiences like that. So now we know. -C8*

Through social capital, CBT mechanisms can establish therapy groups in its ranks to offer sentimental dialogues to heal wounds created through historical slavery activities. When tourists are counselled especially before touring the dungeons, it can facilitate tolerance, build friendly relations and create a comfortable tourism environment.

Regarding the youths' displeasure of been tagged as dangerous to tourist by tour operators from Accra, this same mechanism of sensitization through CBT can be used to neutralize tensions and backlashes. Such a group can also be tasked with educating entire community on how their attitude affects tourism development in the area, for instance on environment pollution. Simmons advises that when designing and implementing public participation programmes in tourism, it necessary to have an informed public (1994, p. 99) that can positively influence tourism. Other substantial social issues that came up are presented and discussed below.

*... Borga, see the hotels and resorts here, they are all nice right? But if you see our schools, clinic community center and other government structures, you can see that they don't care about us. We don't even have a recreational park here for children to play around, tourism here is sad. -C6.*

*Hmmm, sometimes overcrowding, lack of privacy, and few days of inflation especially during our festivals but you know, these are not really big issues that we cannot manage as a community. The problem is how tourists come to take us pictures without informing us. -C5.*

With respect to the comments above, it is clear that the community lacks quality in the social amenities in the area. Also, the comments indicate some of the issues encountered by most tourist areas. The overcrowding for example comes with the festival period. In dealing with these issues, a proper tourism planning by authorities and the involvement of residents in tourism through CBT should be encouraged. CBT guarantees citizen control over their own social development and facilitate a greater number of residents to support tourism issues which have cause hostility. If residents will understand the consequences and support the projects that comes with tourism, it will depend on their perceived benefits and costs, as implied by the social exchange theory (Sirakaya et al., 2002). Where tourism cost outwits its' benefits, residents will be reluctant to support tourism activities. Therefore, it is important that residents participate in tourism decision-making and share the responsibility that comes with the industry.

### **5.2.2.3. Environmental impacts**

The tourism industry is dependent on the environment. Hall indicates that, tourism facilities and infrastructure alone cannot attract tourist to a destination, however, the natural and cultural environment of host communities are very important in the development of the industry (1991, p. 254). Tourism has a variety of impacts on the physical environment and respondents in Elmina were not hesitant to share their perspectives on the impacts which they believe a CBT approach to tourism will have on the environment.

*If we get control of tourism, we can better provide proper sewage systems, good toilet facilities, processing facilities for the fishing industry and so many others to ensure a clean environment that tourist will like to stay for some time or visit again. I say this because we are always here and we know what this community needs to develop, the government is only concerned with revenue. -C1*

*There are no cleaning companies, we lack proper toilets and sewage and lack of resident's support for tourism. If people don't care about the tourism here anymore how do you expect them to keep the environment clean? We need to plan the environment like how they have it in abroad so that more tourist will want to return. -C7*

*Once we get to be considered, we can cooperate with for example the fishermen. Their fishing area is also close to the castle so how do you expect tourist to stay in this dirty environment? ...But it's not only us, sometimes there is a lot of tourist causing problems like many bottles and cans around the beach. sometimes too there is so much traffic in the town. -C3*

With any form of tourism, the quality of the environment is very important to visitors as well as the host community. The relationship between the environment and tourism becomes complex when there are too many tourists visiting a particular destination. The discussion with respondents from Elmina on the environment centred on how residents will cope with increased visitors if a CBT is implemented. This started with the current condition of the environment which is evidently polluted and 'dirty' from the activities of residents, petty traders and fishermen. When respondents were questioned on how they intend to attract more visitors and revenue with the poor state of the environment, it was revealed that, the people do not support or care about the tourism in the area simply because their expectations from tourism have not been met. This agrees with results from a study by Sirakaya et al. (2002) which shows that, Elmina residents do not support tourism projects because the expectations promised at the beginning of tourism in area have not been met to residents' level of expectation (pp. 65-66). Some Elmina residents, traders and fishermen do not really value or support tourism activities in the area hence they go about their daily business which makes the environment uncomfortable for tourism. Murphy (2013) argues that, residents' attitude and support for tourism development will depend on the importance of the industry to the community, the extent to which individuals rely on the tourism industry, and the level of tourism development in the community. Since these are contrary to the case of Elmina, residents do not recognise the importance of a quality environment to tourism.

Respondents shared their views on how establishing a CBT will impact the environment especially when the approach increases tourists. Undoubtedly, the increase in tourists visiting Elmina will have adverse environmental effects if measures are not taken. Respondents identified some negative effects including air and noise pollution from increased cars and boats engines, overuse of water by resorts and hotels building swimming pools and even by tourists, and increased sanitation problems

through littering of plastic bags, cans and bottles. But these are issues that can be dealt with when there is a CBT in place. In fact, some communities practicing a similar approach in both developed and developing countries have dealt with similar adverse effects of tourism. Communities such as Alta in Norway and Okavango Delta in Botswana have managed to keep a clean, well-organised and well-regulated environment for visitation and habitation. To achieve similar success stories will depend on the people who will be delegated from the citizenry to the CBT administration. Respondents were optimistic that, CBT will equip them with certain advantages to ensure positive environmental impacts. First, they will have more control over finance- to pay for the protection and management of the environment and other sensitive areas. They can also invest in training the youth in economic areas that involves recycling of waste from the environment for production. Second, CBT will give the citizens control over managing and planning the environment. With this, citizens are able to control development in such a way that land conflicts, damaging and natural areas and deterioration assets can be avoided. Third, through CBT, Elmina residents can raise environmental awareness on issues such as littering, open defecation, water overuse and pollution, air pollution and any other activities that makes the environment uncomfortable for tourism. Fourth, with CBT, citizens will have the muscles to implement their own environmental regulatory measures to offset negative impacts such as control on the activities of tourists, their movement within the town and protected areas.

### **5.2.3. Barriers to adopting CBT establishment**

This section focusses on the study's third research question. It intends to present and discuss some key significant challenges that impedes CBT implementation in Elmina. The issues discussed in this section are possibly similar to situations in other tourism community in Ghana and other developing countries in Africa. During interviews, challenging issues that came up were related to the unwilling behaviour of politicians to commit to community participation, the nature of the legal systems on citizen empowerment and other significant substantial problems revealed sporadically by respondents.

#### **5.2.3.1. Unwilling political behaviour**

Responses showed that, there is unwillingness attitude on the part of politicians to allow broader community participation in tourism. Political behaviors concerning collective social programs are caused by situations or *opportunity* that permits something to occur and the *willingness* to do so.

For community policies like CBT to be implemented, there must be *willingness* or desire (a collective drive) by the key actors pursuing the action as well as an *opportunity* or a situation for the event to occur (Cioffi-Revilla & Starr, 1995, p. 449). In the case of Elmina, there is a desire from the community to participate in tourism development in their own community, however government has consciously or unconsciously disallowed citizens to participate in tourism decision-making. This behavior is however not seen in Elmina tourism alone, but the entire tourism industry in the country. In Ghana, the central government is vested with much powers through the constitution to make policies, delegate and appoint officials. It is therefore difficult to achieve community participation in tourism development since governments do not want to share or lose some of its powers in tourism decision-making. While politicians do not trust residents to be making decisions for a world heritage site, they also want to avoid the case of other groups coming to demand the means to revenues in their area. Government interest in tourism stems from the economic significance of the industry especially revenue from taxes, fees etc. (Murphy, 2013). If government is to lose or share these with any group, it will definitely be unwilling to encourage community participation.

*If all communities come to government that they want to own the means to revenue resources in their community or region what do you think will happen? Then the western region will say we want this percentage of the oil proceeds because it's in our land. Besides, the government need the money for general development. -G1*

*You can't trust the people to manage the castle, it's not possible because it's a world heritage site. Maybe the other smaller sites. How will they function, which people will be leaders, how successful will it be considering their chieftaincy dispute? ...You need tourism experts to run the industry not just anybody my brother. - G2*

These comments explain the hegemony on the part of the central government in Ghana. The comments do not mean to say that the constitution disregards local decision making, they actually show that government do not want to be caught in a situation where it will have to be dealing with regional squabbles to manage resources. Also, they show government distrust for residents to manage huge tourism projects in their regions.

But community involvement does not mean government isolation. Neither does it mean sole ownership to tourism development and planning. It is true that, advocates like Arnstein (1969) encourages citizens to have a high degree of participation and control in decision-making in the community approach which according to Hall, presents a major difficulty in implementing the concept in certain political systems (1991, p. 186). But this is why the study proposes a CBT model

that encourages partnership and collaboration process. And while this form of community participation puts residents at the top of the decision-making body, it can also include participations such the representative of the central government, local government authority, businesses, universities and other stakeholders. Correspondingly, the fact that the Elmina castle is a world heritage site does not imply that a CBT approach will mismanage the site.

#### **5.2.3.1.1. Examples of successful CBT**

In fact, there are a number of successful CBT sites including those designated as World Heritage Sites managed by communities or through community partnership with governments or organizations and businesses. The World Heritage Rock Art Centre at the Alta Museum in Norway is an intercommunal company (ICC), owned by the municipality of Alta and the county municipality of Finnmark (Museum, n.d.)<sup>59</sup>. The Centre has a cooperation groups involving the Directorate for cultural heritage in Norway; Finnmark county authority, the Sami parliament, Tromso museum (University museum), the Alta municipality and other partners. According to Tansem and Johansen (2008) the Rock art centre have been exclusively manage to bring a lot of positives in terms of sustainability and community development (pp. 73-74). Other successful CBT projects that have been identified by experts includes the Ban Nong Khao Community Tourism in Thailand; Covane Community Lodge, Mozambique; Kahawa Shamba, Tanzania; Meket Community Tourism Project, Ethiopia; Nambwa Campsite, Namibia etc (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, pp. 22-23).

#### **5.2.3.2. The legal system's silence on community approach**

Another general challenge in employing CBT in communities in Ghana has to do with the structure of the 1992 constitution and the 2011 Tourism Act. While the constitution is silent on tourism planning, the entire Tourism Act do not consider local citizens participation in tourism development. In fact, the Act ensures that, tourism policies at all levels of government are coordinated and controlled by government agencies, hence, the governing body of the Ghana tourism authority is represented by government ministries and few private personals who are all appointed by the President. As such, employing the community approach to tourism planning in Ghana will have to go through an extensive bureaucratic blockade across different levels of government.

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<sup>59</sup> <https://www.altamuseum.no/en/about-us>, retrieved on:5<sup>th</sup> May 2019.



*The legal system doesn't back community participation in tourism. So, this will need a whole legal change and backing. Parliament has to sit and make a law to suit this new idea. I don't think we have thought about it as a country.... Besides the review will have to pass through the many agencies dealing with tourism issues in the country. -G2*

The deliberate or indeliberate omission of the community approach to tourism planning and development by the legal frameworks do not suggest that the approach should be seen as infeasible or continued to be disregarded. However, government tourism agencies should research on the approach and find measures to incorporate citizens in tourism development. This is important because, for tourism to be successful and self-sustaining in any country, it needs to be strategized and managed as a renewable resource industry, based on the capacities and decisions of local communities Murphy (2013, p. 153).

### **5.2.3.3. Other substantial problems**

Interviews also revealed certain significant challenges worth mentioning. These challenges were revealed sporadically by respondents during interviews and they are seen in most of the responses presented above. Some respondents viewed the community participation as unnecessary, time consuming, and too costly<sup>60</sup>. Also, others felt that the execution burden to alter decision making power holders, interact with citizens, the cost and time to educate citizens and the general lack of tourism experts to carry on the initial plan is a huge burden even with government support<sup>61</sup>.

Further, the difficulty of residents in understanding technical tourism issues and policies. The problems with getting and maintaining qualified representatives from the people for decision-making.<sup>62</sup> Finally, there was a feeling of apathy among some section of the citizenry. Not all respondents showed passion to the community taking control of tourism in the area. Some people showed disinterest in talking about the castle probably because, they did not see the need to waste their time talking about something that do not provide their needs.

These problems may not pose serious threat to establishing a CBT in Elmina, however, they may not be helpful when soliciting social capital for the participation process.

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<sup>60</sup> As reflected in the second comment by C3 in section 5.2.1.1.

<sup>61</sup> See the second comment of P2 in section 5.2.1.2.

<sup>62</sup>As shown in comment by G2 in section 5.2.3.1.

### 5.3. Chapter Summary

This present chapter has presented and discussed data related to the three major research questions in section 1.3. The chapter began the discussions with an overview of respondents' demographic background before presenting the results and analysis of the study to the research questions. Regarding the first group of questions, the current positions of stakeholder's involvement in tourism development showed that, while local residents were at non-participation, community leaders were considered to be at the consultation level of our model. Again, the partnership and collaboration processes were seen to be at the stage of antecedent which means that, there exist potential context of environmental forces that can cause partnership to be initiated for community tourism. Also, the initiatives to establish a CBT for tourism in Elmina were presented and discussed to reveal wide-range important suggestions. From respondents' perspectives, the chapter also discussed the impacts that can be realised if a CBT is utilized in Elmina and other communities in Ghana and Africa. The discussion focused on the three key impacts of tourism namely; economic, social and environmental. Relating to social impact, significant sensitivity issues were discussed to shed light on how CBT approach can work in sensitive destinations. Finally, the constraints and challenges to establishing and implementing CBT model for community tourism is outlined. Issues that came up included the unwilling behaviour of politicians to commit to community participation, the nature of the legal systems on community approach and others. As well, examples of tourism destinations successfully managed through CBT models were outlined. Having thoroughly presented, analyzed and discussed data in this chapter, let us make a short travel to the final chapter to reflect on some brief summary of findings and recommendations, before concluding this study.

## **Chapter Six: SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS**

### **6. Introduction**

This chapter will summarize and conclude the study. It features a summary of findings from data in chapter 5, analytical contributions or recommendations to the issues discussed and the final conclusion of the complete study.

#### **6.1. Summary of findings**

The study sought to propose an alternative approach to tourism development in Ghana. The reason behind this objective is that, the current ‘do it alone’, or top down management style to tourism by the central government have not materialized to the expectation of people in host communities who have anticipated tourism benefits to improve their living standard. Beside this reason, CBT is highly recommended by scholars to be the best alternative approach for mainstream tourism (Okazaki, 2008). To propose the concept for sensitive destinations and tourism communities in Ghana, the study accumulated data through qualitative interviews from the Elmina township in Ghana. The underpinning ideas was to encourage respondents to construct (constructivism) from their individual experience’s, the subject matter during interviews; and through these constructions of ideas the study advocates for citizens’ participation in tourism development in their own community.

Discussions revealed that, tourism development should not be the decision or responsibility of a single stakeholder because that will keep out other significant stakeholders. For instance, the community cannot develop and sustain tourism alone, they will need innovative ideas, capacity building and even financial assistance from businesses, government institutions etc. In the same way, governments need citizens support to develop and sustain tourism. Hence, our position on a CBT model facilitates collaboration and partnership processes. But then, we are aware that, CBT demands local communities to highly participate and have substantial control over tourism development and management to ensure that majority proportion of tourism benefits remain within host communities. Hence, we employ Arnstein (1969) ‘ladder of citizen participation’ to explain the necessary steps of gradual progression for citizens to gain control. When citizens have control over tourism resources and decisions, power is redistributed to them. But, for community

participation, power redistribution and collaboration processes to be realized, social capital should function to keep the relationships working. Thus, there should be available networks and conditions that enables the CBT structures to function.

So, with the CBT model described by the study, the current positions of stakeholders were explored to know how far they<sup>63</sup> are isolated or ‘involved’ in tourism development. As this was done, the study sought to determine initiatives can be considered to establish and enhance CBT. This assist us to determine the degree of participation needed for community members to control tourism planning and development. We also needed to know from respondents’ perspectives the impacts CBT brings to the community and tourism. Central issues of economic impacts that came up included creating new jobs for the people and getting revenue to develop other economic activities. With respect to social impacts, sensitivity discussions stood above. We found that, since government is revenue-oriented a change to CBT can facilitate therapy unit that allows residents to engage emotionally traumatised tourist. Environmental impacts focused on citizens control of resources and decisions to manage their environment.

Finally, the study does not doubt the difficulties in establishing CBT in Ghana and other African countries. For that matter, we identified these barriers for planners and policymakers to consider in their CBT programmes. They include politicians’ unwillingness to allow community participation, which is enabled by the nature of the political system and the constitution. We discovered that, although constitutions may specify decentralization for local administration, central governments control the disbursement of funds, appoint local authorities and make key decisions concerning local issues. So, from our discussions, we have suggested the contributions underneath.

## **6.2. Analytical contributions**

Based on the issues presented and discussed so far, the study uses this section to suggest recommendations for policymakers and community members to consider in tourism development. The suggestions include issues related to sensitivity, political and legal systems, utilizing NGOs and CBOs, available options for the community, etc.

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<sup>63</sup> Referring to the significant stakeholders interested in Elmina tourism.

### **6.2.1. Designing forum for tourist sensitivity dialogue**

Tourist sensitivity and emotional issues have the tendency to heightens conflicts, create tension between tourist and host communities and disrupt tourism growth. Bruner acknowledged evidence of these tensions and the threat they bring to tourism in Elmina <sup>64</sup>. He identified that, many African Americans do not want the castle to be made beautiful because it is sacred for them and cannot be desecrated (1996, p. 291). Without doubts, the request of visitors from the diaspora can have major effect on sustainability and authenticity. Also, Austin (2002) identified the challenging implication of sensitivity in marketing sensitive destinations. He indicated that, the emotional effects of tourist can affect commodification and site interpretation. Against this background, postexperience visitor effects concerning sensitive destinations can evoke negative emotions including fear, horror, sadness, depression, empathy, sympathy, and feelings of vengeance (Weaver et al., 2018, p. 826). There are evidence of Diaspora Blacks' physical attacks on Caucasians after visiting the dungeons (Bruner, 1996, p. 296). These and many other issues relating to sensitive destination tourism calls for planners to develop mechanisms that deals with the problems. One key mechanism which this study suggests is that, CBT models should design forums or sessions that offer therapy, sensitization and dialogue for visitors who are emotionally traumatized upon visiting such destinations.

Possibly, there are not enough literatures regarding CBT and therapeutic offers or forum for sensitive destinations, so developing an effective one from this study will be a difficult task considering the other objectives of the study. As such, we suggest that future studies are required to explore the idea of creating in CBT models a medium through which host communities and tourist can connect, share sentiments, heal wounds created by historical atrocities and reflect on possible positives.

### **6.2.2. Confronting the political systems**

Considering the unwilling political behaviour and the silence of the legal systems on community participation, it is important political issues are resolved to permit CBT formation. The study therefore recommends that the robust centralization system and the many bureaucratic impediment needs to be challenged. In Ghana, the structure of local governments is determined by the state. Decentralisation policies are established to enhance effective socio-economic development and

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<sup>64</sup> According to Bruner (1996, p. 294), "The attention of diaspora blacks to the dungeons and the slave experience has the potential consequence of introducing into Ghanaian society increased tension between African Americans and Ghanaians, and possibly a heightened awareness of black-white opposition, a sensitive and possibly controversial issue."

democratic citizen participation in local public spaces; however, concerns over bureaucratic and financial impediments from the central governments who even selects local executives for local administration continues to limit residents responsibilities (Antwi-Boasiako, 2010). Although residents are given autonomy and power over finance and decision-making through decentralization as specified in the 1992 constitution (chapter 20) of Ghana, the central government control have taken away these powers from the people. The local assemblies in Ghana do not even have the capacity to manage their finance from the District Assembly Common Fund unless it gets approval from the central government (Antwi-Boasiako, 2010, p. 167).

If constitutionally mandated local authorities are unable to function freely without having to take orders from the central government, how can residents who have not been factored in tourism in their own communities get the powers to tourism decision-making if not challenging the political system? The central government in Ghana should delegate significant parts of its decision-making authority and responsibility to residents through CBTs. The reluctance of the different levels of bureaucratic red tapes to relinquish part of their authority coupled with the lack of trust in empowering citizens and the disregard of the public in tourism development by the Tourism Act are major obstacles to community participation that needs to be confronted.

### **6.2.3. Local NGOs and CBOs involvement**

To achieve what have just been discussed above, thus challenging the political systems, local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community-based Organisations CBOs should be established to lead the people to participate in tourism development. These organisations are closer to the people and therefore understand them better. Kamat argues that, their nature of being autonomous is a mirage that obscures the interest of the powerful unitary states and politicians. (2003, p. 65). Their unique influence allows them to champion bottom up or pro-people development. Considering the barriers that hinges the establishing CBT in tourism communities in Ghana, NGOs and CBOs can become institutional tools to empower residents in the communities through educational, organizational, psychological and political means to move towards a more participatory tourism development approach. Having established this, I want to call on established powerful pressure groups and think tanks in Ghana such as IMANI Ghana, Ghana Bar Association; Ghana Trades Union Congress etc. to consider researching on the impacts of community control in tourism development and advocate for the agenda to be realized.



#### **6.2.4. The community developing other sites<sup>65</sup>**

The study further advises the community to consider developing the other sites on their own. This alternative strategy is necessary if the government do not agree to participation and partnership agreement of the two main tourist sites in the area, thus the Elmina castle and the Fort St. Jago. Yes, the two major sites are owned and run by the government through its agencies, but the other sites and festivals have been left to the community. The government do not have any interest in them perhaps due to their less relevance to the international community. By utilizing the CBT model suggested, the community on their own can get tourist to stay for a while in the community which will increase revenue coming into the community. This can be aided by the tourism spillover effects, from the two major sites. Besides, there is the private Java museum owned and run by a single family in Elmina.

#### **6.2.5. Establish local tour companies**

Community members should also be encouraged to establish tour companies. Due to limited tour companies in Elmina, there is lack of competition, innovative ideas and the nonexistence of self-empowerment. Assuming there were vibrant tour companies operating in the community, the people will find ideas to develop the other sites, establish entertainment facilities and keep revenue in the community. The tourist coming to Elmina are on organize tours operated by tour companies based in Accra. These tour companies do not have extra motive of developing the other site, they only bring their tourist to see the Castle and continue to other sites in the country.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

The practical implication of this study is that, the current approach used to manage tourism has not materialized to the expectation of local people in Ghanaian tourism communities. The study therefore proposes an alternative approach to tourism development; one which encourages local citizens participation in tourism in their own communities. Planners can use the model proposed by the study to assess the status of communities involved in tourism development and to determine initiatives that will enhance CBT. The case study of sensitive tourism in Elmina can also be used as reference for similar destinations.

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<sup>65</sup> As suggested by a respondent G2 in section 5.3.1.4.

The challenge to employing CBT for communities in Ghana and other African countries is the culture of over-centralized public administrative structure coupled with political unwillingness and an uncompromising constitution. To be successful in promoting community participation and empowerment, it is important that we improve on the insufficient amount of advocacy research and compare in terms of economic, social and environmental impacts with other tourism alternatives<sup>66</sup> to mainstream tourism. This study has done its quota by analysing the issues involved in utilizing CBT approach to manage one important sensitive destination in the world, the Elmina castle. While findings may be applied in relative context, we encourage that tourism policymakers, planners etc should do further research specific to sites they seek to improve.

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<sup>66</sup> Featuring public–private sector partnerships, community–private sector partnerships, cross-sectoral planning, shared decision-making processes etc. (Okazaki, 2008).

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## Appendix: Semi-structured interview guide

### Interview Guide for CBT

Please kindly be aware that this activity is for academic purpose only. All information collected will be strictly confidential and completely be used for academic purposes.

Name (optional)..... Residence.... Occupation.....

Age: ...

1. What do you know about CBT?
2. Do you think CBT can be applied to the castle destination? How? Why?
3. In what way or form are you related to the castle?
4. What does the existence of the castle mean to you?
5. What connections do the traditional chiefs or locals have with the castle?
6. Do the community play a part in the sensitivity issues related to the castle? What form? How?
7. Who owns the castle?
8. Do the people of Elmina have a say in the affairs or the operation of the castle as a tourism destination? Explain...
9. What form of relation do the people want to have with the castle?
10. What do the community or people want to use the castle building for?
11. What kind of benefits do the local people get from the commoditization of the castle?
12. What kind of benefits do the community get from the commoditization of the castle?
13. Do you feel the people have been alienated form the castle? Explain...
14. Have there been attempts by the community seeking to be part of the management or decision making of the destination? When? How did it go?
15. Do the community want to own / manage the castle as a tourist destination?
16. Which people will be selected to represent the community?
17. Do they want to be presented in the decision making of the destination?
18. If yes, how do they want to operationalize or run the castle or destination?
19. What challenges do the community encounter in their attempt to own or be part in the operationalization of the castle?
20. What benefits will the castle achieve if the community is part of its management?
21. How will the community benefit from being part of the management of the castle?
22. What challenges do you encounter from the community as curators in the operation of the destination? How do you deal with them? Do these challenges have future repercussions on sustainability?
23. What challenges will be incurred if the community is allowed to be part of the operationalization of the castle? Explain...
24. What do you think about the sensitivity issues? Have you spoken to a tourist on sensitivity before?