Your Leisure, My Space: Using Residents’ Perceptions as Indicators in Sustainable Coastal Tourism Development in Ghana

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Abstract
For many developing countries tourism is an important vehicle for economic and social development. However the challenges of developing tourism sustainably remain ever daunting. Tourism in Ghana has experienced rapid expansion during the recent decades. The coastal zone because of its unique environment has been the target of many developments, putting the area under further pressure. Unfortunately the perceptions of those impacted most by these developments are ignored. This paper analyzes three elements that should be considered if tourism is to be sustainably developed, namely, the extent of tourism impacts, local residents’ perceptions and their levels of participation. The results show that in the areas where the benefits of tourism were well recognized by respondents there was a higher level of satisfaction which translated into higher levels of participation. Highlighting the need for sustainable development of coastal tourism, the paper recommends the completion of Ghana’s Integrated Coastal Zone Management plan among others.

Keywords: Ghana, host perceptions, impacts, participation, sustainable coastal tourism

1. Introduction
Sustainable tourism is tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities (UNWTO, 2004). The sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development. After the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, the World Travel and Tourism Council, the World Tourism Organization and the Earth Council came together to produce the document “Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development”. It sought to translate the sustainable development principles adopted at the World Summit into a framework for sustainable development of the Travel and Tourism Industry by identifying twelve (12) guiding principles for tourism development (Pryce, 2001). According to UNWTO (2004) in order to guarantee its long-term sustainability tourism should:

1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social
services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.

Globally, tourism remains one of the largest and fastest growing industries. For example over the period 1995-2005, international tourist arrivals grew at an average annual rate of 4.1%, exceeding the 800 million mark in 2005. According to the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC, 2008), travel and tourism generated close to US$8 trillion in 2008, an amount which is expected to rise to approximately US$ 15 trillion in the next ten years. This remarkable performance has been attributed to a number of reasons such as improvements in transportation and the introduction of low-cost airline services, the emergence of new source markets such as China and India and the rising interest in relatively new tourism areas such as ecotourism and adventure tourism. The industry has proven quite resilient in the face of the global financial and economic downturn which affected tourism from 2007 through to 2010 and other global phenomena such as natural disasters, climate change and terrorism (Hall, 2010).

Apart from its economic benefits however, tourism development can have environmental and socio-cultural benefits as well. Africa is no exception. (Table 1) It can be used for example to rationalize the conservation of certain natural and cultural resources for which funds might otherwise not be available. It has a comparative advantage in that its start up and running costs can be low compared to many other forms of industry development. It is also often one of the few realistic options for development in many areas (WTTC and IHRA, 1999).

See Table 1: Selected destinations in Africa and their attractions

In Ghana, since the late 1980s, tourism has received significant consideration in its economic development strategy, and the coastal zone has played a crucial role in attracting both local and international tourists (Kuma, 2004). Considering that most developments have been unsound this paper highlights the need to encourage sustainable tourism development. Using two coastal communities in Ghana (Ada and Elmina), it analyses three elements that should be considered if coastal tourism is to be sustainably developed, namely, the kind of tourism impacts, local residents’ perceptions and their levels of participation. The specific questions answered are:

- What is the degree of residents’ participation in tourism development?
- In what kind of environment is tourism developed?
- What are the impacts of coastal tourism?
- How do local residents perceive tourism?

2. The coastal environment and tourism

Although there is no reliable data on coastal tourism alone, it is generally considered to be one of the fastest growing forms of tourism in recent decades. Available data on 12 of the 15 world’s top destination countries in 2000 were countries with coastlines (UNEP, 2009). Linking environmental quality and tourism development has been a target of much of the literature on tourism (Holden, 2000). The biophysical environment, be it predominantly natural or largely man-made, is one of the most basic resources for tourism. Its quality or some particular feature of it is frequently the primary attraction for tourists (Ceballos-Lascurain, 2001). The coastal zone with its rich and unique ecosystems is no exception. According to French (1997), the coastal zone is important for a number of reasons including for its great appeal to a large transitory population who use the coast for leisure and recreational needs. Among the features that characterize tourism along the coast from other areas is the significance of the natural resources -sun, sea and sand (Colt and Lee 2000; Miller and Auyong,
Coastal tourism embraces the full range of tourism, leisure, and recreationally oriented activities that take place in the coastal zone and offshore coastal waters. The relationship between the coastal environment and tourism is a symbiotic one (UNEP, 2009). Coastal tourism thrives in a clean, un-degraded environment (Miller and Auyong, 1991). In the absence of an attractive environment, there is little or no tourism. The main conceptual issue of coastal tourism which needs to be solved is the conflict between the benefits tourism provides for the economy as a whole and for the social environment it is operating in (UNEP, 2009).

### 2.1 Coastal tourism – impacts and perceptions

The impacts of tourism on coastal areas can be both positive and negative. Coastal communities benefit from tourism through the creation of employment opportunities, the development of infrastructure, and the enhancements of aesthetic standards among others (Coccossis and Mexa, 2004). Negative impacts of coastal tourism arise from the construction of infrastructure and from recreation. Sensitive marine and coastal environments can suffer dramatically (WTTC and IHRA 1999). Coastal tourism can also result in coastal erosion exacerbation, pollution, ecological disruption, loss of coastal and marine resources, economic and employment distortions, overcrowding and loss of amenities for residents, social problems, resource use conflicts (Hall 2001; Tweneboah, 2003).

Researchers have often divided tourism impacts into four dimensions: cultural, social, environmental and economic impacts (Ap, 1992; Besculides et al., 2002; Butler, 1980). According to Allen et al., (1988) the impacts of tourism on a community are not widely understood, even where tourism is growing at a fast pace. This is especially more so in the coastal zone since it often involves the disturbance of sensitive ecosystems. The range of tourism impacts is broad and often influences areas beyond those usually associated with tourism. An increase in the intensity of the adverse impacts of tourism causes a deterioration of conditions in the destination areas which de-motivate tourists and visitors, creates discontentment among the hosts and eventually tourism in these areas is destroyed.

Residents' attitudes towards tourism have been studied by three general approaches derived from psychology and sociology (Harril, 2004). Several theories such as Doxey’s (1976) Irridex model, Butler’s (1980) tourist area life cycle, the attribution theory (Pearce, 1989), dependency theory (Preister, 1989), the social exchange theory (SET) (Ap, 1992) and the social representation theory (Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003) have been used in an attempt to give a theoretical base to the study of host perceptions toward tourism. However the social change exchange theory has been one of the most used to explain the level of host involvement and host perceptions. The theory implies that there is an increasing likelihood of residents' involvement in tourism development if they perceive that the potential benefits are greater than the costs. Hence if the host community perceives that the benefits are greater than the costs, it is more likely to become directly involved in the exchange, and thus endorse future development in their region (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004). The relationships among the different components that form the total impact of tourism (economic, environmental, social and cultural) are the basis of the social-development theory of tourism, which is rooted in social-exchange theory (Oviedo-Garcia et al., 2008; Yoon et al., 2001). According to social development theory, attitudes towards tourism are thus influenced by residents' perceptions of economic, social and environmental effects (Ap 1992; Gursoy et al., 2002).
Teye et al., (2002) examine the attitudes of local residents in two communities in a developing country Ghana, against the background of the social exchange theory. His findings indicate a number of conditions which are essential to the understanding on residents’ attitudes. The community non-economic improvements perceived by residents are directly related to support for tourism development. Such results indicate that the noneconomic tourism benefits are a critical factor involved with social exchange and associated with residents’ positive attitude toward tourism. Some degree of resentment among significant sections of the residents was also identified (Wang and Pfister, 2008).

Other factors that have been shown to influence residents’ perceptions and attitudes include the type and extent of host-guest interaction, importance of the industry to the community, extent of individuals’ reliance on the industry and the overall level of tourism development in the community, distance from tourism centers and familiarity with tourism (Butler 1980; Murphy 1985, cited in Teye et al., 2002; Wall 1996).

2.2 Residents participation the tourism

Ashley and Roe (1998) describe community participation as a spectrum from passive to active involvement to full local participation where there is active community participation and venture ownership. Positive attitudes towards tourism can be developed among local residents when they feel that they are involved in the various stages of tourism development (Yen and Luong, 2008). When local residents are not involved in tourism development and implementation they tend to develop feelings of mistrust which often leads to conflict. Hence lack of community participation in the decision to implement a tourism development can lead to failure in the community development and unsustainable tourism (Miranda, 2007; Leksakundilok, 2006).

3. Tourism in Ghana

Since the late 1980s tourism has received considerable attention in the economic development strategy of Ghana. The number of tourist arrivals and amount of tourists’ expenditure has steadily increased, while both public and private investment activities in various tourism sub-sectors have expanded. According to Teye (2000) the rationale for tourism development is primarily economic and at two levels: macro or national or micro or local. At the macro level, tourism is expected to promote economic growth by generating foreign exchange as well as increase various forms of government revenue. At the micro level, tourism is expected to facilitate job creation, income and revenue distribution, and a balanced regional development.

In recognition of Ghana’s immense potential for tourism, a number of interventions have been laid out by the Government of Ghana to revamp the sector in order to develop and promote the country’s ecological, cultural and historical heritage. For example tourism features prominently the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) Medium Term Development Plan 2010 – 2013 (GOG, 2010). The policy aims at:

- Diversifying and expanding the tourism industry for revenue generation.
- Promoting domestic tourism to foster national cohesion as well as redistribution of income.
- Promote sustainable and responsible tourism in such a way to preserve historical, cultural and natural heritage.

The interventions at the policy level are aimed at attracting both international and domestic leisure and business tourists including those attending international
conferences, conventions and seminars. These efforts led to an increased international arrivals to about 550,000 in 2003 with a corresponding increase in foreign exchange receipt estimated at US600 million thus becoming the number four largest foreign exchange earner for the country after cocoa, gold and remittances from abroad (Kuma, 2004). International tourist arrivals have continued to increase from the recorded figures of 286,600 in 1995 to 583,821 in 2004, registering 104.1% increase, at an average annual growth rate of 8.0 percent during the period. International tourist receipt increased from 233.2 million US dollars in 1995 to 694.4 million US dollars in 2004, registering 197.8% increase, at an average annual growth rate 113%. During the first half of the decade, tourist receipts grew at an average annual rate of 6.0% i.e. from 1995 to 1999 while from 2000 to 2004, it grew at an average annual rate of 16.5% (GSS, 2006).

The highest number of international tourist arrivals to Ghana per region was from Africa, followed by Europe and the Americas (GSS, 2006). The principal market segments include business travellers attending meetings and conferences, visiting friends and relatives (VFR), individuals on official mission and vacations (Christie and Crompton, 2001). According to Asiedu (1996), the existing coastal resources offer opportunities for the development and promotion of five main types of tourism. These tourism types offer the following touring motivation:

i. Cultural and heritage tourism
ii. Ecotourism
iii. Beach tourism
iv. Conference or business tourism
v. Urban tourism

It is therefore not surprising that the coastal areas of Ghana, especially the coastline of the Central Region and some parts of the Greater Accra Region, have in recent years attracted a lot of tourism development attention. However, the environmentally sensitive nature of the coastal zone means that tourism needs to be sustainably developed (Tweneboah and Asiedu, 2008). Though several legislations exist on coastal protection and sustainable development there is no specific policy on the coastal zone. The Ghana Integrated Coastal Zone Plan (1998) remains in the draft stage. Yet Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) as an adaptive, multi-sectoral governance approach, which strives to a balanced development, use and protection of coastal environments presents an opportunity for the sustainable development of coastal tourism. It creates a constructive dialogue between all stakeholders, preventing conflicts and feelings of resentment especially between developers and local communities (UNEP, 2009).

4. Study methodology

Study locations

The study was conducted in Ada in the Greater Accra Region and Elmina in the Central Region of Ghana. They were strategically chosen based on their location along the coast and their existing or future potential as tourist destinations as is discussed below.

Ada
The Ada traditional area forms part of the Dangme East District and is located in the eastern portion of the Greater Accra region, about 112 kilometres east of Accra. The main economic activities are fishing, farming and salt winning. Major towns here include Ada-Foah, Big Ada and Kasseh. The major tourist attractions include the following:

*The Songor Ramsar site:* The Ramsar site is an internationally recognized marine wetland, running west through Ada Foah to the Volta River estuary. It is Ghana’s second most important site for marine and other water-associated birds. Between the months of March and August migratory birds (estimated
to be around 100,000) including arctic terns and other types of sea gulls migrate from countries such as Germany, Holland and Northern Europe in large numbers to the area. The rich bird life of the Songor wetlands has been identified as a potential tourist attraction (Ntiamoah Baidoo and Gordon, 1991). Ada-Foah is also an important nesting site for marine turtles during the months of November to March. Manatees have also been sighted at Ada and its islands.

**Volta Estuary:** There are about twelve islands found in the Volta Estuary at Ada. These islands, which include Azizakope and Alokpem, are remarkable locations for bird watching or relaxing. Life here is quite untouched and many bird roosting and nesting sites can be found. The Volta Estuary is also a well known destination for water sports such as sailing, canoeing, fishing, water skiing, wake boarding and jet skiing.

**Physical infrastructure:** There are a number of hotels, beach resorts and beach camps in Ada-Foah. There are chalets and private yacht clubs owned by expatriates, companies and a few wealthy individuals along the Volta Estuary. Another attraction is the Fort Kongengenstein. This fort was built by the Portuguese in the 16th Century as a trading post. Although its potential as a tourist attraction has not been fully developed, it still attracts some tourists.

**Cultural events:** The Asafutufiam festival which is well attended by both domestic and international tourists. It is held in remembrance of the military achievements of Ada during the 18th and 19th centuries.

**Elmina**

Elmina is the district capital of the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) district found in the Central region of Ghana. The physical environment has played a crucial role in its growth and history. Elmina is drained by two streams - the Kakum and the Benya, which enter the Atlantic Ocean. Employment opportunities include boat making, fishing, salt winning and tourism. Specific details on these attractions are as follows:

*The Beaches:* Most of the beaches in Elmina are rocky and do not make swimming and beach tourism attractive to tourists. However they still attract some tourists who go there to relax and enjoy the sea breeze.

*Physical infrastructure:* Elmina’s strongest point as a tourism destination is its history and architecture. Elmina’s cultural heritage dates back to the 15th Century when the Portuguese first landed on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. They built the Castle of St. George d’Elmina and strongly influenced the growth of the town of Elmina. Built in 1482, St. George d’Elmina is one the most visited in West Africa. The Elmina Castle and the Fort Coenraadsburg on St. Jago Hill are both designated as World Heritage Monuments by the World Heritage Foundation under UNESCO. In addition, the Dutch Cemetery in Elmina had its main vault constructed in 1806 for Dutch settlers and their descendants. Over the years it became a place where European government administrators, traditional rulers of Elmina and Church Missionaries were buried. About 87 graves are identifiable in that cemetery now. Today, the Dutch Cemetery is a National Monument under the jurisdiction of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (Ghana Districts, 2006).

*Festivals:* The main festival in the Elmina Traditional area is the Bakatue. Bakatue means the opening of the Benya lagoon into the sea and symbolises the beginning of the fishing season for the people of Elmina. Other festivals include the Edina Buronya.

### 4.1 Research design, sample, and data collection

Primary data was collected by means of a number of participatory methods which included visualizations, poverty profiles,
mappings, focus group discussions, personal interviews and participant observations.

Sampling
Respondents for the study were selected purposively using quota sampling technique in an attempt to include all the different groups in the community. Key informants included Assemblymen, Chief fishermen, fish mongers, youth leaders, representatives of the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) and the Ministry of Tourism. The officer of the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Department of Ghana was interviewed to help identify the potential of nature based and ecotourism in Ada. Information from the interviews was supplemented with non participant field observations and informal conservations with respondents.

Focus group discussions (FGDs)
The lead author together with one research assistant conducted one FGD in each community. A group of five women and five men participated in Ada whilst four women and six men participated in Elmina. The results of the discussions were important in developing the interview schedules.

Personal interviews
Personal interviews were opted for because majority of the respondents had little formal education. In addition a lack of efficient postal services and Internet access ruled out postal and Internet surveys. The interview schedule was designed in a way that it could double as a questionnaire for those who could read and write. It contained both open ended and closed questions and was divided into five main parts. The first part, Section A was used to obtain background and demographic information on the respondents as well respondents’ level of participation in the industry. Section B assessed environmental, health and socio economic issues within the study areas whilst Section C examined respondents’ attitude towards sanitation, which continues to be a major issue in the coastal zone of Ghana. Sections D and E contained questions that examined the impacts of tourism in the study areas and the perception of locals towards tourism development respectively.

A pre-test was necessary to ensure that the questions and terms used were easily understood by all respondents. It was also important to ensure that the contents of the questionnaire could easily be communicated to the respondents in the local languages. Respondents for the pilot included six women and eight men from different backgrounds who spoke Ga-Adangbe and Akan very well.

After the pilot study a few questions had to be taken out or refined. The actual data-collection process was undertaken by the lead author together with an assistant and an interpreter when necessary and lasted three months. It involved oral interviews in Fante, Ga and Ewe of 160 respondents, 80 from each community.

Participant observation
The method used was passive participation, which means that the researcher was present at the area of activity but was more of a bystander or spectator. From the beginning of the study, throughout the study period many visits were made to both Ada and Elmina. This enabled the researcher to identify who the key players of the community were and how to gain access into the communities. In order to understand the context in which to interpret people’s comments, the researcher attended some local events, visited local markets and public places and also met with some local government employees. Good records on all observation were kept. Three types of field notes have been taken (Bryman, 2008):

- Mental notes: when it was impossible to take written notes
- Jotted or scratch notes: brief notes taken on pieces of paper or a notebook for, at the end of the day,
remembering and writing the whole context

- Full field notes: detailed field notes, derived from the two types of notes above.

Analysis

The data collected was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The combined use of qualitative and quantitative data was to identify relationships that may not be evident from the qualitative data, and vice versa. Simple frequencies and cross-tabulations of dependent and independent variables were analyzed quantitatively using SPSS 16.0 program. Descriptive statistics was used to investigate residents’ perceptions of in the communities. Open-ended questions from the interviews, results of the focus group discussions and the unstructured interviews were analyzed qualitatively to shed light on the respondents’ subjective world. Direct quotes from respondents where are italicized. Each interview was transcribed within 48 hours of it being conducted to avoid distortions and inaccuracies. All aspects of the data collected and the different steps of analysis to interpretation of data and the conclusions arrived at were duly documented.

5. Results and discussion

5.1 Socio economic profile of respondents and participation

Table 2 presents the general profile of the respondents in both communities. More females were interviewed in Elmina because most of the potential female respondents in Ada had no desire to be interviewed and rather called their husbands. Respondents with basic (Primary and Junior High School) or no education accounted for 88% of respondents in Ada and 58% of respondents in Elmina respectively.

See Table 2: Profile of respondents

In Ada only 5% of respondents were directly employed in the tourism industry. Like in Elmina they were employed as tour guides and hotel staff. However more than half of respondents in both areas indirectly depended on the industry. These were mainly traders and those employed in the fishing industry. In both communities respondents complained that they were never involved in planning and management of tourism sites. There were no community meetings or for to discuss impending developments. Low or poor local participation could lead to negative attitudes on the part of the local residents to the project and ultimately on overall tourism

5.2 Resident’s assessment of environmental issues

The aim of assessing the environmental issues in the study areas was to examine the physical environment in which tourism was taking place. It is also to help readers understand why many local residents look forward to the development of tourism in their communities- as a panacea to all their problems. As is evident from Table 3, 32.5% of the total number of respondents in Ada cited erosion as the principal environmental problem facing the physical environment. Erosion is one of the most serious issues affecting especially the eastern part of the coastal zone of Ghana.

See Table 3: Cited environmental problems in Ada-Foah and Elmina

Erosion in Ada-Foah has been a long-standing problem, having been occurring for many decades. The causes of erosion include the nature of the shoreline and sand extraction, which though prohibited is quite prevalent. On the other hand 42% of respondents from Elmina as compared to 30% from Ada cited sanitation as the most extensive environmental problem in their community. In truth waste disposal is a very serious problem both communities.
5.3 Tourism impacts

a. Environmental impacts

Tourism has played a significant role in improving sanitation especially in areas where there is active tourism. In Ada and Elmina, there have been various departments set up to oversee the development of tourism in the communities. Tourism has contributed to the conservation of some historic sites found in the study areas. These include the Elmina Castle and the Fort Coenraadsburg. In Ada, feasibility studies are underway to determine the potential of developing the Fort Kongenstein as a tourist site. Tourism has also had some positive impacts on turtle conservation in Ada-Foah. There are laws enforced by the Wildlife Division of Ghana, which make the hunting and killing of marine turtles illegal. However, tourism has also contributed in raising the consciousness of the local inhabitants with regards to their monetary worth. This serves as an additional incentive for their preservation. Finally, the well designed the hotels, resorts and the renovated forts and castles enhance the aesthetic beauty of the coastline.

One of the adverse impacts of coastal tourism identified was on the sand dune system. The different grains of sand that form the sand dunes are a fragile yet vital habitat for countless of micro- and macro organisms. These organisms include the ghost crabs and many other arthropods. Many tourist developments were sited close to the beachfront. From interviews with some workers in the beach resorts in the study area, two main phases were identified- the constructional and operational phases. Both phases had a number of direct and indirect impacts on the sand dune ecosystem. For example during the constructional phase activities included de-vegetation of the land, excavation and deposition of sand dunes elsewhere. To begin with, the removal of vegetation had adverse impacts on the distribution patterns of vegetation along the coast. It also destroyed the biodiversity present in the sand dunes. In addition, much of the system was buried under the buildings and car parks, creating conditions in which organisms present cannot survive. A comparison of the soil from the beach resort with that from the other areas in the community showed that whilst the sea sand from the beach resort was devoid of organisms that from the communities was rich in both micro- and macro- organisms. Also, during the constructional phase, sand from the seashore was mined for building. For the duration of the operational phase, cleaning activities such as weeding and sweeping not only affects the species diversity but also indirectly could increase the rate of erosion especially in areas prone to erosion such as Ada-Foah.

The problem with litter as a result of tourism did not seem critical in both areas. The disposal of waste (liquid and solid) generated by the hotels however came up many times. The wastewater generated from the hotel and restaurants was often not adequately treated, causing additional pollution of the near shore area and perhaps contamination of potable water sources as well. In addition, with sailing and water sports gaining popularity in the Ghanaian society, Ada-Foah has become a popular destination. For sustainable tourism development, developers need to adopt a socially and environmentally accountable approach. They can do this by using efficient motors, avoiding oil spillage and washing boats outside the water body.

Finally, the noise and dust created by the tourism industry were sources of environmental pollution. Sources of noise pollution included power generators, live bands and loud music. In Ada-Foah, noise as a result of tourism development did not seem a serious environmental problem to the residents. However in Elmina there were a number of residents particularly those around the some of the beach resorts complained of noise pollution during holidays.
b. Economic impacts
The economic benefits of tourism in Ada and Elmina were both direct and indirect. Directly tourism provided jobs for some local respondents although this number was not significant, and most of the jobs were mainly low paying ones. However in both communities more than half of the respondents (57.5% in Ada and 63.7% in Elmina) indirectly depended on tourism. For example, some local fishermen sold the “better-quality” fish, shrimps and lobsters to the hotel management and tourists at relatively higher prices. In addition, there were a number of retail outlets around in areas of active tourism. In Elmina, many traders commented on an increase in sale of locally made arts and craft to both international and domestic tourists. This helped strengthen the local economy and indirectly served as a catalyst for the expansion of other economic sectors. However whilst traders made brisk business, many respondents were adversely affected by inflated prices of certain goods and services thus placing further economic hardships on the local residents of the host community. Most of the high paying jobs are reserved for qualified expatriates and additional people brought in from outside the local communities. Respondents also commented on the seasonal nature of employment generated by tourism. Especially in Ada the local residents complained that with the advent of tourism the cost of water sports has escalated beyond the financial means of the local people. In Ada another concern was the fact that the tourists spent very little time in the communities.

We just see them as they pass by in the big cars. They do everything in the hotel, and then they leave. It is only during the festival that we see some foreigners around.

A respondent in Ada

Whilst determining how much of the monies actually spent by tourists remain in the community was beyond the scope of the paper, it is worth mentioning that reducing economic leakages brings about long economic development and plays an important role in local economic diversification. Communities themselves must be positioned to take advantage of the tourism industry, something which seemed lacking in Ada-Foah as compared to Elmina.

c. Socio-cultural impacts
Loosely defined, culture refers to the distinct way of life of a people. Tourism development contributed in some respects to the preservation of some features of the local culture of Ada and Elmina. The Asafo-tutium Festival of the people of Ada and the Bakatue Festival of the people of Elmina are two examples. The interest of both domestic and international tourists in the arts, handicraft, and other aspects of the festivals led to an increase in cultural pride and satisfaction on the part of the local residents. Conversely, tourism had a number of negative socio-cultural impacts. First of all, many artefacts, artworks, carvings and beadwork had been modified and in some cases simplified to suit the tastes of the tourists. Artisans concentrated on quantity rather than quality. This commodification of traditional products of tourism and was especially common in Elmina. Some carvers interviewed accepted that changes were made to make their carvings lighter smaller and more appealing to the tourists. Also, the Bakatue Festival, celebrated by the chiefs and people of Elmina, is gradually losing its traditional significance. To make it acceptable to both international and domestic tourists, it now includes football matches, state dances, beauty pageants and dancing competitions. The commodification of the Elmina castle has been seen as the “whitewashing” of slavery (Bruner, 1996; Osei-Tutu, 2009).

Finally, tourism had other social impacts on the local communities. Tourism development has caused an influx of people from
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surrounding communities to seek employment.

Tourism has put the name of Ada and Ada-Foah on the map. When you search the internet you see Ada-Foah as a major tourism destination. So tourism is good for us. (A respondent from Ada)

This has led to an increase in population with a resulting stress on infrastructure. For example in Elmina, many people from Kommenda and Eguafu arrived daily in search of non-existent jobs. Some continued to Accra whilst others stayed with the hope of meeting people who would help them travel abroad. But this had other far-reaching social impacts. These included changes in local crime rate drugs, alcoholism and prostitution. Begging is also another antisocial behavior fast gaining ground in Elmina. Children of school going age can be found around tourist sites begging for money from tourists.

5.4 Perception of tourism by host community

One objective of the study was to determine the kind of perception the local residents had of tourism. The respondents from Elmina had a more favorable perception of tourism. For example 57.5 % of residents were satisfied with the development of tourism in Elmina as compared to 26.7% in Ada (Table 4). There was a significance difference between the perceptions of tourism by respondents in Ada and Elmina (Chi-squared (X²), computed p=0.00183370). Generally, those who believed that tourism has some present and future benefits are more tolerant to the negative effects of tourism on their community whereas those who do not receive any personal benefits from tourism are more aware of such negative effects.

See Table 4: Perceptions of tourism

In Ada as much as 24% of respondents were indifferent towards tourism development. This could be because most of the residents of Ada seemed to have little links with the industry. Others however associated tourism with foreigners. Some respondents in Ada also felt that tourism could lead to an overnight transformation in local economies, the provision of toilets and potable water and the construction a sea defence wall. Not reaping the benefits they expected, they are thus disillusioned.

Existing literature have suggested that the attitudes of the hosts towards tourism are correlated with such factors such as distance from tourism areas, degree of involvement in the industry and a variety of socioeconomic factors and the stage of touristic development (Wall, 1996; Butler, 1980). In Ada-Foah, respondents who lived closest to tourism such as the villages of Azizanya had higher levels of resentment towards tourism development. This could be as a result of conflicts with some developers and the sense of disappointment felt by the host communities as is expressed below.

When I was small we could swim anywhere. Now they have sold all the beaches. It is just a matter of time and we will have to get permission to swim …in our own sea.

A respondent in Ada.

Most the tourist developers concentrated on their immediate environment (enclavistic development) for the benefit of incoming tourists. Local features such as beaches were closed off to local population and maintained for the exclusive use of tourists. According to the residents of Azizanya, before the introduction of active tourism in the area, they could swim anywhere along the Volta Estuary. Now they are prohibited from swimming at many places. Apart from coping with the loss of their land and properties to the sea through erosion, they are also facing ejection from the land. The developers want to develop the area into more tourist sites.
They insist the activities of the residents affect tourism adversely with some tourists complaining about the strong stench of human waste and the stench of drying or decomposing fish. Attempts to resettle the residents have been unsuccessful. Land which was demarcated for their resettlement was far from the sea. As fisher-folk they needed to live close to the sea; the tourists’ search for leisure and pleasure could not supersede their desire to live and work on their own land.

The converse was true in Elmina. It was clear that here the incidence of host-tourist interaction was higher and hosts seemed to derive more direct and indirect benefits and satisfaction from the tourists. They were happy that tourism had helped put Elmina on the world map. Yet even here as much as 30.0% of respondents were unhappy with the way tourism was being developed in the area.

We want the Government to give us control of the Castle. We will manage it and use the money to build school and hospitals. It will also create employment for the youth. A young man in Elmina

The Elmina castle is central to tourism in Elmina. In Ghana all national monuments, including the Elmina Castle, are managed by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. On the other hand the traditional leaders in Elmina are the custodians of the land. This has often led to some tension between the two bodies. Some respondents also questioned why they as citizens of Elmina had to pay gate fees to enter the castle.

5.5 Conclusion: tourism as a development tool

It is obvious that the coastal zone holds immense potential for tourism development in Ghana. Unfortunately, it experiences many environmental problems such as erosion, poor sanitation, loss of wetlands, mangroves and fisheries and animal life. In spite of these issues, coastal resources both natural and built continue to serve as motivations for tourism development. The degree of local participation in tourism is low in both areas. The positive impacts of tourism were well recognized by respondents from Elmina, leading to a higher level of satisfaction as compared to Ada. The tensions and conflicts that existed in Ada could have been minimized if local residents were involved in the allocation of land for the building of hotels and other tourist developments. The findings confirm that residents’ perceptions of personal benefits from tourism are closely associated with their own experience and benefits gained from tourism (Andriotis, 2005; Nunkoo and Ramkissoo, 2010).

In Ghana the government plays a major role in tourism development and in providing the right institutional and legal framework for tourism to be sustainably developed. There is also the need for the right environmental as well as cultural conditions. The adhering to the principles set out in the “Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry” can encourage the sustainable development of coastal tourism. It emphasized the importance of partnerships between government and industry, and demonstrated the benefits of making the whole industry sustainable (Pryce, 2001). For example the principle of tourism being developed with the participation of local people in decisions being adopted at the local level could assist in the prevention of conflicts. There are also principles for the prevention of environmental degradation and adverse socioeconomic and cultural impacts. Whilst encouraging private sector and foreign investment in the industry, the right legal and policy framework need to be in place to ensure that local communities are not saddled with the problems created by tourism.

Sustainable coastal tourism development and Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) are seen as two strongly interlinked
 processes (UNEP, 2009). Coastal tourism can be enhanced by ICZM, which can deal with the conflicts between coastal tourism and other marine and terrestrial sectors, resolve overlapping responsibilities of involved agencies, and increase the cooperation between coastal tourism and other marine and terrestrial sectors. Ghana needs an effective Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) plan, which takes into consideration the perceptions of local residents if it is to develop coastal tourism sustainably. An ICZM plan will also help the country maximize the positive benefits of coastal tourism and minimize negative impacts in a sustainable manner.

6. References


Doxey, G.V. (1976) What’s enough is enough: the natives are restless in Old Niagara. *Heritage Canada* 2 (2), 26-27


Tables follow…
# Tables

## Table 1: Selected destinations in Africa and their attractions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourist Destination</th>
<th>Tourist Motivation</th>
<th>Potential Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Historical, Religious</td>
<td>Birth Place of the greatest civilization of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exploration of the pyramids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egyptian museum and administration of pharaonic treasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Red Sea Marine Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mount Sinai where Moses received the Ten Commandments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Historical (Slavery)</td>
<td>Exploration of the slave route along the coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauna &amp; flora, Cultural</td>
<td>Games viewing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>Badagry Slave Route</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Usman da-Fodio Tomb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical</td>
<td>Bussa Falls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Mungo Park death place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Wildlife of forest reserves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecological diversity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polerisation of culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geographical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecology - Fauna &amp; flora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mount Kenya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Birthplace of Safari, Tourism – wildlife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mombassa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Adejuwon, 2001
Table 2: Profile of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ada-Foah</th>
<th>Elmina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28 (35.0%)</td>
<td>35 (43.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52 (65.0%)</td>
<td>45 (56.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;15</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-35</td>
<td>47 (58.7%)</td>
<td>52 (65.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-55</td>
<td>28 (35.0%)</td>
<td>23 (28.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;55</td>
<td>5 (6.3%)</td>
<td>2 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic dependence on tourism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>4 (5.0%)</td>
<td>9 (11.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>46 (57.5%)</td>
<td>51 (63.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non</td>
<td>43 (53.7%)</td>
<td>30 (37.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>28 (35.0%)</td>
<td>17 (21.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>7 (8.7%)</td>
<td>22 (27.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postsecondary/Tertiary</td>
<td>2 (2.5%)</td>
<td>11 (13.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Cited environmental problems in Ada and Elmina

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental problems</th>
<th>Ada (%)</th>
<th>Elmina (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erosion</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degradation of fisheries</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degradation of mangroves</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in birds and turtles</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degradation of reeds</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water pollution</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Perceptions by host towards tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Ada</th>
<th></th>
<th>Elmina</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly satisfied</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very dissatisfied</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>