



The socio-cultural impact of ecotourism on park-adjacent communities in Ghana

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Abstract

Ecotourism can be an incentive for conservation and may also provide socio-cultural impact on the host communities. This study examined the negative and positive socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism activities in the park-adjacent communities around Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve in Ghana. Three communities were selected around each protected area. The study employed primary data collection, where questionnaires were used to interview 648 respondents around the three protected areas concerning the socio-cultural impact of ecotourism. The study revealed a loss of farmland and pasture lands, local residents paying equal inflated prices for goods and services just like tourists and increased pressure on existing infrastructure and amenities and these were the major socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism in the fringe communities. Increased awareness and respect for local culture, putting the communities in the global spotlight and increased support for conservation, were the top socio-cultural benefits of ecotourism in the park adjacent communities. The findings suggest that the numerous positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism outweigh the negative impacts, and as such, the local people are positive towards ecotourism and what it offers the community.

Keywords: Socio-cultural impact, ecotourism, park-adjacent communities

Introduction

Ecotourism has become an important activity in natural areas around the world because it provides opportunities for visitors to learn about the importance of conserving biodiversity and local culture, and at the same time, it generates income for local communities living around parks, and also provides income for protected area conservation (Drum and Moore, 2002). According to the International Ecotourism Society (2015), ecotourism is defined as environmentally responsible travel to natural areas that conserve the environment, sustain the well-being of local people, and it also involves interpretation and education. Stronza *et al.* (2008) suggested that ecotourism can be an incentive for conservation and societal building, especially when it triggers positive economic changes, yet it introduces many changes to communities which may positively or negatively impact the social and economic structure of the host communities.

Ecotourism is generally recognized to be a worthwhile and viable venture by central and local governments, traditional leadership structures, development agencies, non-governmental



organizations and local residents (Millar, 2007; World Tourism Organization, 2002; Ceballos, 1993). Notwithstanding, the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in the value systems, individual's behavior, traditional ceremonies and community organization can be either negative or positive (Mensah, 2011). Hall (1992) and Neth (2008) identified the positive socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism to include the strengthening of traditions and values, effective community services, increased voluntarism, improved regional identity and community participation. It also includes learning, awareness, appreciation, family bonding, and provides for a firmer sense of ethnic identity, increased understanding, tolerance and stronger cultural identity (Driver et al., 1991). Stein and Anderson (1999) identified socio-cultural benefits of ecotourism as including cohesion, an exchange of ideas, and increased knowledge about the culture of an area. While Acquah (2013) noted the top three benefits of nature-based tourism to include increased conservation awareness, provision of ecosystem services, and maintenance of cultural identity. Vishwanatha *et al.*, (2014) concluded that positive socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism were known to be strong in the improvement of the local economy through the receiving of financial benefits from ecotourism.

In theory however, ecotourism developments have a minimal impact on host cultures (Vishwanatha *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, literature has shown the numerous advantages of ecotourism on the socio-cultural aspect of the local communities but the negative impacts are becoming the major problem and make it almost unprofitable for the local communities (Kamuaro, 2007; Millar, 2006; West, 2006). This paper sought to find out the perceived socio-cultural impact of ecotourism on the host communities using Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve as a study area.

The IUCN (1996) and CITES (2015) definitions of ecotourism emphasize that ecotourism should provide for beneficially active socio-economic involvement and support the well-being of the local people. Ecotourism mostly takes place in remote or rural places where most of the rural communities depend on the forest resources for their livelihood (Amoah and Wiafe, 2012). Thus, ecotourism tends to have a socio-cultural impact on these rural eco-destinations (Vishwanatha *et al.*, 2014). But Acquah (2013) believes that not all socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism are beneficial to rural communities, since there is evidence of loss of farmland at adjacent communities around Mole National Park. In Ghana, tourism is the third contributor to the GDP with ecotourism forming the greatest segment with a total contribution of GHC7, 668.4mn, thus, 6.7% of the GDP (World Travel & Tourism Council-WTTC, 2015). Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve are Ghana's leading eco-destinations. Ecotourism activities exert socio-cultural impact on communities surrounding these eco-destinations.

Local communities are regarded as key players in ecotourism and must be carefully examined for better ecotourism initiatives (Marfo, 2014). Again, it is crucial for the tourism industry, governments and other stakeholders to understand how the value systems, individual behavior, traditional ceremonies and the organization of the host communities are impacted, since ecotourism activities have the potential to trigger hostile responses from the residents towards the tourists and the protected area management, if not properly managed (Fredline *et al.*, 2012). Generally, the study sought to assess the socio-cultural impact of ecotourism in communities around Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve, and specifically sought the negative and positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism as well as a need to determine the overall attitude of residents towards ecotourism.

METHODOLOGY

Study Area

The study was conducted in three major eco-destinations in Ghana namely; Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve (Figure 1).

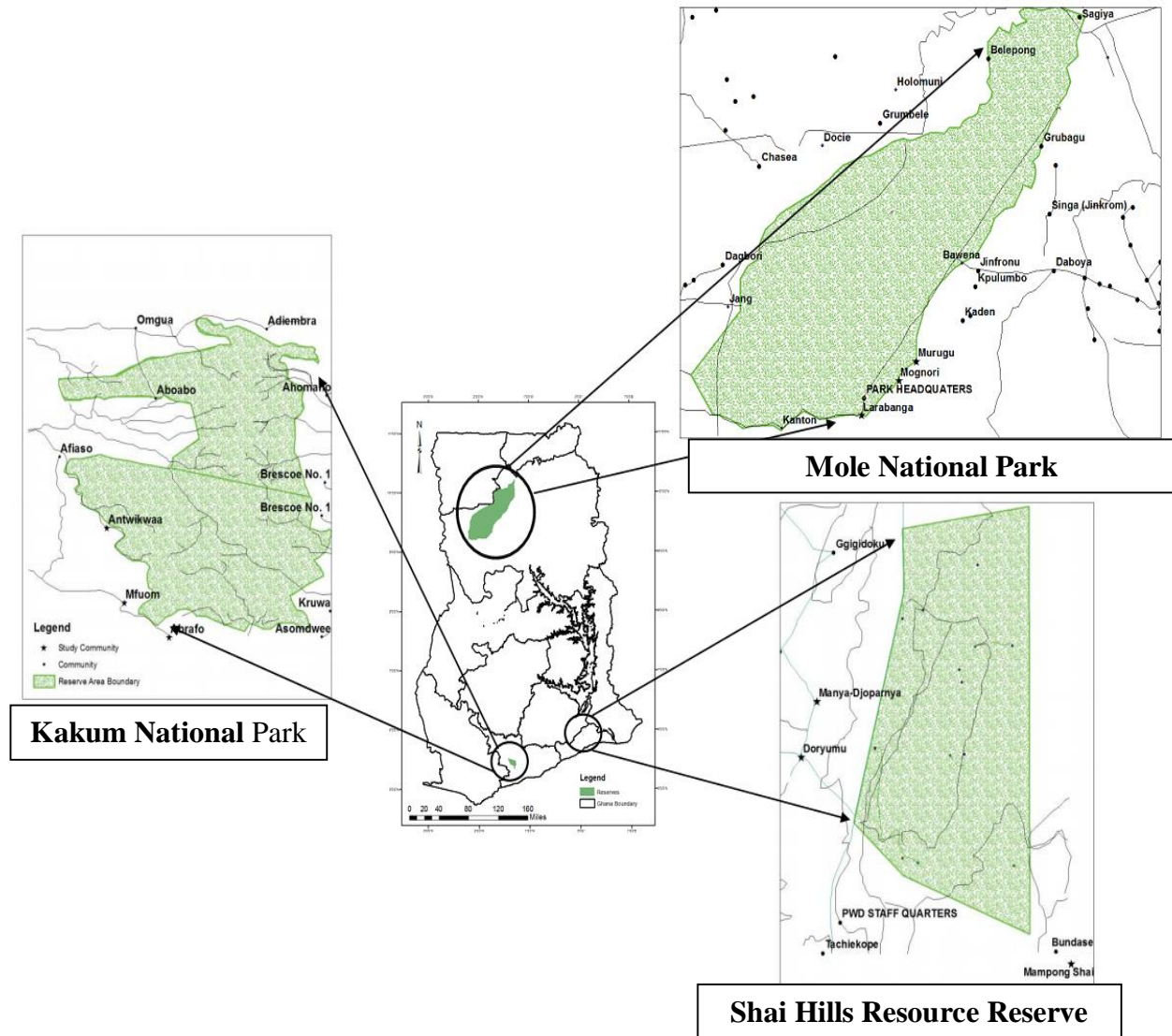


Figure 1. The map of Ghana showing Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve surrounded by the study communities

Mole National Park

Mole National Park is Ghana's largest protected area. Situated between Wa and Tamale, it covers about 4,577 km² and lies between 9° 11' and 10° 10' N latitude, and 1° 22' and 2° 13' W longitude (MNP, 2011). It was gazetted as a national park in 1971 for its outstanding wildlife and also to protect representative ecological habitats. Wildlife species include elephants, hartebeests, kobs,



waterbucks, bushbucks, warhogs, roan antelopes, duikers, oribis, baboons, patas monkeys, vervet monkeys, red-throated bee-eaters, Abyssinia ground horn-bills, saddle-billed storks, agama lizards, crocodiles, bush snakes and other species (Acquah, 2013). There are 33 communities that surrounds the park and has one main entrance which is the headquarters through Larabanga community. Communities selected for the study were Larabanga, Mognori and Murugu based on the level of ecotourism activities in the communities.

Kakum National Park

The Kakum National Park is located in Twifo Heman, Lower Denkyera and Assin South District in the Central Region of Ghana. Assin Atandanso Resource Reserve joining Kakum National Park together form about 360km² of contiguous semi-deciduous forest placed under the protection initially by the Forest Department until 1989 when their management was transferred to the Wildlife Division because of change in management status. The reserves lie between longitudes 1° 51" and 1° 30" W and latitudes 5° 20" and 5° 40" N. Kakum National Park and Assin Atandanso Resource Reserve each cover about 210km² and 150km² respectively. There are over 37,000 people reported to be residing in the 52 major communities around the park. The Kakum National Park traditionally falls under the Twifo, Assin, Denkyera and Fanti people of the Central Region. Apart from these major groups, most of the communities around the reserve are dominated by people from other parts of the country who have migrated there to take advantage of the fertile land and favourable climatic conditions for farming. Farming is the major occupation in the fringe communities due to microclimate suitability (Kakum Management Plan, 1996). Communities selected around Kakum National Park for the study were Abrafo-Odumase, Jukwa Mfuom and Antwikwaa based on proximity to the Park, and accessibility. These communities are also gateway communities to the park.

Shai Hills Resource Reserve

Shai Hills Resource Reserve is located in the Dangme West of the Greater Accra Region in Ghana. It is small fenced Resource Reserve which is about 52km² in size. It is situated on the Accra plains which form the western end of Dahomey Gap in the Shai Osu-Duku District in the Greater Accra region approximately 50km North-East of Accra. The reserve is geographically centered on 5°55' North and 0° 05 East. It lies between 5.85° and 5.97°North and between 0.04° and 0.09° East. The Reserve's western boundary lies adjacent to the main Tema-Akosombo road. The main access to the Reserve is by road to the gate in the South-West corner on the same Tema-Akosombo road (Shai Hills Resource Reserve Management Plan, 2010). There are about 397 plant species which have been identified in the reserve with two endemic. Animal species which are easily seen in the reserve are primarily birds, kobs, duiker, baboons, monkeys, and guinea fowl, and bats, cat species, royal python, African Python and monitor lizard. The communities living around the Reserve include: Doryumu, Agomeda, Kodeaba, and Manya-Jorpanya. Doryumu is the most populated and Manya-Jorpanya is the least populated. The approximate populations of the various communities are; 2200, 1700, 1300 and 500 respectively.

The dominant ethnic group is the Damgbes representing about 94% of the population and the rest are basically Ewes, Akuapems and Gas making up the six percent except Doryumu where a significant number (35%-45%) are settlers who are there to work in the nearby quarry (Shai Hills Resource Reserve Management Plan, 2010). Communities selected around Shai Hills Resource Reserve for the study were Mampong Shai, Doryumu and Manya-Jorpanya due their closeness to the Reserve.



Data collection approach

A total of 650 questionnaires were administered and over 95% of the people approached completed the questionnaire. A total of 200 respondents were randomly sampled from three communities in Mole National Park (Larabanga, Murugu and Mognori), 250 respondents in Kakum National Park (Abrafo, Mfuom and Antwikwaa) and 198 respondents in Shail Hills (Mampong-Shai, Doryumu and Menya-Japanya), based on Dillman (2007) simplified formula for sample size determination. Key informant interviews with the park staff and some community leaders were also conducted. Respondents were asked to score their perception on ecotourism in relation to the various socio-cultural concern and benefit variables in their fringe communities, using a Likert scale (i.e. 1 = not a concern, 2 = small concern and 3 = large concern). The list of socio-cultural concerns and benefits was generated from the literature. Percentages for net concerns and benefits were generated from the addition of small and large concerns and benefits for easy understanding. The mean scores of responses were subsequently rank ordered.

Data Analysis

The data from the nine fringed communities were analyzed using descriptive statistics in IBM SPSS version 20 (IBM Corporation, 2011). The Kruskal-Wallis H test was applied to test for significant difference among respondents' perception about ecotourism impact on community socio-cultural settings. An independent sample t-test was also used to determine significant differences between the natives and the migrants about ecotourism impact.

Results

Socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism activities in communities surrounding Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve

Overall perceptions about socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism varied significantly across the nine communities, adjacent the three National Parks (*Kruskal-Wallis H test*, $p < 0.001$). Generally, our findings showed that loss of farmlands and pasture lands, local residents paying the same inflated prices of goods and services like tourists and increased pressure on existing infrastructure and amenities, were ranked as the top three concerns of ecotourism activities in the communities around the eco-destinations Parks (Table 1). While the least concerns included: local people developing taste for foreign food, tourists intruding into the private lives of residents and disruption of the social fabric of the local community. With the exception of loss of farmlands (80%) and transformation of traditional cultural symbols as a commodity to sell to tourists (57%), where community members considered as a major concern, all other concern variables were ranked less than 50%. Concerns such as local residents paying the same inflated prices of goods and services like tourists (48.3%), increased pressure on existing infrastructure, amenities (48.1%) and social vices such as stealing (42.4%), were noted to be a source of concerned to the communities (Table 1).

Local people developing taste for foreign food were not regarded as a concern by the majority of respondents from the communities (88.1%). As few as 10% respondents showed that ecotourism activities resulted in tourists intruding into the private lives of local people. While the same number of respondents indicated that ecotourism has brought disruption of the social fabric of the local communities. Comparisons of socio-cultural concerns by natives and migrants showed that ecotourism has significantly resulted in local people increasingly begging for alms ($t = 2.5$, $df = 621$, $p < 0.01$) and increase in stealing ($t = 1.97$, $df = 441$, $p < 0.05$).



Table 1: Socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism activities in communities surrounding Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve ranked in descending order of importance by the mean values. *N* = 648

Socio-cultural Concerns	Not a concern	Small concern	Large concern	Mean±S.E
	Responds (%)			
Loss of farmland and pasture land	14.9	29.6	55.5	2.21±0.03
Local residents paying the same inflated prices of goods and services like tourists	51.7	19.6	28.6	1.77±0.04
Increased pressure on existing infrastructure and amenities	51.9	23.2	24.9	1.73±0.03
Transformation of traditional cultural symbols	57.0	20.3	22.8	1.66±0.03
Stealing	58.6	20.3	21.0	1.62±0.03
High incidence of crimes	59.1	21.6	19.3	1.60±0.03
Sexual promiscuity and prostitution	62.6	17.3	20.1	1.58±0.03
Loss of access to the park to perform rituals	52.7	37.9	9.4	1.57±0.03
Students absenteeism	61.9	19.0	19.0	1.57±0.03
Local people copying the dressing of visitors	57.4	28.8	13.9	1.57±0.03
Local people begging for alms	55.1	32.7	12.2	1.57±0.03
Decrease support for conservation	49.2	45.7	5.1	1.56±0.02
Cultural adulteration	60.9	23.7	15.4	1.54±0.03
Increased traffic and congestion on roads	54.4	41.1	4.5	1.50±0.02
Increased alcohol intake and smoking	66.1	18.5	15.4	1.49±0.03
Local people developing taste for foreign foods	65.4	22.7	11.9	1.46±0.03
Tourists intruding into the private lives of residents	69.8	20.3	9.9	1.40±0.03
Disruption of the social fabric of the local community	69.2	21.8	9.0	1.40±0.03

Likert scale: 1=Not a concern, 2=Small concern and 3=Large concern. Source: Researcher's field survey, 2015

Positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism in the fringe communities

We considered both small and large benefits as having a positive impact, and hence totalled the percentage responses from community members (Table 2). Overall, the responses from community members, about the perceived positive impact of ecotourism on their socio-cultural settings, were significantly different (Kruskal-Wallis test, $p < 0.001$). We observed that increased support for conservation (83.2%), increased awareness and respect for local culture (75.5%), placement of communities on the global spotlight (74.7%), better appreciation of nature (77.4%) and empowerment of local people (72%), were the four most positive socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism as perceived by the local communities (Table 2). Traditional festivals and ceremonies, which are regarded as a vital component of identity of Park adjacent communities, was perceived to have been sustained in the of ecotourism drive. This was reflected in the more than 50% responses from community members, across the three National Parks. The variable that respondents considered as the least beneficial impact of the ecotourism drive to the communities,



was the revitalization of the dying handicrafts trade (55.6%), although a sizeable number of respondents did not support this view.

Overall perception of respondents towards ecotourism

Nearly 60% of respondents had a positive view or outlook about ecotourism activities, whereas 23.8% were not certain about ecotourism activities in and around the parks (Figure 2). About 17% had a negative perception towards ecotourism activities. Opinion towards ecotourism activities, were more community-specific, since the historical role of ecotourism on community development varied across the nine communities.

Table 3 Positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism activities in communities surrounding Mole National Park, Kakum National Park and Shai Hills Resource Reserve ranked in descending order of importance by the mean values

Positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism	Not a benefit	Small benefit Responds (%)	Large benefit	Mean±S.E
Increased awareness and respect for local culture	24.5	36.5	39.0	2.15±0.03
Marketed and put the community on spot	25.3	42.4	32.3	2.07±0.03
Increased support for conservation	16.8	59.1	24.1	2.07±0.03
Sustained traditional festivals and ceremonies	33.0	28.7	38.3	2.05±0.03
Led to better appreciation of nature	22.6	51.2	26.2	2.04±0.03
Ecotourism has led into local empowerment	27.8	51.0	21.0	1.93±0.03
Sustained local music and dance	34.5	39.8	25.7	1.91±0.03
Attract people to live in the community	40.3	38.4	21.3	1.81±0.03
Raised awareness about political and social issues	37.6	57.5	5.0	1.67±0.02
Revitalized 'dying' handicraft	55.6	22.4	21.9	1.66±0.03

Likert scale: 1= Not a concern, 2 = Small concern and 3 = Large concern

N = 648

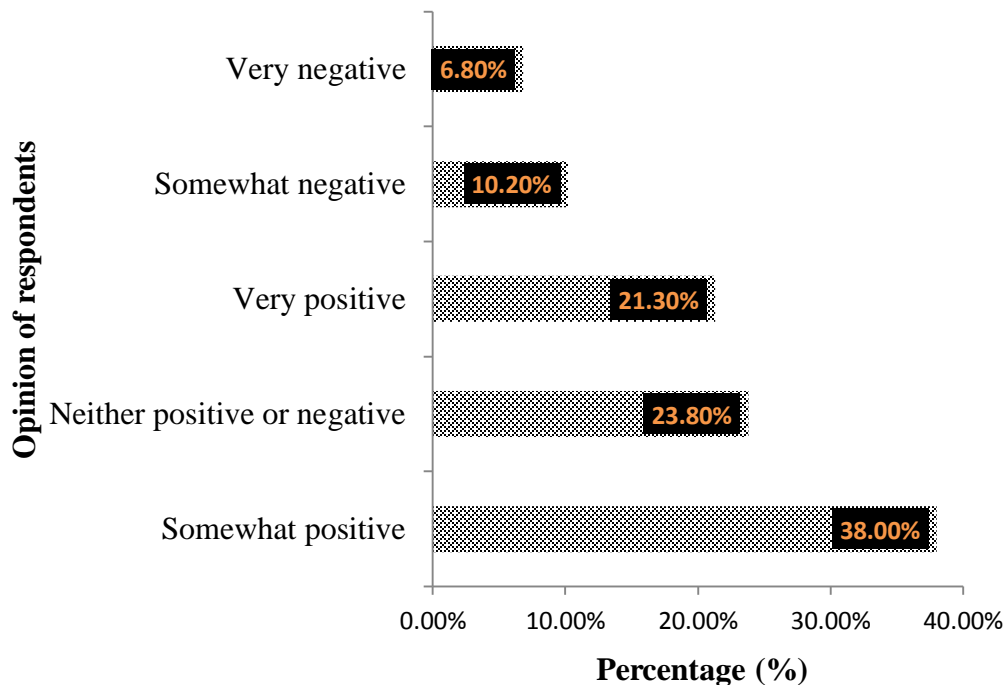


Figure 2: Respondents general perceptions towards ecotourism, across the nine fringe communities

Discussion

The loss of farmland featured prominently because the major occupation of residents around protected areas in Ghana is invariably farming. This is due to the micro-climate suitability that induces rainfall, compared to other areas farther away from the protected areas. As the population surges, demand for farmlands and pasture lands also increases. This suggests that the small portion of the natural forest set aside for its outstanding wildlife and also to protect ecological cycles, services and representative habitats is at risk of encroachment. Acquah (2013) reported the loss of farm lands as one of the top three concerns of nature-based tourism activities in the communities adjacent to Mole National Park. While Amoah and Wiafe (2012) revealed that the creation of Kakum National Park has caused loss of farmlands in the surrounding communities.

Indigenes paying same inflated prices of goods and services as tourists, could be due to the influx of tourists pushing prices up due to greater demand. Locals now have to contend with price increases as a results of the increase in demand. This is a major concern for local residents who generally have low purchasing power. Sebastian and Rajagopalan (2009) and also Korca (1996), found a similar increase in the price of essential food products such as fish, inflated price of land and housing, and other goods and services due to ecotourism activities. A concern about analogous inflation was expressed in the small rural community of Folgaria, where most residents perceived tourism to be the cause of price increases (Brida *et al.*, (2011).

Increased pressure on existing infrastructure and amenities such as roads, pipe borne water and sanitary facilities in adjacent Park communities, was attributed to the increasing number of tourists visiting the National Parks. Increase in vehicular movement tended to put exert pressure on the road network, which passes through these communities. This results in their fast deterioration, leading to avoidable accidents. Buckley (2005) observed that ecotourism has resulted into amenity migration leading to the increased consumption of freshwater. Also, the production of



sewage, with associated water pollution, increased road traffic with noise disturbance and roadkill, have all been linked to the surge in ecotourism activities (Buckley, 2005). The perception that tourists' presence has not in any way disrupt the communities' social fabric, could be attributed to the short stay of tourists in the eco-destinations. Most of the tourists are day visitors. This reduces interactions between the tourists and the locals. In the case of Kakum National Park, tourists do not stay in the communities except the park staff who stay in Abrafo. Very few tourists, heading back home, alight to buy fruits, plants and drinking water from the local community.

The absence of large business concerns in the fringe communities could be attributed to the increased efforts of park staff, government policies, and conservationists' education on the importance of effective ecotourism practices and conservation as a whole. Social vices like stealing and begging for alms from tourists (which is regarded as a nuisance trend), could be due to the varied period of stay between natives and migrants in the fringe communities (Jeffrey, 2012). For instance, natives who have lived in the fringe communities at Kakum National Park for many years, have testified that begging for alms and stealing were uncommon, when ecotourism activities were not as vigorous as today. However, in recent times, these social vices have been on the rise, because of the overwhelming daily tourists visits (close to 1000 visits/day) especially on public holidays.

Increased awareness and respect for local culture, was largely linked to the adherence of principles of ecotourism in most protected areas in Ghana. In their definition of ecotourism, the IUCN (1996) and TIES (2015) emphasized the need for ecotourism to improve the wellbeing of local people and which include their culture, both past and present. Conforming to this principle, communities surrounding protected areas in Ghana, are allowed to perform traditional rights and pour libation to their gods, located in the National Parks of game reserves. For example, in Shai Hills Resource Reserve, local residents from Park adjacent communities, are allowed to enter the reserve to visit their god and conduct meetings prior to the commencement of their festival. During these period, tourists who participate in the festival of the people, are strictly directed by staff of the reserve, to adhere to the norms of the community. Tourists tended to learn and at the same time, appreciate cultural values of the indigenes. Harnessing community presence on the global spotlight, through ecotourism, can be attributed to the detail geo-referencing of these communities adjacent to protected areas on the national tourism maps which goes beyond the boundaries of the national spectrum to the international community. This in a way, attracts foreign investors to the local communities to start projects such as eco-lodges, hotels, restaurants. These investment drive, create employment opportunities for the local people.

Increased support for conservation to the communities suggests the importance of conservation through conservation education, which is a package in ecotourism. In Ghana, National Parks have the Collaborative Resource Management Unit, which goes on outreach programmes in the local communities to educate them about the importance of conservation. They are educated about ecotourism initiatives in the area and the implications that arise when portions of the protected areas are encroached upon. Additionally, residents have come to realize that conserving elephants and other wildlife will attract tourists to the local communities, through wildlife viewing. This will ultimately translate into income generation for both the Park and the communities, since elephant viewing is a major tourist attraction in Ghana.

Revitalization the 'dying' handicraft (e.g. wood carvings and other pottery artifacts) was of the least benefit to communities because of low patronage and also as a result of less government financial support for the handicraft industry. People who purchase wood carvings and other pottery artifacts, are generally a few foreigners. Indigenes rarely buy the handicrafts, and this explains why there is less interest among many locals to join the craft industry.



Conclusion

This study examined the socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism in park adjacent communities in Ghana. From the study, the top three socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism were loss of farmland and pasture lands, local residents having to contend with paying the same inflated prices of goods and services as tourists, and increased pressure on the existing infrastructure and amenities. None of the concern variables was considered by the majority of the local communities to be a great concern. Increased awareness and respect for local culture, placing communities in the global spotlight and increased support for conservation, were the top socio-cultural benefits of ecotourism in the park adjacent communities in Ghana.

The overall perception of respondents towards ecotourism showed that local communities held a positive view or opinion towards ecotourism. These findings will hopefully assist policy makers and park managers to sustainably develop ecotourism, for the benefit of the fringe communities and the national economy at large.

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Appendix

Table 2 An Independent-Samples T Test Comparison of socio-cultural concerns of ecotourism by natives and migrants

Concerns	Natives	Migrants	t	df	Sig. (2 tailed)
	Mean ±S.E	Mean±S.E			
Resulted in local people begging for alms	1.62±0.04	1.47±0.04	2.5	621	0.01
Resulted stealing	1.67±0.04	1.54±0.05	1.97	441	0.05
Resulted in high incidence of crime	1.65±0.04	1.52±0.05	1.91	451	0.06
Loss of access to the park to perform rituals	1.60±0.03	1.51±0.04	1.57	441	0.12
Resulted in students absenteeism	1.60±0.04	1.52±0.05	1.27	426	0.21
Increased pressure and on existing infrastructure and amenities	1.76±0.04	1.68±0.06	1.17	443	0.24
Resulted in increased alcohol intake	1.52±0.04	1.45±0.05	1.09	435	0.28
Taste for foreign food	1.40±0.03	1.35±0.04	1.01	475	0.31
Tourists intruding into private life of community members	1.38±0.03	1.43±0.05	-0.84	404	0.4
Loss of farmland and pasture land	2.43±0.05	2.37±0.06	0.82	322	0.41
Resulted in sexual promiscuity and prostitution	1.61±0.04	1.56±0.05	0.78	454	0.44
Transformation of traditional cultural symbols	1.68±0.04	1.62±0.06	0.74	417	0.46
Local residents paying the same inflated prices of goods and services like tourists	1.75±0.05	1.80±0.06	-0.54	440	0.59
Disruption of social fabric of the community	1.41±0.03	1.38±0.05	0.36	400	0.72
Local people copying the dressing of visitors	1.57±0.04	1.56±0.05	0.25	422	0.81
Increased traffic and congestion on road	1.50±0.03	1.50±0.04	0.16	406	0.87
Decreased support for conservation	1.56±0.03	1.56±0.04	-0.12	463	0.91
Resulted in cultural adulteration	1.66±0.04	1.65±0.05	0.11	431	0.92
Likert scale: 1=Not a concern, 2=Small concern and 3=Large concern			N=648		

Table 4 An Independent-Samples T Test Comparison of positive socio-cultural impact of ecotourism by natives and migrants



Positive socio-cultural impacts	NATIVES	MIGRANTS	t	df	Sig. (2tailed)
	Mean±S.E	Mean±S.E			
Revitalized dying craft	1.72±0.04	1.56±0.05	2.28	609	0.02
Increased awareness and respect for culture	2.11±0.04	2.21±0.05	-1.6	456	0.11
Increased support for conservation	2.10±0.03	2.03±0.04	1.3	473	0.19
Led to better appreciation of nature	2.01±0.03	2.08±0.05	-1.22	444	0.22
Sustained local music and dance	1.94±0.04	1.86±0.05	1.19	452	0.23
Marketed and put the community on spotlight	2.09±0.04	2.02±0.05	1.11	442	0.27
Attracted people to live in the community	1.79±0.04	1.86±0.05	-1.09	404	0.27
Local empowerment	1.93±0.03	1.95±0.05	-0.4	395	0.69
Sustained traditional festivals and ceremonies	2.05±0.04	2.06±0.06	-0.12	424	0.88
Raised awareness about political and social issues	1.67±0.03	1.67±0.04	-0.01	439	0.99
Likert scale: 1=Not a concern, 2=Small concern and 3=Large concern			N=648		