

Ecotourism Development in Ghana:

A Postcolonial Study with Focus on Boabeng-Fiema Monkey
Sanctuary and Kakum National Park

Gabriel Eshun

**Thesis submitted to the
University of Leicester, Department of Geography
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

September 2010

ABSTRACT

Ecotourism Development in Ghana: A Postcolonial Study with Focus on Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Kakum National Park

The thesis argues that ecotourism development can contribute towards rural community development, biodiversity conservation and conservation education. The thesis examines the ways in which ecotourism in Ghana has become a topic of great interest among researchers, policy makers and development practitioners, especially in the current decade. The thesis makes original contributions to the body of knowledge on ecotourism through its tripartite study—historical, comparative and methodological studies – and in particular by the use of vernacular poetry to mediate local development debate.

The thesis employs triangulation and qualitative methodology to analyse colonial continuities in ecotourism development in Ghana. Historically, ecotourism development in Ghana has continued practices of colonial wildlife conservation and forestry and has failed to problematise marginalisation of local communities in ecotourism development. This replicates crisis narratives on environment and people, entrenchment of Northern funds and expertise and marginalisation of local ecological knowledge in ecotourism development. The comparative study has revealed that the creation of BFMS and KNP and ecotourism based in them, have brought hardships to the residents of the surrounding communities such as restriction of access, crop raiding, reduced protein sources and access to medicinal plants and animals. The methodological study argued for creating knowledges that seek to ‘speak back with’ the researched communities. This aim of the thesis developed the *Sankofa* Postcolonial Methodology (SPMET), for geographical research in Africa. The thesis then further explored the epistemic tenet of the SPMET by positioning poetry as a postcolonial epistemic tool *par excellence* in Africa. This involved creating research and interpretative poems for conservation education through ecotourism development in Ghana.

GABRIEL ESHUN

DEDICATIONS

And through the Depths of my Being
I sing my fontomfrom appellations
To Jesus Christ who nurtured my suns
Of perseverance, enthusiasm, innovation
And creativity throughout the Thesis
Again through the Depths of my Being
I Display my Adowa codes to my Mother
Obaa Lydia Yaa Badu Andoh (Imma),
Whose Devotion is the aftershave of
Rainbow I wear (Mbo bio! Imma).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This PhD has benefited from multiplicity of efforts from diversity of individuals and organisations, and to enumerate all of them and their particular contributions to the success of this thesis, would add undue pages to its already huge size. Within this milieu, I render my heartfelt apologies to those who may find their names not specifically acknowledged. Doctors Clare Madge, Susan Page and Angus Cameron of University of Leicester deserve special mentioning for their unparralled supervisory métier. There were several periods that the research seemed stalled because of the requisite financial input, however they provided indubitable sense of common purpose—a rare shield of contribution that kept my enthusiasm for the PhD unscathed. Dr. Patricia Noxolo at the University of Sheffield also deserves a mentioning for taking time to provide suggestions that helped prune some of my initial thoughts on the thesis. I am also indebted to Dr. Caroline Upton of University of Leicester and Dr. James Ryan of University of Exeter for the clinical examinations that contributed to the overall maturity of the thesis. Furthermore, I say cheers to my PhD colleagues at the University of Leicester, such an atmosphere of productivity was created with you bubbly bunch around! British Airways made available a return flight bursary for my fieldwork in Ghana, but I had already secured my own flight for the fieldwork—cheers anyway.

Vanessa Greasely of the Department of Geography of University of Leicester also deserves special mentioning, for her genuineness in providing administrative assistances often at a short notice that contributed enormously to the success of this thesis. In general, the Department of Geography of the University of Leicester deserves my appreciation for the warm display of top-notch professionalism. Prof. Dei of University of Cape Coast made available some literature on Kakum Conservation Area—my

appreciations. John Mason of NCRC in Ghana maintained a genuine receptiveness and input into the initial stages of the fieldwork—my appreciations. To the Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema communities, I am grateful for their reception during the fieldwork. To Prof. Seth Buatsi of the Ministry of Education in Ghana, who regaled me with wonderful motivational anecdotes several times on the way to completing the thesis—my appreciations. My word of gratitude also goes to Nana Nsiah of the Wildlife Division, who also provided assistance in terms of locating the right literature, particularly on wildlife in Ghana. In addition, Anthony Dassah of BFMS deserves my word of gratitude for making available data on the Sanctuary. My big thanks also go to the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) for seeing the worth in this PhD, and providing the requisite sponsorship that covered bulk of the tuition fees and my living expenses.

My unlimited thankfulness goes to my siblings—Abe-Ebo Eshun, Deborah Eshun, Lydia Eshun, Michael Eshun, Mee Eshun-Andoh and Shadrach Eshun (Sha): their epitome of consanguinity ensured a serene mindset and life needed for the study. My thankfulness also goes posthumously to my Uncle Donny Andoh, whose love for literature and religion always motivated me and heightened my love for literature, religion, and love for people. Furthermore, I am grateful to my Uncle Dominic Essuman for his prayers, encouragement and responsibility. I would like to thank my genetic father—Moses Kwame Eshun for his prayers and spiritual guidance. My enthusiastic research assistants— Akwasi Appiah and Evans Osei-Bediako provided such a synergetic presence, throughout the fieldwork. Ann E. Eshun, Me Dɔ! I serve you a double portion of my thankfulness, for portraying an unadulterated aura of integrity and dignity, during my residence in Leicester for the MBA and PhD. To our daughter Imma-Badu E. Eshun (Imma Jnr.) hugs for the wonderful and gracious smiles.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACAP	Annapurna Conservation Area Project
ARPS	Aborigines' Right Protection Society
BFMS	Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary
BFMSMC	Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary Management Committee
CBD	Convention on Biodiversity
CBCIs	Community-Based Conservation Initiatives
CBE	Community-Based Ecotourism Project
CBS	Community Baboon Sanctuary
CCBWM	Collaborative Community Based Wildlife Management
CREMA	Community Resource Based Management Areas
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FTDP	First Tourism Development Plan
FWP	Forest and Wildlife Policy
GET	Global Environmental Facility
GHCT	Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust
GOG	Government of Ghana
GTB	Ghana Tourism Board
GTCDI	Ghana Tourism Capacity Development Initiative
GTDC	Ghana Tourism Development Company
GTSC	Ghana Tourism Sustainability Centre
ICDPs	Integrated Community Development Projects
ITDP	Integrated Tourism Development Plan
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IYE	International Year of Ecotourism
LEK	Local Ecological Knowledge
KCA	Kakum Conservation Area
KNP	Kakum National Park
MOT&DR	Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Relations
NCRC	Nature Conservation Research Centre
NTFPs	Non-Timbers Forest Products
NRCHP	Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation
PANAFEST	Pan-African Historical Theatrical Festival
PAs	Protected Areas
PCGVs	Peace Corps Ghana Volunteer
POE	Private-Owned Ecotourism
SLE	State-Led Ecotourism
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SPMET	Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology
TEVF	Total Economic Value Framework of Parks
TMC	Tourism Management Committee
UNCED	United Nation's Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Environmental Science Culture Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCMC	World Conservation Monitoring Centre
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

GLOSSARY

CBE	The type of ecotourism in Ghana, that seeks to give hundred percent management to local communities.
Departmental Consuetude	The functionalist stance by academic institutions especially in the South, that tends to block the creative synergies that could be derived from their collaborations.
Dialogue Confluence	The dynamic meeting of ideas, emotions etc., where the researched feel part of the final projected voice.
Epistemic Tool	A generic term that applies to any technique or method used in social science research process.
Epistemological Dromophobia	The adamantine hesitance of researchers to employ epistemic methodologies and tools that are less employed in mainstream social science research.
Eco-destination/ Eco-site	Usually a natural or cultural area that seeks to achieve the twin objective of conservation and development.
Formative Study	A preliminary study during research that seeks for a constructive dialogue that leads to inclusiveness of academic aims and the material aspirations of the researched.
Guggisberg Structure	The perpetuation of the colonial economic frameworks in contemporary Ghana characterised by export of raw goods and import of finished goods.
Interpretative Poem	A poem created in social science research, which transcends the primary data generated and its presentation by including a researcher's values, politics and emotions among others.
Research Poem	A poem created in social science research, based solely on the data generated from an informant.
Researched Marginalised	People in postcolonial fieldwork locations, and especially those selected based on responsible and pragmatic sampling.
Sankofa	An Akan concept that demands taking from the past what is good and using them in our present-future works.
SLE	The type of ecotourism in Ghana usually under the management of the Wildlife Division.
SPMET	A research methodology for postcolonial geographical research in contemporary Africa.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Dedications.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	v
Glossary.....	vi
Content.....	vii
List of boxes.....	xi
List of figures.....	xii
List of plates.....	xiv
List of tables.....	xv
Chapter 1 Tourism, Biodiversity and People: A Postcolonial Investigation into the ‘Missing Links’ in Ecotourism Development in Ghana.....	1
1.0 Introduction to Chapter.....	1
1.1 Research Context and Rationale.....	3
1.2 The Major Theoretical Underpinning to the Thesis.....	6
1.2.1 Contesting the Nexus between Postcolonialism and Tourism.....	8
1.3 The Research Aims.....	15
1.4 Rationale for Choosing Research Location.....	18
1.5 Thesis Structure and Organisation.....	22
Chapter 2 Collections, Cogitations and Citations: A Postcolonial Review of Ecotourism-Related Literature.....	26
2. 0 Introduction to the Chapter.....	26
2.1 Contestations on Protected Areas: Fortress Conservation.....	26
2.1.1 Sustainable Development: Bearing on Nature-Based Tourism.....	35
2.2 Contestations on the Meanings of Ecotourism.....	38
2.3 Postcolonial Review of Impacts of Global Ecotourism Development.....	44
2.3.1 Ecotourism and Conservation Issues.....	44
2.3.2 Ecotourism and Socio-cultural Issues.....	48
2.3.3 Ecotourism and Economic Benefits.....	55
2.4 Ecotourism as Livelihood Strategy in Postcolonial South.....	59
2.5 Summary to the Chapter.....	63
Chapter 3 Research Methods, Data and Analytical Tools: The Postcolonial methodological underpinnings to the Thesis.....	65
3.0 Introduction to the Chapter.....	65
3.1 Research Context and Methodology Approach to the Thesis.....	66

3.2 A Case for the Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology.....	69
3.2.1 Considering Access and the Research Concerns.....	72
3.2.2 Considering Socio-cultural Issues.....	75
3.2.3 Considering External Influences.....	78
3.2.4 Considering Ethics.....	82
3.2.5 Considering Epistemic Method.....	85
3.3 African Oral Cultural in Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology.....	88
3.4 The Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology as used in the Thesis.....	93
3.5 Criteria for the Site Selection for Ecotourism Research in Ghana.....	96
3.5.1 Primary Data Generation.....	100
3.5.2 Questionnaire Survey.....	102
3.5.3 Formal and Informal Interviews.....	103
3.5.4 Focus Group at the Eco-destinations.....	105
3.5.5 Participant/Personal Observation.....	106
3.5.6 Documentary Data.....	107
3.6 Tools for Research Analysis.....	108
3.7 Summary to the Chapter.....	110
Chapter 4 Triangular Trade, Colonialism, Political Independence and Tourism Development in Ghana.....	111
4. 0 Introduction to the Chapter.....	111
4.1 Historical Overview of Pre-independent Ghana: 1471-1946.....	111
4.1.1 An Overview of the Economic Activities in the Gold Coast.....	118
4.2 Independent Struggles and Economic Overview before 1983.....	121
4.2.1 Overview of Ghana’s Economic Performance since Political Independence.....	124
4.2.2 An Introduction to the Structural Adjustment Programme in Ghana....	129
4.3 Global Tourism: Tracing the Trajectory to Ghana’s Tourism.....	131
4.3.1 Tourism Activities in the Pre-independent and Nkrumah’s Era.....	133
4.3.2 Ghana’s Tourism Development Efforts from 1966 to 1982.....	136
4.3.3 Tourism Development Efforts from 1985 to Date.....	137
4.4 Exploring the Tourism Market in Post-Independent Ghana.....	142
4.5 Summary to the Chapter.....	148
Chapter 5 Colonial Land Use, Wildlife Conservation, And Forestry: The Continuities and Discontinuities in Ecotourism Development in Post- Independent Ghana.....	149
5.0 Introduction to Chapter.....	149
5.1 Land Use and Biodiversity Conservation in Pre-colonial Ghana.....	150
5.2 Land Use and Biodiversity Conservation during Colonialism.....	155
5.2.1 Land Issues during Colonialism in Gold Coast.....	156
5.2.2 Forestry during Colonialism in Gold Coast.....	157
5.2.3 Wildlife Conservation by the Colonial Administration.....	159

5.3 Land Use and Wildlife Conservation in Ghana.....	160
5.3.1 Land Use and Wildlife Conservation in Ghana.....	160
5.3.2 Forestry in Post-independent Ghana.....	163
5.3.3 Wildlife conservation in the post-independent Ghana.....	166
5.4 The Emergence of Ecotourism Development in Ghana.....	171
5.4.1 Emergence of State-Led Ecotourism in Ghana.....	171
5.4.2 Emergence of Community-Based Ecotourism Development in Ghana	176
5.5 A Postcolonial Overview into Ecotourism Development in Ghana.....	182
5.5.1 Contesting Community and Participation in Ecotourism Development	182
5.5.2 Neo-Crisis Narratives in Conservation and Ecotourism in Ghana.....	186
5.5.3 International Forces in Ecotourism in Post-Independent Ghana.....	189
5.5.4 Local Knowledges and Ecotourism Development in Ghana.....	192
5.5.5 Issues of Resistance and Ecotourism Development in Ghana.....	195
5.6 Summary to the Chapter.....	196

Chapter 6 Conservation and Rural Community Development: A Comparative Study on Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Kakum National Park in Ghana..... 197

6.0 Introduction to Chapter.....	197
6.2 The Comparative Study at the two selected Eco-destinations.....	210
6.3 The Rural Development Study at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema.....	213
6.3.1 Conservation Impacts on Farming at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema....	213
6.3.2 Changes in Animal Nutrition Requirement Sources.....	216
6.3.3 Ecotourism and Employment at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema.....	221
6.3.4 Primary Health Care at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema.....	222
6.4 The Conservation Study at the two Eco-destinations.....	225
6.4.1 Fauna and Flora attracting Tourists to the Eco-destinations.....	225
6.4.2 Wildlife Division and Local Communities in Conservation.....	228
6.4.3 Increase of Fauna and Crop and Foodstuff Raiding	232
6.5 A Postcolonial Overview into the Key Findings of the Study.....	233
6.5.1 Farming, Raiding and Adaptations at the Eco-destinations.....	233
6.5.2 Employment and Community Participation.....	237
6.5.3 Fauna Increase and Wildlife Contribution.....	240
6.6 Summary to the Chapter.....	241

Chapter 7 “Uncovering Hidden Voices” in Ecotourism Research: The Pragmatics of Poetry in Conservation Education at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary in Ghana..... 243

7.0 Introduction to the Chapter.....	243
7.1 Oral Cultural Legacies in Conservation Education in Ghana.....	245
7.2 The Significance of Poetry in Conservation Education in Ghana.....	248
7.2.1 The Pragmatics of Poetry in Postcolonial Geographical Research.....	253

7.3 Conservation Education at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary.....	256
7.3.1 The Oracle Message and Conservation Education at the Sanctuary.....	260
7.3.2 Voices at Boabeng and Fiema on the Sinking of Daworo Etifi.....	264
7.3.3 Getting Children on Board in Conservation Education.....	269
7.3.4 Bearing the Burden of the Commons.....	274
7.3.5 The Road to Boabeng-Fiema and its Implications.....	277
7.4 Issues of Translation and Voice on Using Poetry in Research.....	280
7.5 Summary to Chapter.....	286

Chapter 8 Ecotourism Development in Post-independent Ghana: Postcolonial Illuminations and Reflections on the Various Pieces of the Thesis..... 288

8.0 Introduction to Chapter.....	288
8.1 The Key Findings and Contributions of the Thesis.....	288
8.2 Recommendations based on the thesis.....	293
8.2.1 Partnership for Sustainable Ecotourism Projects in Ghana.....	293
8.2.2 Giving Back to Researched Community in Ghana.....	295
8.4 Conclusion to the Thesis	299

Bibliography.....300

Appendix – I Sample of Questionnaire.....	325
Appendix – II Sample of Interview and Transcript.....	330
Appendix – III Sample of Focus Group Leading Questions.....	331
Appendix – IV Some Pictures Mentioned in the Thesis.....	332

LIST OF BOXES

Box 1.1	Prominent Causes of Biodiversity loss in Ghana	3
Box 1.2	Overview on Some Prominent Tenets of Postcolonial Approach	7
Box 2.1	Explanation on the meaning of Biodiversity	29
Box 2.2	Sustainable Development	36
Box 2.3	Overview of Some Definitions on Ecotourism	41
Box 2.4	Contesting the Meaning of Community	52
Box 3.1	Contesting the Meaning of Household in Fieldwork Locations	77
Box 4.1	Providing Insights into Visiting Friends and Relatives in Ghana	146
Box 5.1	Spirit and Conservation before Colonialism in Akan Societies	154
Box 5.2	Ghana's Signatory to Some Conservation-Related Conventions	167
Box 5.3	Guiding Principles of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy	168
Box 5.4	The Key Principles of the CCBWM	169
Box 5.5	Local Communities, Popular Participation and SLEs in Ghana	185
Box 6.1	Wildlife Division's Contribution to KNP and BFMS	229
Box 6.2	How Respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Voice their Concerns and Participations on issues concerning the Park	230

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	The Outlook of the Aims of the Thesis	17
Figure 1.2	Map Showing the Ten Administrative Regions of Ghana	20
Figure 1.3	The Structure and Organisation of the Thesis	23
Figure 2.1	The Total Economic Value Framework of Parks	31
Figure 2.2	The Evolving Role of National Parks	37
Figure 2.3	The International Ecotourism Society's seven key areas of Ecotourism	40
Figure 2.4	The Levels of Doxey's Index on Tourism	59
Figure 2.5	Categories of Assets at the Local Community Level	61
Figure 3.1	The Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology	71
Figure 3.2	Research Process along Postcolonial Geographical Research	73
Figure 3.3	External Factors in Postcolonial Geographical Research	79
Figure 3.4	Kakum National Park of the Kakum Conservation Area	98
Figure 3.5	Boabeng and Fiema and Boabeng Fiema Monkey Sanctuary	99
Figure 3.6	Overview of the Research Process	101
Figure 3.7	The Analytic Tools Employed in the Thesis	108
Figure 4.1	An Overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade	113
Figure 4.2	The Major Changes in Travel and Tourism development in Ghana from 1900-2010	135
Figure 5.1	Systems Underlying Indigenous Pre-colonial Conservation in Ghana	150
Figure 5.2	The Main Ecological Category in Ghana	164
Figure 5.3	The Protected Areas under Wildlife Division in Ghana	170
Figure 5.4	The Main Types of Ecotourism Development in Ghana	172
Figure 5.5	CBE Quarterly Visitorship Numbers	179

Figure 5.6	CBE Projects Sites Quarterly Revenue	179
Figure 5.7	Local Power Centres in Communities around Eco-sites in Ghana	183
Figure 5.8	Towards Fusion Knowledge for Sustainable Eco-destinations	194
Figure 6.1	Yearly Register of Tourists to BFMS	204
Figure 6.2	General Usefulness of the Protection of Forests	213
Figure 6.3	Modes of Acquiring Farmlands	215
Figure 6.4	Preferences of Protein by Respondents	218
Figure 6.5	Preferred Animal Species by Respondents	218
Figure 6.6	Preferred Trees by Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Residents	220
Figure 6.7	Jobs Categories Generated at the Eco-destinations	238

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1.1	A tourist traversing the Canopy Walkway at KNP	21
Plate 4.1	Some Chiefs in Ghana donning assorted gold regalia	112
Plate 4.2	Nkrumah proclaiming Ghana’s independence at the Old Polo grounds	123
Plate 4.3	Elmina Castle	144
Plate 5.1	Interpretive Centre at KNP sponsored by USAID	174
Plate 5.2	Some Members of Fiema and Boabeng hired to Clear Nature Trails at BFMS	193
Plate 6.1	A Black and White Colobus and Mona monkeys at BFMS	199
Plate 6.2	An Arrow indicating the Burial Ground for the head of the Nkoranzahene	200
Plate 6.3	The Cemetery for the Mona and Colobus monkeys at in BFMS	201
Plate 6.4	Some Visitors Camping at Kakum National Park	208
Plate 6.5	A Snapshot of Abrafo with an Arrow showing the main road to Cape Coast and KNP	210
Plate 7.1	Board bearing Akan name and a Nature Trail with Akan name at BFMS	257
Plate 7.2	The Solar Apparatus for Electricity Generation at BFMS.	258
Plate 7.3	A Refuse Bin provided by Nature Conservation Research Centre	259
Plate 7.4	The dried up location of Daworo Etifi	265
Plate 7.5	Beans dried in Compounds of Fiema at the mercy of the Mona monkeys	275
Plate 7.6	A typical Scene of Tourists on Slippery Road of BFMS on a Raining Day	278

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Prominent Directions in Ecotourism Literature	5
Table 1.2	Some Data on Ghana	19
Table 2.1	Some of the Pioneer National Parks	27
Table 2.2	The IUCN Six-category System of Protected Areas	28
Table 2.3	The Economic Values of Bioresources: their benefits and the beneficiaries	32
Table 2.4	Uncertainties Surrounding Biodiversity Conservation	34
Table 2.5	Major Tourism Categories	38
Table 3.1	Contributions toward Postcolonial Geography Epistemic Method	67
Table 3.2	Some aspect of the SPMET in the Thesis	94
Table 3.3	Sample Sizes for the Comparative Study	103
Table 3.4	Specialist Individual Interviews	104
Table 3.5	Documentary Data	107
Table 4.1	An Overview of Estimates of Slaves in the Triangular Slave	114
Table 4.2	History from the Colonial Period in the Gold Coast	117
Table 4.3	The Stipulated Spending under the Colonial Act 129	120
Table 4.4	An Overview of Major Political Economy of Ghana	125
Table 4.5	Sectoral Contributions to Real GDP	126
Table 4.6	WTO Vision 2020 Regional Estimates for 1995-2020 Period	133
Table 4.7	Economic Performance of Tourism in Ghana from 2002-2008	138
Table 4.8	Projected Figures for International Market in Ghana from 1995-2010	142
Table 4.9	International tourist arrivals and receipts in Ghana for 1985–2010	143
Table 5.1	Land Use in the Tropical High Forest of Ghana from 1962-1990	162
Table 5.2	Log Productions in Ghana from 1970 to 2000	166

Table 5.3	Paying Visitors to Wildlife Protected Areas from 1991-1997	175
Table 5.4	The Emergence of Community-Based Ecotourism in Ghana	177
Table 5.5	Sites in the Community-Based Ecotourism Project Phase One	177
Table 5.6	Inputs of CBEP Phase One to the Ecotourism Sites in Ghana	181
Table 5.7	USAID Financial Roles in Ecotourism Development in Ghana	188
Table 6.1	Evolution of Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary	202
Table 6.2	Roles of key Stakeholders on Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary	203
Table 6.3	The Sharing of Revenue at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary	205
Table 6.4	Chronology of the major Events at Kakum National Park	207
Table 6.5	Yearly Visitation on the Canopy Walkway from 1998-2003	208
Table 6.6	The Revenue at KNP from 1998-2003	209
Table 6.7	Community Characteristics of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema	211
Table 6.8	Farming activities by Respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema	214
Table 6.9	Changes in the Bushmeat Prices by Respondents at Abrafo	219
Table 6.10	Changes in Prices in Bushmeat by respondents at Boabeng-Fiema	219
Table 6.11	Preferred Jobs at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Residents	221
Table 6.12	Medicinal Plants used by residents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema	223
Table 6.13	Treatment of some ailments at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema	223
Table 6.14	Sources of Herbal Medicine at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema	225
Table 6.15	Emerged Change by Respondents on Boabeng-Fiema Sanctuary and Kakum National Park if they were part of management	231
Table 6.16	Adaptations to the loss of access to forest products from Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Kakum National Park	235
Table 6.17	Overview of impacts of PA on Residents at the Eco-sites	236
Table 6.18	Estimates of elephant populations at Kakum National Park	240

Chapter 1 Tourism, Biodiversity and People: A Postcolonial Investigation into the ‘Missing Links’ in Ecotourism Development in Ghana

1.0 Introduction to the Chapter

Hall (2010, p.1) argues that “nature-based tourism and ecotourism are some of the clearest examples of how tourism benefits from biodiversity conservation- but the role of tourism as an economic justification for the creation of national parks and nature reserves has also being long recognised”. In 2004, nature-based tourism was growing globally three times faster than the tourism industry as a whole (WTO, 2004). Currently, the precise global estimate of ecotourism’s market share is beset with contestations, partly due to the inconsistencies in its definitions (Fennell, 2008 and Buckley, 2009). Foreign exchange from ecotourism has surpassed revenue from the traditional cash crop of coffee in Tanzania and Kenya and the textile industry in India (Honey, 1999). Ecotourism thus generates great interest among researchers, development practitioners and policy makers both in the postcolonial South and North (Eagles et al 2002; Honey, 2008; Frost and Hall, 2009 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010).

Research on ecotourism tends, however, to be overly ahistorical, econometric, large-scale and lacking in methodological vigour and innovations (cf. Ateljevic et al., 2009 and Osagie and Buzinde, 2011). Raghuram (2008, p.27) has urged that postcolonialism can help to recognise “the inheritances of the past and their role in shaping the present and the future, as well as to recover ‘pasts’ that have escaped ‘history’ but provide a route into crafting future selves”. In addition, Noxolo (2009) has stressed that postcolonialism is a direct confrontation on the materiality of

postcolonials and the sub-groups within. Currently, much research conducted in the postcolonial South is overly Eurocentric. Earlier, Spivak (1994) introduced the term ‘epistemic violence’, to argue that colonialism disrupted the ways of knowing by the postcolonials, thus postcolonials are always caught in translation and never truly expressing themselves. Sharp (2009, p.5) thus argues that postcolonialism represents:

“A shift from a form of analysis based solely around politics and economics to consider instead the importance of the cultural products of colonialism, particularly the ways of knowing the world that emerged”.
(Sharp 2009, p.5).

Consequently, postcolonialism offers to geography an understanding of the complex historical layering that shapes global power relations and a method that enables expression of those many voices on the margins of European academic spaces (Noxolo et al., 2009). As a result, Yeboah (2006) wonders why African geographers have not employed postcolonialism more in their works. In an attempt to redress this deficiency, this thesis employs postcolonialism to critique ecotourism development in Ghana (see Sections 1.3 and 1.4). Weaver and Lawton (2007, p.1186) in a review of research since 1987 on ecotourism, have challenged the academic community to proactively “pay more attention to the neglected topic areas and by encouraging integration and continuity of research within and among all topic areas”. This thesis therefore draws on perspectives from natural resource management, development studies and humanities, but remains particularly embedded in postcolonial geography. This introductory chapter is divided into five main sections. Section (1.1) provides the research context and rationale. Section (1.2) introduces postcolonialism, and then critiques its usefulness to tourism research. Section (1.3) provides the research aims. The rationale for choosing the research locations is presented in Section (1.4). Section (1.5) provides a succinct depiction of the thesis structure and organisation.

1.1 Research Context and Rationale

Ghana is ranked among the top 25 percent of African countries with the greatest diversity of wildlife namely: mammals (220 species), birds (721 species) and butterflies (850 species). Ghana is also home to many endangered 'IUCN –Red Data Book Species', including plants (34 species), birds (10 species), mammals (17 species), reptiles (5 species) (see Box 1.1). The current global need to combat biodiversity loss is ineluctably linked to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

Box 1.1 Prominent Causes of Biodiversity loss in Ghana

In Ghana four main factors underpin biodiversity loss. Firstly, **deforestation** is linked to population growth, economic development, agriculture, fuelwood and settlement. Between 1938-1981, the area of closed forest in Ghana was reduced by 64 percent from 47,000km² to 17,200 km² and open woodland declined by 37 percent from 111,000km² to 69,800 km². By the mid 1970s, more than 90 percent of the country's high forests were logged. Currently, the area of intact forest is between 15,800-17,200 km², which represents between 10.9 and 11.8 percent of the original cover and 6.9 percent of Ghana's total area. In terms of land covered by forest and other wooded land, as a share of the total area of Ghana, there was a decrease of about 1/3 of the forest loss between 1955-1972, from 33.1 percent in 1990 to 27.8 percent in 2000. Current deforestation rates average 22,000 ha/annum with less than 1 percent of forest cover found outside forest reserves and deforested areas. These areas are characterised by the weeds—*Chromolaena odorata* and *Panicum maximum*. The cost to the economy due to this was US\$128.3 million in 1988. Secondly, **bushfires** destroyed about 50 percent of Ghana's vegetation cover and about 35 percent of standing crops and cereals during 1982-83. 95 percent of the bushfires were mainly anthropogenic, 65 percent were unpremeditated (e.g. local fires used to flush game, using fire to induce fresh grass growth for livestock) and 34 percent intentional, with 1 percent due to natural causes, e.g. lightning. Before 1982 the Bomfobiri Wildlife Sanctuary was covered by dry semi-deciduous high forest; it now consists of open savanna communities and isolated forest remnants because of bushfire. Most bushfires occur in the forest and savannah areas during harmattan, but the incidence is on the increase in the high forest zone where many plant and animal *spp* are not fire-resistant. Thirdly, **hunting**: 220,000-380,000 tons of bushmeat valued at between US\$210-\$350 million are consumed annually. Hunting both within and outside protected areas threatens several species, particularly primates. Hunting usually involves the use of fire, guns, chemicals and snares. Finally, **weak legislation, institutional weaknesses and fragmented environmental legislation** contribute to the continual loss of biodiversity.

Sources: Domfeh (2004) and Attuquayefio and Fobil (2005).

Ghana has endorsed the Convention on Biodiversity, and through Legislative Instrument 282, 15 wildlife Protected Areas (PAs) and forest reserves have been established (Marfo, 2009). These occupy more than 38,000km², i.e. about 16 percent of the country's land area (Ibid.). The most popular among these PAs on the basis of visitor numbers are Kakum National Park (KNP), Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary (BFMS), Agumatsa Wildlife Sanctuary (AWS) and Mole National Park (MNP). PAs seek to protect and maintain biodiversity and associated cultural resources through legal or other effective means (Glig, 2010). Outside the PAs, an estimated 4,000km² of forests still exist, from which the bulk of timber is now being extracted without adequate control, while uncontrolled hunting persists in other unprotected areas (Owusu, 2001 and Opoku, 2006). Within forest reserves, some 60,000km² of plantations have been established along with increasing tree planting by communities and private entities around the country (see Porter and Young, 2001).

According to United Nations Environment Programme (2010) biodiversity loss is caused by five principal pressures namely habitat change, overexploitation, pollution, invasive alien species and climate change. The overt anthropological influence at the core of the escalating rate of biodiversity loss had led to authors such as Kramer et al (1997) and Brandon et al (1998) advocating for the re-introduction of 'fortressism' or 'old conservation'. However, this position is refuted (see Lash, 2003). Ecotourism remains the fastest growing niche of the tourism market. Ecotourism may mean different things to different people; however the incorporation of the prefix 'eco' (from the Greek word oikos, meaning house or habitat) suggests that ecotourism should be ecologically responsible (Asiedu, 2002). Currently, ecotourism is embedded in the discourses on sustainable development, thus it seeks to achieve the twin-

objectives of conservation and development on what Brechin et al (2002, p.53) have termed the ‘pragmatic middle ground’. Ghana has thus embarked on the ecotourism bandwagon both for conservation and development. The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), an international body consisting of tour operators, conservation groups, local communities and governments: ‘defines ecotourism as (a) responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well being of local people’. According to TIES ecotourism development must aim at:

“Minimizing impact, building environmental and cultural awareness and respect, providing positive experiences for both visitors and hosts, providing direct funds for biodiversity conservation, providing economic benefits and empowerment for local residents and raising environmental awareness”.
(The International Society for Ecotourism, 2007).

Consequently, ecotourism seeks to protect the environment and natural resources as well as improving the well being of local residents (cf. Fennell, 2008 and Honey, 2008). Currently, ecotourism research is underpinned by a range of topics (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Prominent Directions in Ecotourism Literature

Areas of Contribution	Some of the Contributors
Building Sustainable Ecolodges	Selengut and Simon (1991), Anderson (1993); Metha et al (2002) and (Pickerill Pers. Comm., 2010)
Economics of Ecotourism	Lindberg (1998); Akama (2004) and Jaakson (2004).
Green Certification	Honey and Rome (2001) and Issaverdis (2001).
Indigenes and Local Ecological Knowledges	Campbell (2004); Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro (2007); Tapela et al (2007); Pickerill (2008).
Markets	Fillion et al (1992); Eagles and Higgins (1998); Fennell, (1999); Wight (2001) and Bonsu (2009).
Indicators and Sustainability	Swarbrooke (1999); Owusu (2001); Stem (2001); Lash (2003); Fennell (2008) and Honey (2008).
Postcolonialism, Ecotourism and Poverty	Adams et al (2004); Kiss (2004); Gilbert (2007); Akama (2004) and Osagie and Buzinde (2011).
Postcolonialism, Method and Tourism	Hall and Tucker (2004); Nepal (2000); Weaver and Lawton (2007) and Madge and Eshun (submitted).
Biodiversity	Possiel et al (1995); Eagles et al (2002); Barnes et al (2003) Lamarque et al (2009) and Hall (2010).

Source: Author’s Own.

Furthermore, Mercer et al (2003) have argued that the nexus between postcolonialism and development is extremely under researched, and the situation is even more dismal when coupled with ecotourism. Indeed, just as the novels of the 19th and early 20th centuries helped fortify imperialism, likewise the hegemony of the North still in early 21st century tourism may promote the established colonialist continuing order (Hollinshead, 2004). Hall and Tucker (2004) thus have argued that the nexus between tourism and postcolonialism still remains a fertile research area. The next section therefore provides exegesis on the nexus between tourism and postcolonialism.

1.2 The Major Theoretical Underpinning to the Thesis

It is important to elucidate on the circumference of postcolonialism and how it will be applied in the thesis. Blunt and McEwan (2002, p.3) have argued that the ‘post’ to colonialism has two meanings depicting a temporal aftermath (period ‘after’ colonialism) and a critical aftermath (critiques that focuses the ‘before’ and ‘after’ colonialism). In fact, before WWI, 80 percent of the Earth’s land surface was under European control, whilst the remaining 20 percent was mainly under American and Japanese control (Hall and Tucker, 2004). Consequently, post-colonialism depicts the common-sensical definition of the period following independence from the colonising countries (Sharp, 2009). Within this ambit, post-colonialism therefore is both geographical (e.g. particular countries are post-colonial) and a historical period.

However, post-colonialism’s focus on the ‘after’ to colonialism seems problematic, since it tends to overlook how the triangular trade and material and cultural geographies of colonialism have flowed into the current realities of the postcolonials (Young, 2001). Thus, post-colonialism without the hyphen involves first of all “the

argument that the nations of the three non-Western continents (Africa, Asia, Latin America) are largely in a situation of subordination to Europe and North America, and in a position of economic inequality” (Young 2003, p.4). Currently, postcolonialism represents a variety of theoretical positions, which explore the complex historical, economic, political and cultural conditions associated primarily (but not exclusively) with the colonial encounter as well as tackling those conditions under colonialism and after the ‘flag independence’ (Spivak, 1984). According to Said (1978) postcolonialism presents an inherent politics and ethics on addressing the marginalisations of the postcolonials and the sub-groups within them. Currently, seven key themes underpin the concept of postcolonialism (see Box 1.2).

Box 1.2 Overview on Some Prominent Tenets of a Postcolonial Approach

As Corrective to Eurocentrism: postcolonialism is an analysis and critique of approaches in which northern knowledge has become hegemonic; it thus seeks alternatives to decentre the North as the ‘site for speaking’. **Focuses on Mutually Constituted Relationships:** postcolonialism seeks to overcome the boundaries between core/periphery, colonised/coloniser and local/global. This tenet of postcolonialism focuses on spatial differences and nuances. **Critiques Flows and Stretched out Geographies:** postcolonialism is bound up with migration forced by the triangular trade involving transitional connections, cross-cutting national boundaries and leading to new communities and hybrid and multiple identities. Such transnational flows are evident in the contemporary period, which is often based on spatial inequality and unequal power relations. **Contests Racialisation of Development Discourses:** postcolonialism makes a commitment to seeking approaches, languages and relationships that overcome racial discourses on which development is based. **Uncovers hidden Voices:** postcolonialism involves uncovering the postcolonials’ views on themselves. Overt attention is given to seeking information from non-academic sources that challenges ruling narrations of the past and contributes to recovering hidden and multiple voices of the postcolonials. **Highlights Resistance and Agency:** postcolonialism critiques the passive representations of the post/colonial subjects and places attention on the creativity of the postcolonials towards contesting and remaking of colonialism and the power of its knowledge evident in the contemporary. **Critiques Language:** postcolonialism argues that deployment of language is central to the process by which the lifeworlds of the postcolonials and geographical difference is imagined and framed. Postcolonialism thus seeks new ways of thinking about the South and possibilities to open up for alternative approaches to knowing and understandings.

Sources: Fanon (1967), Said (1978), McEwan (2009) and Sharp (2009).

Power (2003) argues that development discourses often fail to problematise colonial continuities in the realities in the postcolonial South. This observation may partly account for why there is a ‘scramble for postcolonialism’, with less engagement with what Malinowski has phrased as ‘imponderabilia of actual life’ (O’Reilly 2005, p.8). Indeed, the reference of ‘Third World’ commonly used to describe the South has strong neo-colonial connotations, propounding their inferiority and the supremacy of the ‘First World’. For instance, although many actors from the governmental and non-governmental levels welcome the Millennium Development Goals, the legitimacy of the goals is fundamentally contradicted by the free market economy ideology, which often is antithetical to economic sustainability at local levels. Thus the ‘new’ domination of the South by the North makes postcolonialism particularly germane to understanding and challenging this new form of subjugation. Although the themes in Box 1.2 are equally appropriate for critiquing tourism, Hall and Tucker (2004), have employed Ashcroft et al’s (1989) work, ‘the Empire Writes Back’—to critique tourism and also explore how tourism can shape the concept of postcolonialism. The next section thus unpacks specifically the nexus between postcolonialism and tourism.

1.2.1 Contesting the Nexus between Postcolonialism and Tourism

Ashcroft et al (1989) have provided four main areas that underlie the nexus between tourism and postcolonialism namely; ‘hegemony’, ‘language, text and representation’, ‘place, displacement and identity’ and ‘postcoloniality and theory’. These four areas help to contest colonial detritus in postcolonial societies. On hegemony, Ashcroft et al (1989) have asked why coloniality is still relevant at all, since almost all postcolonial societies have achieved political independence? However, Jaakson (2004) has argued that tourism shows continuities with the colonial plantation economy since the

metropolis dominates the global tourism market, especially in those areas where their own citizens travel most. Britton (1999, p.5) has argued tourism is structurally a part of an overseas economy, shown in “three-tiered hierarchy, with metropolitan capital based in developed societies at the top, followed by local, comprador capitalist, and at the bottom, small-scale enterprises, whose success depends on that of the two higher categories, which cream off most of the profits”. Tourism thus smacks of ‘leisure imperialism’ (i.e. it represents the hedonistic phase of neo-colonialism) (Crick 1989, p.38). In fact, the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the onset of ‘green conditionality’ as donor agencies began to use environmental goals as a form of leverage over national governments in the process of ‘policy dialogue’ (Leach and Mearns, 1996). As early as 1969 Fanon observed how in post-independence Africa:

“The ruling black male inherited and worked with the hegemonic structures created by the colonizers during colonial rule. Consequently, the African ruling classes became alienated from the peripheral masses, their cultures and the value systems that informed their daily activities and experiences. In the current phase of global capitalism, the peripheral ruling classes struggle to represent the nation-state and the local communities as equal partners in an international political economy dominated by global capitalism”.
(Frantz Fanon 1969, cited in Chilisa 2005, p.664).

Thus although the postcolonies are not passive and impuissant to external dominance, however, the dependency of the South on the North is still prevalent. Postcolonialism therefore can help to contest the ongoing politico-economic and socio-cultural influence of the former imperial powers (see Said, 1986; Eze, 1997; Power, 2003; Chilisa, 2005; Jazeel and McFarlane, 2007; Noxolo, 2009; Osagie and Buzinde, 2011). In addition, do the current power dynamics demand going beyond the binaries of South/North, core/periphery, underdeveloped/developed and 3rd world/1st world to include the subtleties within each category? Can postcolonialism in tourism analysis help create ‘epistemologies’ which move beyond such dualistic understandings?’

Secondly, language, text and representation remain one of the main features of imperial oppression. The use of the colonisers' languages was an overt attempt to stifle the languages of the colonised. This assertion is captured in a poem by Felix Mnthali (1982), entitled 'The Stronghold of English Literature' (see excerpt below):

“Eng. Lit., my sister//Was more than a cruel joke—//it was the heart of alien conquest// How could questions be asked// at Makerere and Ibadan//Dakar and Ford Hare//with Jane Austen//at the centre//How could they be answered?”
(Modified from Moore and Beier 1984, p.139).

Ngugi (1986, p.16) thus argues that the northern languages were crucial to the domination of the 'mental universe of the colonised', because the modes of thoughts of the colonised had to be transacted in the colonial language which led to the unconscious and conscious alienation from their native tongue and culture. Ngugi (1986) further adds that there is greater urgency for 'decolonising the African mind' through critical re-evaluation of the havoc wrought to them through colonialism by abandoning such colonial continuities and instead reclaiming the indigenous forms of existence, and practicing interconnectedness beginning with linguistic decolonisation. For example, on text, the British Royal Geographical Society's Journal has been critiqued for its role in creating and perpetuating misrepresentations of non-Europeans (see Ashcroft et al., 1995 and Stock, 2004). Indeed, Western travel to Africa has:

“Historically involved the construction and consumption of African otherness. In the postcolonial era this is most clearly evident in Western tourism to the continent, where Africa is frequently marketed as an exoticised destination to see and consume both nature and native. The Western gaze often requires fixing Africans, both in a spatial site ('village') and a temporal site ('tradition').
(Dunn 2004, Abstract).

In fact, Rudyard Kipling's 'White Man's Burden' in 1899 underscores how the texts of the North contributed to constructing stereotypes of race (Sharp, 2009). Ryan (1997) has shown how the invention of photography aided in imperialist

representations based on its presumed documentary objectivity. Said's (1978), *opus magnum*—'Orientalism', thus sought to unpack the ontological and epistemological underpinnings to the representations of the Self and Other and the overlapping mutualities. However, despite the sustained critiques on colonial misrepresentations, Africa is still subtly promulgated as the Dark Continent underpinned by *lusus naturae* (freakish features) misrepresentations. For example, images of Africa replete with lions, elephants, semi-naked men and bare-breasted women are still used to lure Westerners keen for exoticism and adventure. Thus, the 'reductive repetition' motif (i.e. the reduction of the diversity of the historical experiences and trajectories, socio-cultural contexts, and political situations of Africans as a set of core deficiencies during colonialism) still seems replicated in tourism development in Africa. Currently, lobbies of foreign actors and national-level compradors underlie tourism development in Africa. Within this milieu, can postcolonialism help towards cultural re-authorisation of the marginalised and their places through tourism?

Thirdly, postcolonialism addresses issues of displacement, place, and identity. For instance, displacement arises in postcolonial societies because of the earlier processes of colonial settlement and migration, the transport of convicts, slaves or indentured labour (Power, 2003). Furthermore, indigenous cultures were deliberately or unconsciously oppressed by the colonial society, similar to the case of indigenous Australia up until the 1970s. In terms of place, tourism appropriates preconceived definitions of place and people, which are created by marketing arms of public agencies and private firms in order to induce tourists to visit a specific area. Consequently, public and private entities not only define social realities but also recreate them to mimic those definitions (cf. Osagie and Buzinde, 2011).

Tourism feeds on identity, which may involve diasporic interests and visits. Coles and Timothy (2004) have given three ways through which diaspora and tourism meet: roots, routes and routine. Roots involve the attachment to ones 'home' country; this has been called 'ancestral travel or genealogical travel'. The routes involve the experiences of their migrational histories, whilst the routine involves the experiences of the displaced people in the host country. For example, the diasporic travel in Ghana is significantly due to the Africans of the 'old diaspora' (Zezeza, 2002). However, the use of racial or national identities, as sole makers of locations within local and global society, can be problematic (Bhabha, 1990). Thus, postcolonial theorists have demanded attention to hybridity since it embraces globalised persons and cultures.

Fourthly, postcoloniality and theory has emerged as one of the areas of postcolonialism, seemingly because of the inability of European theories (having themselves emerged from particular cultural traditions which are hidden by false notions of 'universalism') to deal with the complexities and varied cultural provenance of postcolonial text (Noxolo, 2009). Mainstream European theories have been largely neglectful of non-Western articulations of self and identity (Mudimbe, 2003). Postcolonialism therefore seeks to contest the interpellations of non-Western cultures, whilst simultaneously seeking to decentre Eurocentricism (McEwan, 2005). For example, Gilbert (2007) has argued that the preservation of the 'traditional' for the tourist experience is itself based on a colonial topophilia to fix the identity of the other, in order that it remains static and distinct from tourist identity and modernity. However, does postcolonialism seek merely to operate with the paradoxical tension of relying on European vocabulary to translate non-European experiences? In fact, can the subaltern speak, be heard and on what terms? (Spivak, 1994).

However, despite the splendid potential of postcolonialism to critique eco/tourism practices and discourses in the postcolonial South, three main arguments are overly evident. The first argument surrounds the semantics on the concept. McClintock (1994) has argued that postcolonialism might suggest a blind acquiescence to the capitalistic linear conception of time and history as progressive— where history is seen as a series of stages along an epochal road from the pre-colonial, to the colonial and to the postcolonial. Indeed, post/colonialism has developed unevenly at the global level. The concept therefore has more to do with ‘power constructs than with linear time’. Thus in Africa’s case, postcolonialism should involve ‘the analysis or unpicking of, as well as the contestation of colonialism and neocolonial domination, alongside the contestations on the legacies of the triangular trade’ (Eze, 1997).

Secondly, the case of ‘who is’, and ‘who is not’ postcolonial remain contentious. Often postcolonial refers to people who have (and still) suffer(ed) various shades of suppression and it is widened to include settlers and descendents who stay in the colony after political independence is attained. Consequently, the USA could be presented as a model of a postcolonial country; however this position is hotly contested, because the country itself has disenfranchised and almost exterminated Native Americans (Young, 2001). The same can be said about New Zealand, Canada and Australia, which once given independence by Britain, have themselves, also colonized the indigenes. Hall and Tucker (2004, p.1) thus have stressed: “to be one of the colonised is potentially to be a great many different, but inferior things, in many different places, at many different times”. Indeed, there is no reason to think that to be one of the postcolonised is a homogenous position. Furthermore, it is worth to note that (predominantly in postcolonial societies) there are some postcolonials who:

“Do not readily fit into the cultural/racial/ethnic classifications which not only government census officials provide for them but are quietly, built up in narratives about them in small-in-scale but large-in-consequence depictions”. (Bhabha 1990 cited in Hollinshead, 2004 p.34).

Finally, postcolonialism unlike Marxism, is not characteristically an ideology of a specific set of ideas. Currently, the concept is accused of providing obfuscating exegeses (often cited are the works of Bhabha and Spivak), as against the need to adequately connect to the specific, local and quotidian situations of the postcolonials. That is a case of postcoloniality divorced from postcolony, where the concept seems to be living a life of its own, without undergoing the critical conceptualisation of ethnographic field research (Sharp, 2009). Also, postcolonialism is often positioned as contesting the material and discursive legacies of colonialism. However, the calls to re-materialise postcolonial geography must go beyond the binary of south/north and discursive/materiality to recognise that its *raison d'être* is actually about struggle for materiality for postcolonial subjects and sub-groups within them (Noxolo, 2009).

In addition, although Hall and Tucker's (2004) pioneering work 'Tourism and Postcolonialism' remains a treasure-trove contribution, three issues remain problematic in their work. Firstly, their treatise is overly preoccupied with postcolonial critiques on 'cultural tourism' at the expense of 'ecotourism/nature-based tourism'. Secondly, there is less concentration on the impacts of tourism at the local community level as the focus is overly international and national in orientation. Power (2003) has argued for contestations of postcolonialism to be complemented with aspects of local resistances of adaptation and collaboration. Hall and Tucker (2004), thus seems to contribute to the assertion that 'postcoloniality is divorced from postcolony' by subtly sidelining the impacts of tourism on rural community

development. Thirdly, Hall and Tucker (2004) concurred that postcolonialism problematises the inability of Euro-American paradigms to grasp *in toto* the quotidian realities and aspirations of postcolonial subjects. However, their thesis also falls short of including current trends in postcolonialism, which could help move eco/tourism towards the postcolonial project of ‘speaking back with’ the marginalised. Based on the gaps identified so far in this Chapter, the next section presents the thesis aims.

1.3 The Research Aims

The foregoing elucidations argue that eco/tourism may be ‘a neocolonial project’ (Akama, 2004 and Jaakson, 2004); it ‘replicates colonial representation’ (Hollinshead, 2004 and Gilbert, 2007) and ‘needs methodological innovation’ (Weaver and Lawton, 2004; Atelvejic et al., 2009 and Nepal, 2009). However, postcolonialism has the potential to correct ‘historical misrepresentations’ (Said, 1978; Andreasson, 2005; Yeboah, 2005 and Sharp, 2009), ‘provide postcolonial methodology’, (Chakrabarty, 2000; Sidaway, 2001; Chilisa, 2005 and Raghuram and Madge, 2006), ‘lead to responsible research’ (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2007; Raghuram et al., 2008 and Noxolo, 2009) and ‘provide resistances’ (Fanon, 1967 and Bhabha, 1990). According to Hillel (2001), ecotourism is touted to contribute to conservation, development and conservation education. These three strands are imbricated in the three key aims of the thesis namely the historical, comparative and voice and methodological studies as the next paragraphs present. Gilbert (2007) has argued that a postcolonial approach can help to unpack the continuity of colonialism in ecotourism development-such as issues of dependency and neo-crisis narratives on nature and people. Currently, most research on ecotourism in Ghana tends to be contemporary; thus how colonial wildlife conservation funnels into ecotourism in Ghana is often neglected in their analyses.

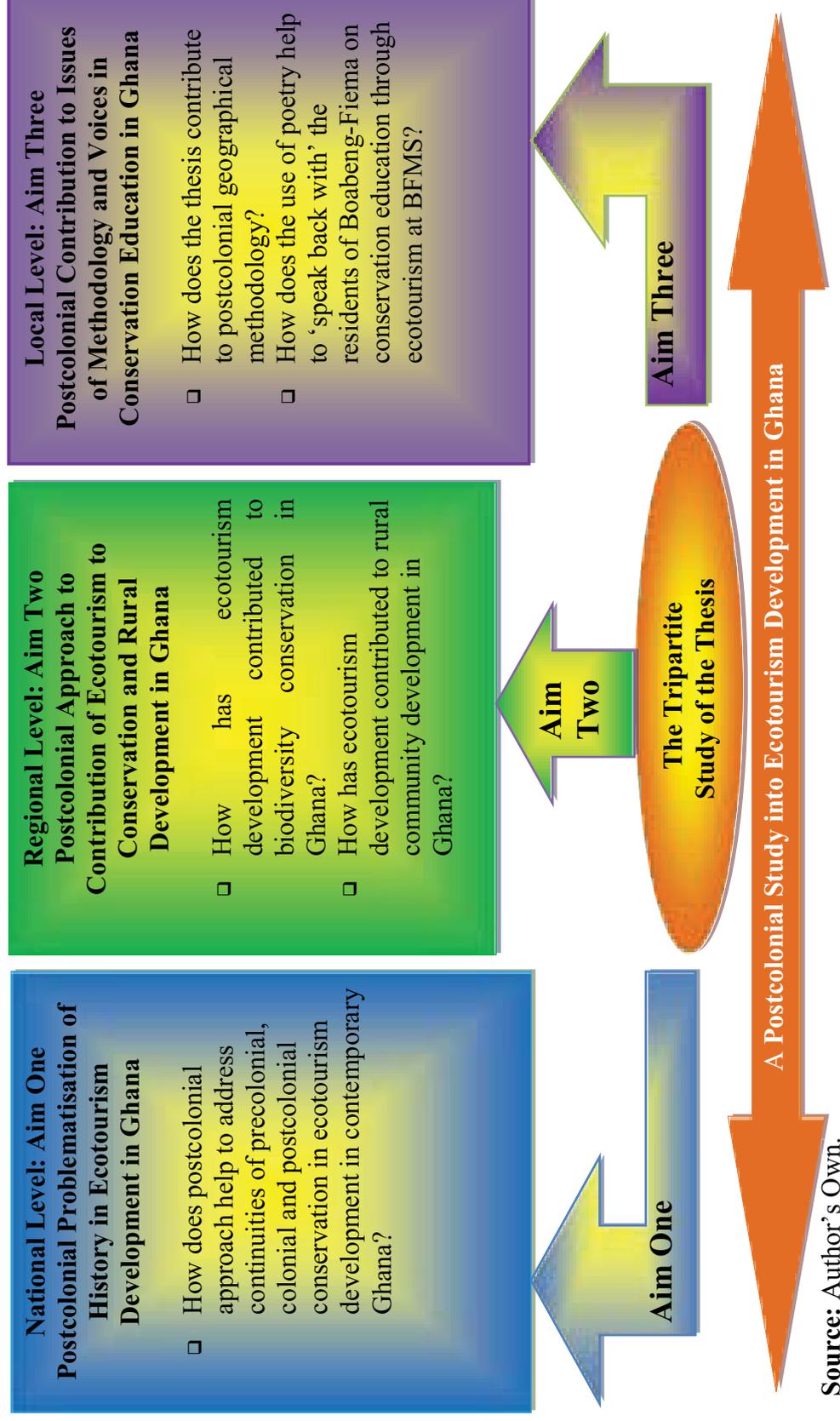
For example, Owusu-Mintah (2003) investigated the potential of ecotourism for Bia National Park. Owusu (2001) focused on tourist arrivals between Agumatsa Wildlife Sanctuary and KNP. Hall and Tucker (2004, p.8) have cautioned that research on the creation of a tourism destination must place: “the development of the destination within the context of the historical consumption and production of places and the means by which places have become incorporated within the global capital system”.

As a result, Beaumont (1998) has argued that ecotourism is not new as portrayed:

“It has been around since at least the 18th century but by a different name. The early geographers who toured the world in search for new lands, species and culture were ecotourists. Then, the establishment of National Parks such as Yellowstone in the US in 1872 and Banff in Canada in 1885 is further evidence of the early interest in nature tourism. In addition, African wildlife safaris and Himalayan treks in the 1960s and 1970s were also part of this trend”.
(Beaumont 1998, p.240).

Gilbert (2007) adds that any serious research on ecotourism must contest colonial approaches to conservation. Thus, the first aim of the thesis is a national-level study that investigates how pre/colonial and postcolonial wildlife conservation and forestry are imbricated in ecotourism development in contemporary Ghana (see Figure 1.1). Furthermore, Sharp (2009) has argued that geographical research needs more focus on spatial nuances. Consequently, the second aim of the thesis is a comparative study that focuses on issues of spatiality. There is less research attention on comparing the how the governance of ecotourism—i.e. state-led ecotourism (SLE) and community-based ecotourism (CBE) in Ghana has contributed to achieving their conservation and development aims. Also research on ecotourism in Ghana has largely overlooked how a comparative study between SLE and CBE can increase understandings on how issues of spatiality influence the impacts of ecotourism on biodiversity and residents of the surrounding communities. Currently, Kakum National Park is the leading SLE, whilst BFMS is the foremost CBE in Ghana (KCA, 1997 and USAID, 2005).

Figure 1.1 The Aims of the Thesis and the Major Questions



The second aim of the thesis thus fills this lacuna by comparing the voices of the residents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on how issues of spatiality play out on the impacts of ecotourism, focusing on KNP and BFMS (see Chapter Six). Finally, Chilisa (2005) argues that any proactive postcolonial project, especially in Africa, must address issues of methodology. Alongside, the call for ‘provincialisation of Europe’ (Chakrabarty, 2000), the thesis proposed the *Sankofa* postcolonial methodology (SPMET) for geographical research in Africa (see Chapter Three). Ahluwalia (2001) states that African scholars need to abrogate ‘Afro-pessimism’, and seek for African ‘shibboleths’ to contest the realities of the Continent. Consequently, the thesis’s third aim positions poetry as a postcolonial method *par excellence* towards decentring the authorial voice and ‘speaking back with’ the residents on conservation education through ecotourism (cf. Furman et al., 2010). The eco-site selected for this part of the study was BFMS, where research and interpretative poems on conservation issues were created and performed (see Chapter Seven).

1.4 Rationale for the Choosing Research Location

Ghana falls between latitude 4,44°S and 11,11°N and longitude 3,11° W and 1,11° E. with a total area of 239,460km² with land covering 230,940km² and water 8,520km² (KCA, 1997). About 50 percent of the country’s land surface consists of pre-Cambrian metamorphic and igneous rocks while a greater part of the remaining are Paleozoic sediments resting on older rocks. Ghana’s climate is due to mainly the interplay between the dry Harmattan winds from the northeast and the moist monsoon from the southwest. Southern Ghana has two rainy seasons—April to July and September to November, with rainfall figures between 1,270mm-2,100mm per annum. Northern Ghana has only one rainy season, occurring between April and

September and with rainfall figures ranging from 1,100mm-1,270mm per annum. The mean temperatures in Ghana range between 26⁰C along the coast and 29⁰C in the extreme north. Currently, poverty in Ghana is addressed at two levels namely upper and lower levels (Appiah et al., 2005). The upper poverty refers to incomes of up to US\$102.56 per annum, whilst the extreme poor are people with incomes below US\$79.77 per annum—indeed, 40 percent of Ghanaians have an income below the upper poverty line, while about 27 percent have an income below the extreme poverty line (Koutra, 2005). Since colonialism, agriculture continues to generate the largest source of employment for the people now known as Ghanaians (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Some Data on Ghana

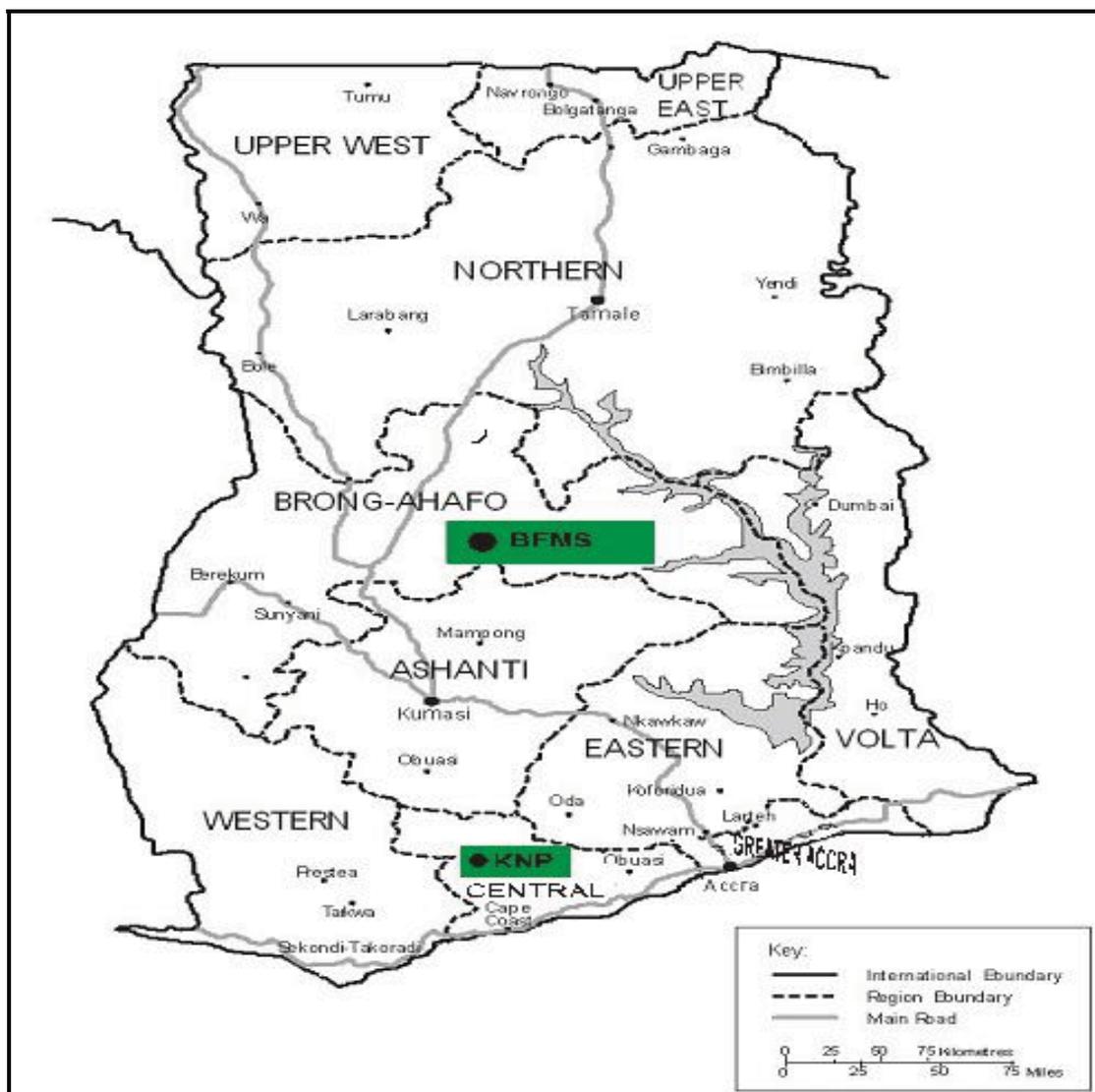
Demography: Population 22,409,572 (2006 est.), Growth rate 2.07 percent (2006 est.). 40 percent youth (2006 est.). The adult literacy rate in Ghana 65 percent, males 71.7 percent and females 58.3 percent (2007 est.). Human Development Index 130 (2010 est.). Population below 0-14years 39 percent (2006 est.)
Land use: Arable land: 17.54 percent, permanent crops: 9.22 percent other: 73.2 percent. Agriculture produce: cocoa, rice, coffee, cassava, peanuts, corn, nuts and bananas. Industries: mining, lumbering, timber, light manufacturing, aluminium smelting, food processing, cement, small commercial shipbuilding.
Economic Composition: Agriculture: 35 percent, industry: 25 percent, services: 39 percent (2005 est.). Population below poverty line: 28.5 percent (2007 est.). Employment Sources: Agriculture: 56 percent, industry: 15 percent and services: 29 percent (2005 est.). Unemployment rate: 12.2 percent (2003 est.).
Cultural Composition: Akan 49.3 percent, Mole-Dagbani (Kokomba, Nanumba, Tallensi and Mamprusi etc) 15.2 percent, Ewe 11 percent Ga-Dangme 7.3 percent, Guan 4 percent, Gurma 3.6 percent, Gurunsi 2.6 percent, Mande-Busanga 1 percent, other tribes 1.4 percent, other (Hausa, Zabarema, Fulani) 1.8 percent.

Source: GOG (2002), WTO (2008) and Appiah et al (2009, p.473).

Based on ethnic differences, Ghanaians can be divided into two groups, namely the southern Akan, Ga-Adangbe, and Ewe, who speak the Kwa languages and the northerners, comprising mainly Dagombas, who are the Gur speakers. Although Twi remains the most widespread language spoken in Ghana, the Bureau of Ghana Languages estimates the total languages in the country to be 46. Akwapim Twi,

Ashanti Twi, Fante, Dangbe, Kasem, Gonja, Nzema, Ewe and Ga are the languages that are part of the educational curricula in Ghana. Akan remains the largest ethnic group in Ghana and includes Asante, Assin, Akyim, Bono, Fante, Kwahu and Wassa, who are settled mainly in 5 of the 10 Administrative Regions of Ghana namely; Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern and Western Region (Davidson et al 1967; Fage, 1969 and Pellow and Chazan, 1986). The two eco-destinations chosen for the current study, namely BFMS and KNP, are located in two largely Akan regions: the Brong Ahafo and Central Region, respectively (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 Map Showing the Ten Administrative Regions of Ghana



As at 2002, Brong Ahafo and the Central Region accounted for 9.6 and 8.4 percent of Ghana’s population respectively (GOG, 2002). KNP remains as a critical surviving portion of the severely fragmented Guinean Forests of the West Africa biodiversity hotspot, which once covered 600,000km² stretching from Guinea to Cameroon (KCA, 1997). KNP has 300 species of bird (including rare species such as the white-breasted guinea fowl-*Agelastes meleagrides* and the threatened yellow-throated olive bird-*Criniger olivaceus*), 600 butterfly species (in 1994 a butterfly discovered in KNP, was named—*Diopetes kakumi*), 100 mammal species, 105 vascular plant species and half a million insect species. Also, KNP is one of the last remaining habitats for six globally endangered species—Diana monkeys-*Cercopithecus diana rolloway*, bongos-*Tragelaphus eurycerus*, yellow-backed duikers-*Cephalophus sylvicultor*, forest elephants-*Loxodonta Africana*, Geoffrey’s Black and White Colobus-*Cercopithecus vellosus* and water chevrotains-*Hyemoschus aquaticus*. In 1993, Conservation International supported the construction of a Canopy Walkway perched 30m above the ground to give a unique bird’s eye view of the park (see Plate 1.1).



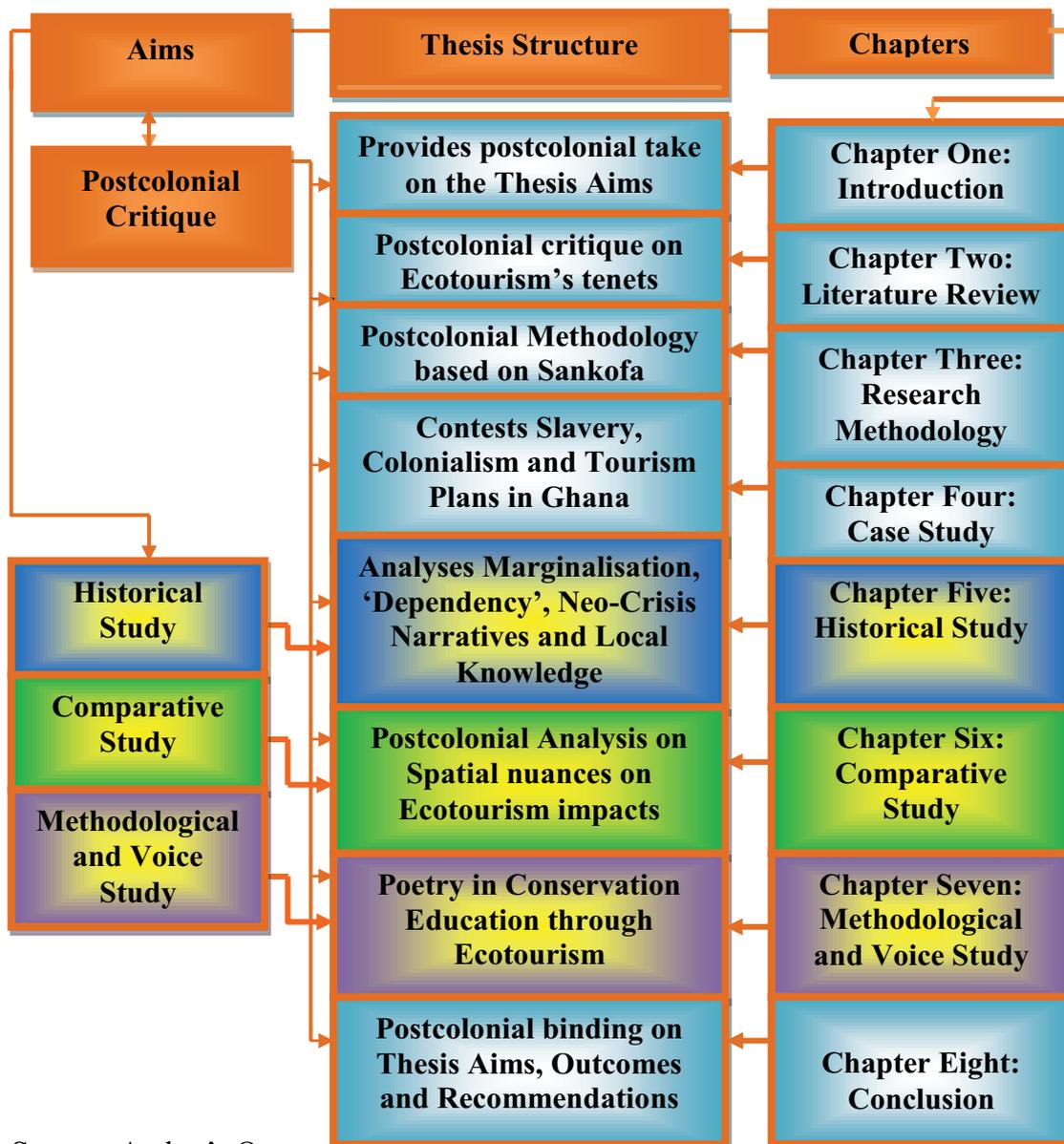
Plate 1.1 The Canopy Walkway at Kakum National Park. Credit: Author.

KNP is part of the first phase of the Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project. KNP had zero visitorship in 1992, however in 2002 it registered 82,000 visitors (the majority being Ghanaians), with revenue from recreational activities showing US\$117,987 in 2001 (Narud and Vondolia, 2005). Consequently, the choice of KNP as a study location for this thesis was based on the role of ecotourism in saving its unique biodiversity as well as tackling issues of poverty in the surrounding village. BFMS comprises an area of 4.5km² it is mostly forested with some tree canopies reaching 40m in height. BFMS is nestled in between the two villages of Boabeng and Fiema and is home to 200 Colobus and 500 Mona monkeys (Saj and Sicotte, 2006). Also, there are 249 plant species at BFMS including trees, lianas and ground vegetation (Abu-Juam et al., 1996). For over 150 years the local people have considered the monkeys as sacred. BFMS was chosen as a study location because it remains the most famous example of pre-colonial conservation in Africa—where white and black Colobus and Monas can be watched in numbers. BFMS thus provides an interesting location to study pre-colonial and colonial continuities in conservation in contemporary Ghana. Overall, the thesis seeks to contribute to sustaining KNP and BFMS and the wellbeing of their human residents.

1.5 Thesis Structure and Organisation

The thesis is so structured to enable a detailed presentation in accordance with the rules of the University of Leicester and the Department of Geography. All the eight Chapters are aimed at making a postcolonial analysis of ecotourism development in Ghana through historical, comparative and methodological studies. The current Chapter serves as the introduction to the thesis and it encompasses the research aims, the research rationale along with postcolonial underpinnings to the thesis (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 The Structure and Organisation of the Thesis



Source: Author's Own.

Chapter Two presents an in-depth review on ecotourism that informs the research through postcolonial expositions on fortress conservation and the emergence of new conservation paradigms. The sustainable development paradigm and the Earth Summits are critiqued under the aegis of ecotourism, especially in the postcolonial South. Thus, there are reviews of the three often-documented tenets of ecotourism

namely—conservation, development and conservation education (Honey, 2008). The Chapter then provides a set up for the methodological stance of the thesis.

Chapter Three proposes the SPMET for postcolonial geographical research. The SPMET demands that geographical research in Africa should pay attention to access issues, socio-cultural issues, ethics issues, external pressure and epistemic tools. The Chapter proceeds to present the research location, the primary data generation and the research analysis tools. The postcolonial critiques in the Chapter are timely for Chapter Four, which traces the triangular trade and colonialism in tourism in Ghana.

Chapter Four argues that since some of the diasporic tourists to Ghana consume eco-destinations along with their main visit to the slave-related castles, rivers and markets, researchers cannot disavow *in toto* the critiques of ‘root tourism’ from ecotourism. The Chapter explores how the mercantile trade, triangular trade and colonialism are imbricated in tourism development in Ghana. Chapter Four set the scene for the ‘Field Work chapters’, i.e. Chapter Five, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven respectively.

Chapter Five analyses how postcolonialism helps to address traces of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial conservation in ecotourism development in Ghana. The four main colonial continuities in ecotourism development in Ghana are, ‘marginalisation of local community’, neo-crisis narratives on environment and people’, ‘entrenchment of international forces’, and ‘marginalisation of local ecological knowledges’. This historical and national based analysis enables a more detailed comparative analysis of the impacts of ecotourism at different communities in Ghana.

Chapter Six is a comparative analysis of BFMS and KNP in Ghana. The Chapter is divided into two sections, with analysis of both development and conservation studies. The postcolonial critique in this Chapter unpacks how ecotourism development in Ghana addresses issues of ‘raiding of farms’, ‘employment and community participation’ and ‘local communities’ adaptations’ in the face of the creation of the PAs and ecotourism based in them. It has been observed that the voices of the locals are often marginalized in their environments, thus Chapter Seven explores how research on conservation education can ‘speak back with’ the locals.

Chapter Seven contests conservation education through ecotourism at BFMS, by positioning poetry as a postcolonial method *par excellence* in Ghana. The Chapter teases out the position of the National Commission on Culture and Environmental Protection Agency, on the nation’s oral culture as a key resource for conservation education. Next, research and interpretative poems are presented in this Chapter as a means of ‘speaking back with’ the people at Boabeng and Fiema on BFMS.

Chapter Eight binds together the key themes that emerge from the thesis, including the SPMET, raiding of farms and households by fauna, Wildlife Division’s contribution to biodiversity conservation, marginalisation of local community, neo-crisis narratives on nature and people, marginalisations of local ecological knowledges, local community resistances, and research and interpretative poems. The Chapter recommends an interdisciplinary approach to ecotourism research and stresses the need for researchers to ‘give back’ to researched community (-ies).

Chapter 2 Collections, Cogitations and Citations: A Postcolonial Review of Ecotourism-Related Literature

2.0 Introduction to the Chapter

This Chapter provides a theoretical review of ecotourism-related literature. Currently, the corpus of literature stemming from ecotourism has been largely ahistorical, nationally and internationally oriented and lacks methodological vigour (Gilbert, 2007). Jaakson (2004) has shown how colonialism still fortifies the current global power structure to perpetuate the North's domination in ecotourism. Ecotourism is touted on its three impacts the conservation, socio-cultural and economic impacts (Honey, 2008). The Chapter thus, after providing discourses on the emergence of ecotourism, presents how postcolonialism helps to critique issues such as 'misrepresentations on nature', 'hegemony' and 'resistance' within these impacts of ecotourism. Methodological issues are addressed in Chapter Three. There are five sections in the Chapter. Section (2.1) reviews 'fortressism' and sustainable development initiatives. Section (2.2) delves into the meaning of ecotourism. Section (2.3) reviews global ecotourism development with particular reference to its conservation, socio-cultural and economic tenets. Section (2.4) reviews ecotourism and livelihood strategies. Section (2.5) then provides the summary.

2.1 Contestations on Protected Areas: Fortress Conservation

This section delves into the history of conservation along with the emergence of the sustainable development paradigm. Ample arguments are made on the changing role of Protected Areas (PAs) and why tourism is increasingly being based on these areas.

The global PA system was inherited from the 19th century USA model for forest preservation (Farsani et al, 2011). In 1872, the USA president Ulysses S. Grant signed an Act, which saw the establishment of “2 million acres as public park or pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people” (Lash 2003, p.24). This park became known as Yellowstone National Park, which was the first national park in the world. Although Yellowstone was established to provide benefit and enjoyment to people, its creation led to the evacuation of the native Indians living inside the gazzetted area (Stem, 2001). This people-out stance to PA creation (i.e. fortress conservation) faced (and still faces) strong resistance, especially from indigenous communities. Different forms of national parks expanded faster in the 20th century over the rest of the world partly because of the colonial administrators’ desire to preserve forests for Western hunting and other pleasurable activities based on nature (Eagles et al., 2002). Other notable PAs established in the latter part of the 19th and first-half of the 20th centuries are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Some of the Pioneer National Parks

Country	Name of Protected Area	Year of Establishment
USA	Yellowstone National Park	1872
Australia	Royal Park	1879
Canada	Banff Park and Niagara Falls	1885
Tanzania	Selous Game Reserve	1922
D.R. Congo	Albert National Park	1925
South Africa	Kruger National Park	1926
Ghana	Kakum Forest Reserve	1927
Tanzania	Serengeti National Park (combination of Ngorongoro Highland Game reserve (1928) and Serengeti (1930)).	1940
Kenya	Nairobi National Park	1946

Source: Adopted from IUCN (1991).

Globally, some 44,000 sites have met the IUCN definition of a PA, which together comprise 10 percent of the land surface of the world (Eagles et al., 2002). These PAs fall under the six-category system of IUCN (see Table 2.2), which aims at biodiversity conservation through varied management perspectives. In sub-Saharan Africa there are about 440 PAs covering about 2,600,000km² (Veita, 1999). Most colonial literature promulgated Africa as ‘the lost Eden’; thus the colonial administrators deemed it as an obligation to save the Continent from further degradation by creating PAs (Eagles et al., 2002). However, the aims of the PAs varied in different regions of Africa, for example the period from 1900-1945 in East Africa was referred to as the ‘Era of Big Game Hunting’ (Akama, 2004). While in West Africa, the overt propaganda of this region being the ‘White Man’s Grave’ caused the colonial administrators to reserve forests primarily for timber harvesting and to serve as windbreaks, shelterbelts etc (see Amanor, 2003).

Table 2.2 The IUCN Six-Category System of Protected Areas

Type		Description
I	Strict Nature/ Wilderness Area	Protected area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection.
Ia	Strict Nature Reserve	Protected area managed mainly for science.
Ib	Wilderness Area	Protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection.
II	National Park	Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation.
III	Natural Monument	Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features.
IV	Habitat/Species Management	Protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention.
V	Protected Landscape/Seascape	Protected area managed mainly for landscape/ seascape conservation and recreation.
VI	Managed Resource Protected Area	Protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.

Source: Adopted from IUCN (1991).

By 1993, nearly 7,000 parks and other PAs covering in excess of 2,600,000 km² had been established worldwide (World Research Institute, 1995). When combined with smaller areas such as state parks and private reserves, a large proportion (currently around 12.3 percent) of the planet's land surface receives some degree of protection (Swarbrooke, 1999; Honey, 2008; Buckley, 2009 and Glig, 2010). However according to Possiel et al (1995), it was the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro and commonly referred to as the Earth Summit, which brought the issue of biodiversity conservation into the sitting rooms of the world and helped place this critical issue on the agenda of world leaders (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1 Explanation on the meaning of Biodiversity

The meaning of biodiversity often emphasises the variety and variability of biological life considered in terms of hierarchical composition at the genetic, species and ecosystem levels. The hierarchy is not discrete since many genes are found within species, many species are found within ecosystems, and many ecosystems are found within the biosphere (Fennell, 2003). Variability tends to focus on the physical attributes of particular genes and species and often downplays the values associated with its less tangible functions (such as pollination, nutrient cycling, watershed protection and ecosystem resilience). Important also is the shift in emphasis on biodiversity from its tight biological affiliation now to the realm of social science and the values and benefits humans derive from nature. Increasingly, biodiversity and nature are becoming more interchangeable in usage. Grimble and Laidlaw (2002) applied the term 'bioresources' in their efforts to clarify the confusion between the scientifically biased definitions of biodiversity (which are hinged on variability and variety of life) to also include 'abundance' (of living resources and ecological functions found in all landscapes in the world). Bioresources widens the scope of the arguments on biodiversity to include both diversity and abundance, and will be employed where necessary throughout the thesis.

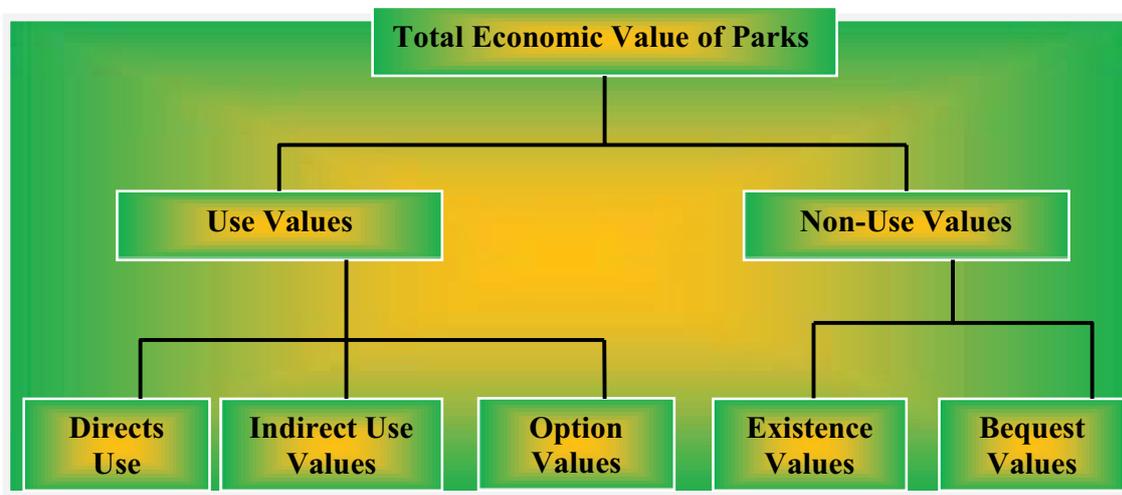
The Earth Summit yielded five main products namely "the Convention on Climate Change, the CBD, Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration, Forest Principles and the Convention

to Combat desertification” (Fennell, 2003). During a subsequent meeting of the UN General Assembly in 1998, the UN proclaimed the year 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE). The IYE meetings, which culminated at Quebec, considered ecotourism within the broader framework of sustainable development (more on this later). Four main motivations were to underpin activities of the IYE namely, sustainable use of biodiversity and natural resources, impact minimization (mostly in terms of climate change and energy consumption), empowerment and participation of local stakeholders, and awareness raising and environmental education of travellers and hosts (Hillel 2002, p.1). The IYE was a useful preparation for the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002. The WSSD purposed to assess the state of the world and how far governments have progressed in achieving the goals of declarations and other treaties signed under the Earth Summit. However, the Earth Summit and the WSSD’s focus on environmental issues for priority action such as biodiversity loss, climate and ozone depletion have caused some authors to argue that these issues fit a Northern rather than a Southern agenda (Amanor, 2003). For example, whereas the environmental problems in the North are the result of more than 200 years of development through industrialisation, the crisis in the South is the product of more than 200 years of underdevelopment (Owusu, 2001 and Banerjee, 2003). The South concerns itself more with issues of water and fuelwood supply, sanitation and soil erosion, thus the environmental priorities of the South are linked more to survival issues (Owusu, 2001).

Currently, putting values on biodiversity is the *de rigueur* mindset for conservation (Eagles et al., 2003). At the forefront of this is the Total Economic Value Framework

(TEVF) (see Figure 2.1), defined as the sum of the use values and the non-use values of PAs (Ibid.). The use values are the total of the direct and indirect uses and the option values. The direct use values are derived from direct use of the PA through tourism, natural resource harvesting, hunting and education among others. Grimble and Laidlaw (2003) have divided the direct use into consumptive and non-consumptive direct use.

Figure 2.1 The Total Economic Value Framework of Parks



Source: Adapted from IUCN (1991).

The consumptive use involves goods for home consumption, manufacture or trade, and the non-consumptive is non-tradable or subtractive. This concurs with Madge's (1995) exposition that reliance on forest resources falls into subsistence, commercial and socio-cultural uses. The indirect use values largely include a PA's ecological function; *inter alia*, watershed protection and breeding habitat for certain species. The option values concern the decision to use the natural assets in a PA sometime in the future. The non-use values are not linked to the use of the area, and it dichotomises into the bequest and

existence values (IUCN, 1991). The bequest values relate to the benefits of knowing that posterity will benefit from the PA. The existence values relate to the benefits of knowing that the PA exists even if no one is visiting it or using it. However, Grimble and Laidlaw (2003) modified the framework whereby no mention was made of the bequest value, and the option values were made to be part of the non-use values, since the option values are seen as bioresources in PAs that are not currently in use (see Table 2.3). However, there are issues raised against the legitimacy of TEVF.

Table 2.3 The Economic Values of Bioresources: their benefits and the beneficiaries

Use Values		Non Use Values		
Direct Use Values		Non Direct	Option	Existence
Consumptive	Non Consumptive	Use Values	Values	Values
Definition: Goods for home consumption	Non-tradable or Subtractive	Ecological functions: for maintaining sustainability & productivity	Possible future use or serendipity	Satisfaction from knowledge of existence
Examples values from diversity: mixed crop varieties and mixed food varieties	Aesthetic values of diverse landscape and birdwatching	Diversity of species assists ecosystems and resilience	Gene pool, potential medicine and drugs	Special concern for diverse species and ecosystems
Example values from abundance: food, fuel, fodder and raw materials	Birdwatching and recreation	Carbon storage, nutrients recycling, pollination	Not identifiable	Cultural and spiritual assets
Beneficiaries: Poor rural people including women	Visitors and tourists of various kinds	Downstream users of land, water, energy and the world community	The young and future generations	Environmental lobbies and concerned people

Source: Adapted from Grimble and Laidlaw (2003).

For instance, the North's estimation of existence values could hardly be ethical when it dominates the direct use values of the South. Currently, although global economic paradigm underpins biodiversity values, however there can be no universal metric for comparing and exchanging the real values of nature among different groups of people from different cultures, and with vastly diverse layers of political and economic power.

In addition, TEVF does not take into consideration the intrinsic values of biodiversity, which buttresses the fact that the framework is overly anthropogenic in focus. Furthermore, the problematics with the meaning of biodiversity further deepen the contestations against TEVF. The introduction of paradigm such as Valuation of Ecosystem Services (VES) has sought to place more emphasis on the intrinsic values of biodiversity. However, the overly econometric focus of VES on biodiversity still seems problematic. In fact, evaluation on biodiversity often appears to be "primarily enabling rather than transformative one, reflecting an overarching vision designed to serve rather than contradict global capitalism" (Cline-Cole and O'Keefe 2006, p.383). Banerjee (2003, p.27) adds: "the macroeconomic criteria of sustainable development (on which ecotourism rests) have now become corporatized, thus development is sustainable only if it is profitable, and it is sustainable only if it can be transacted through the market". Currently, *in situ* conservation (e.g. national parks) has become the more popular form for biodiversity conservation in the South, often because of the financial cost associated with *ex situ* conservation (e.g. botanic gardens, zoos, gene banks, and captive breeding programs) and their dire need for foreign exchange (Possiel et al 1995).

The motives for *in situ* conservation fall into three main categories, namely coverage, viability and economic sustainability. The coverage motive entails a worldwide system of protected and multiple-use areas, that would allow a significant number of indigenous species and systems to be protected, thus taking care of the unknowns until such time as methods are found for their investigation and utilization (Ibid). The viability motive involves natural selection and enables community evolution to continue, and new communities, systems, and genetic material to be produced. Indeed, PAs in the longer term may reduce local communities' vulnerability to natural disasters such as drought or flooding by protecting watersheds, wetlands and local microclimates. The economic sustainability stresses that a country that maintains a specific assemblage of biodiversity stores up future economic benefits, thus when the need develops and the diversity is thoroughly examined, commercially valuable genetic and biochemical material may be found. However, despite the enormous protection of biodiversity through *in-situ* and *ex-situ* conservation programs, the threats of uncertainties remain (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Uncertainties Surrounding Biodiversity Conservation

Demographic uncertainty: Resulting from random events in the survival and reproduction of individual species in ecosystems.
Environmental uncertainty: Caused by random or at least unpredictable changes in weather, food supply, populations of competitors, predators and parasites etc.
Natural catastrophes: These may include such factors as lightning, floods, bushfires, droughts, volcanoes and earthquakes etc.
Genetic uncertainty or random changes: In genetic make-up due to genetic drift or inbreeding that alter the survival and reproductive probabilities of individuals.
Anthropogenic uncertainties: Anthropogenic influence remains the most vicious— e.g. clearing of habitats for human settlement, over-exploitation and pollution are key to the depletion of mass mosaic of biodiversity worldwide.

Source: Adapted from Possiel et al (1995) and UNEP (2010).

Eagles et al (2002) have stressed that PAs, especially national parks, have come to be defined within a touristic development frame, because of southern countries' 'special' need for foreign exchange. This demands that the contestations on PAs are embedded in the sustainable development paradigm (see Stem, 2001 and Honey, 2008).

2.1.1 Sustainable Development: Bearing on Nature-Based Tourism

The paradigm of sustainable development (see Box 2.2) gained ascendancy during the 1980s. In 1987, the report titled *Our Common Future* (known as the Brundtland Report) by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) positioned sustainable development in discourses on development and conservation (Swarbrooke, 1999). In opposition to preservationist and authoritative approaches to PAs, sustainable development seeks to gain synergy among conservationists, academic communities, development practitioners and local communities (Few, 2001 and Fennell, 2008).

The sustainable development paradigm offers a broader perspective of factors underlying world and international inequity, which continuously cause failure of most conservation and development projects in the South. Thus, park management is gradually becoming integrative, on the premise that parks do not exist as ecological islands, but must be inclusive of social needs (cf. Page et al., 2009). Eagles et al (2002, p.8) stated that because of "the economic impact of tourism...the time will come when a park is understood within the framework of a park tourism system as well as an ecological system". Fennell (2003, p.47) has added, "the establishment of wilderness lands has been

self-defeating in that they are slowly becoming consumed by poaching and adjacent farming”, and that parks must be viewed as an agent of social change (Akama, 2004).

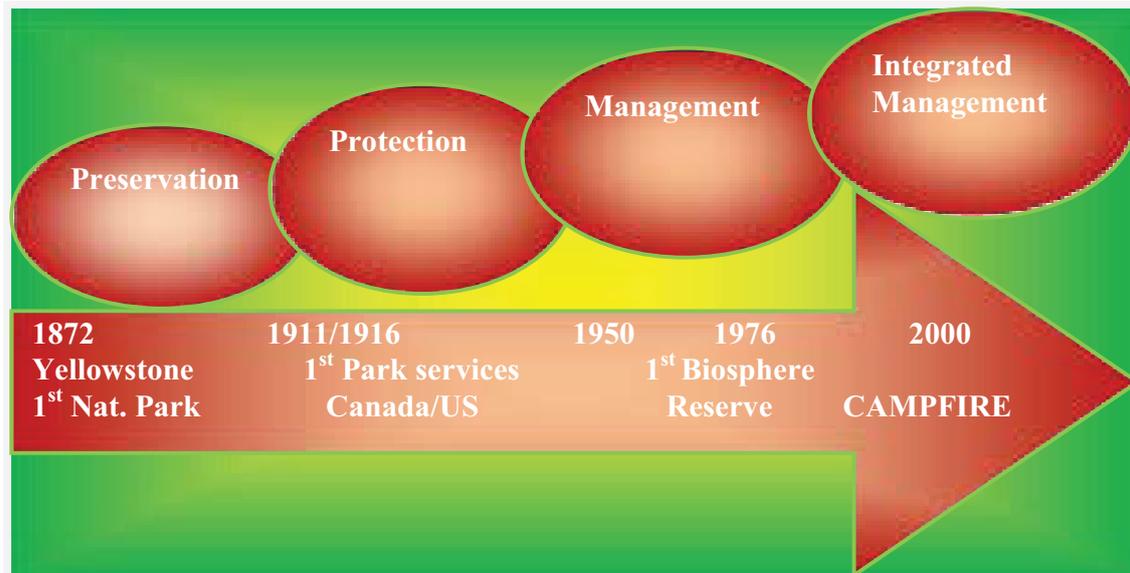
Box 2.2 Sustainable Development

The paradigm of sustainable development dates back to the early 1970s, when the United Nations held the first global environmental summit in Stockholm in 1972 (Swarbrooke, 1999). Sustainable development is defined as ‘the development, which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs (Fennell, 2008 and Honey, 2008). Sustainable development is based on the philosophy that “we do not borrow nature from our ancestors but from our children” (Murphy and Price 2004, p.169). The concept is not without its contestations. For instance, Escobar (1995) has argued that sustainable development promotes a green sleight-of hand because; exactly what is being sustained (economic growth or the global ecosystem or both) is debatable. In addition, the paradigm may be a convenient formula used to maintain and dodge the intractable questions of distribution and equality. However, “despite a multiplicity of ‘meanings’ (more than 30); ‘goals’ (social, political, economic, ecological); ‘components’ (sustainability, development); approaches (populist, interventionist, neo-liberal) and ‘dimensions’ (epistemological, political, economic), there is an emerging consensus that sustainable development: is applicable to all geographic scales; is concerned with improving the living standards of the poor and disadvantaged; should promote equity within and between generations as well as between and within nations; facilitates popular participation in development or decision making; combines socio-cultural, political, economic and ecological interests; and sometimes implies major political change” (Cline-Cole 1995, p.172).

These foregoing arguments are in line with the emergence of Community-Based Conservation Initiatives (CBCIs), and its close alternatives such as Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs), Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNR), co-management, and community-managed or indigenous reserves (Stem, 2001). These CBCIs seek to increase the development options of resource-dependent rural communities as a means of biodiversity conservation and the approach is gaining wide acceptance in the South. CBCIs are gaining acceptance among

academicians, practitioners and funding bodies because they are promulgated within the rubric of integrated management (see also Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 The Evolving Role of National Parks



Source: Modified from Fennell (2003, p.47.).

Examples in Africa include the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project and the Administrative Management Design (ADMAD) for Game Management Areas- both in Zambia (Vieta, 1999 and Honey, 2008). Fennell (2003, p.46) therefore explains, “national parks are mandated by dual purposes of protecting representative natural areas of significance, and encouraging public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment”. Consequently, the economic impact of tourism in PAs, “emphasises their community, regional and national importance” (Eagles et al., 2002 p.8). Indeed, the market share of nature-based tourism is increasing in the South, because of the higher demand for scarcity of pristine environments which means that travel is

necessary to reach high quality sites (see Farsani et al, 2011 and Huang, 2011). However, distinctions exist between ecotourism other tourism types; since the former involves the explicit objective to achieve environmental and social protection (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 Major Tourism Categories

Adventure tourism: A form of nature-based tourism that incorporates an element of risk, higher levels of physical exertion, and the need for specialized skill.
Ecotourism: Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people.
Geotourism: Tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place its environment, heritage, aesthetics, culture, and the well-being of its residents through appreciation and learning.
Mass Tourism: Large-scale tourism typically associated with ‘sea, sand, sun’ resorts and characteristics such as transnational ownership, minimal direct economic benefit to destination communities, seasonality, and package tours.
Nature-based Tourism: Any form of tourism that relies primarily on the natural environment for its attractions or settings.
Sustainable Tourism: Tourism that maximizes the benefits to local communities, minimizes negative social or environmental impacts, and helps local people conserve fragile cultures, habitats, and species.
Responsible Tourism: Tourism that meets the needs of present tourist and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future.

Source: TIES (2005, p.4) and Farsani et al (2011).

Ecotourism in its purest form seeks an even platform, what Brechin et al (2002, p.53) have termed as the ‘pragmatic middle ground’ in order to unleash its potential for achieving both conservation and developmental objectives. However, the meaning of ecotourism is still contentious; the next section contests this further.

2.2 Contestations on the Meanings of Ecotourism

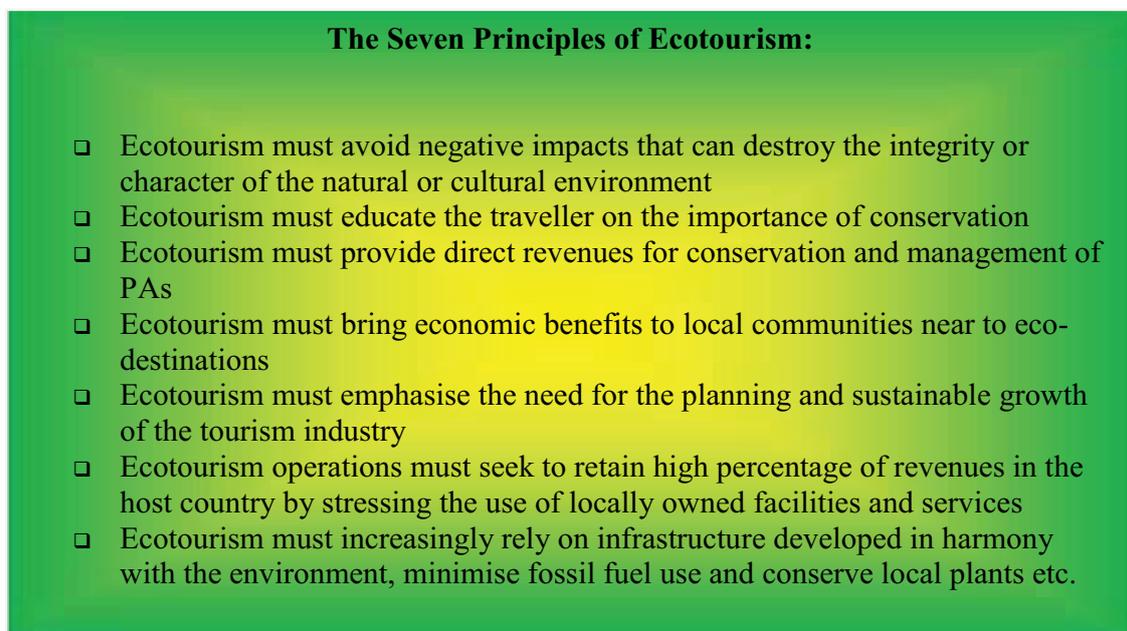
This section delves into the meaning of ecotourism and allows for postcolonial reading. This ensures that the discourses on ecotourism that unfold are attuned to making the

concept more useful to its biodiversity conservation and development objectives. According to Honey (1999), Ceballos-Lascuráin, a top member of the World Conservation Union concerned with conserving the American Flamingo in his native Mexico in 1987, coined the term 'ecotourism' to reflect his endeavour of maintaining these birds for both aesthetic and economic ends. Although, Ceballos-Lascuráin is often cited as the father of ecotourism, Miller is also reputed to have coined the term ecodevelopment to address almost the same objectives under ecotourism (Honey, 1999). Furthermore, Hetzer (1965) is reputed to have used the term to explain the intricate relationship between tourists, the environments and cultures in which they interact. Hetzer identified four key areas that have the potential to make the tourism industry responsible namely, the need for minimum environmental impact, minimum impact on and maximum respect for host cultures, maximum economic benefits to the host country's grassroots and maximum recreational satisfaction to tourists (Fennell, 2008).

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) which has nearly six thousand fans on the social network—Facebook (in January 2010), defines ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas, which conserves the environment and sustains the well being of the local people” and stated seven principles that must consequently underpin the concept (see Figure 2.3). These principles are conterminous with ‘The Quebec Declaration’ that came from the IYE (UNEP/WTO 2002), which stated that ecotourism should be nature-based, should embrace minimal impact management, environmental education, and contribute to biodiversity conservation and community well-being (Stem, 2001 and Lash, 2003). In addition, ecotourism can contribute to world peace by bringing people of diverse

nationalities, races, ethnicities, cultures, sexes, socio-economic statuses and lifestyles to understand each other (cf. Honey, 1999; Ong, 2000; Fennell, 2008; Honey, 2008 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). From the two major world fora in 2002—the World Ecotourism Summit (WES) and the WSSD, proponents of ecotourism prepared ‘a set of principles and how to put them into practice’ (Honey 1999, p.21).

Figure 2.3 The International Ecotourism Society’s Seven Key Areas of Ecotourism



Source: Modified from TIES (2007).

These principles are fundamentally the same as those for sustainable tourism, but simply on a smaller localized human scale, whilst remaining committed to the larger ecological scale (see Box 2.3). Kiss (2004) has added the attraction of ecotourism is its prospects of linking conservation and local livelihoods, preserving biodiversity and reducing rural poverty and achieving both objectives on a sustainable basis (self-financing) basis.

Box 2.3 Overview of Some Definitions on Ecotourism

Ceballos-Lascuráin (1987) defines ecotourism as involving travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific object of admiring, studying, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural features (both past and present) found in these areas. The person that practices ecotourism has the opportunity of immersing himself or herself in nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences. This person will eventually acquire an awareness and knowledge of the natural environment, together with its cultural aspects, which will convert him or her into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues. According to **Martha Honey (1999)**, ecotourism involves travel to fragile, pristine areas (usually PAs) that strives to be low impact and (usually) small scale. Real ecotourism must involve travel to natural destinations, minimise impact, build environmental awareness, provide direct financial assistance for conservation, provide financial benefit and empowerment for local people, respect local cultures and lastly support human rights and democratic movements. **Wallace and Pierce (1999)** have defined ecotourism as the travel to relatively undisturbed natural areas for study, enjoyment, or volunteer assistance. True ecotourism must minimize negative impacts to the environment and to local people, increase the awareness and understanding of an area's natural and cultural systems and the subsequent involvement of visitors in issues affecting those systems, contribute to the conservation and management of PAs, maximize the early and long-term participation of local people in the decision making process that determines the kind and amount of tourism that should occur, direct economic and other benefits to local people and complement traditional practices and lastly provide opportunities for local people and nature tourism employees to utilize and visit natural areas and learn more about the bequeaths that other visitors enjoy. Finally, **David Fennell (2003)** has added ecotourism is the sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non consumptive, and locally oriented (control, benefits and scale). Furthermore, the concept seeks active participation from, and economic benefits to local communities and indigenous people as well as environmental/conservational education of hosts, professionals and tourists to the eco-destination.

Certainly, a cursory observation through literature on ecotourism reveals that there has been a gradual modification in the emphasis placed on its 'biodiversity conservation' tenet (Fennell, 2008). Accordingly, ecotourism encompasses an increasing commitment to the empowerment of local residents and the education of the traveller and other

stakeholders in order to ensure sustainability (Honey, 2008). Lash (2003) has added that the educational component ties together the human and environmental considerations and is crucial in teaching and promulgating lessons on ecotourism. This involves introducing rural workers and residents to conservation biology, where human and environmental interactions become clear, and destructive land practices are seen in new dimensions (Honey, 2008). Consequently, ecotourism development is in tandem with the viewpoint that “nature protection or resource management is a product of social action” (Brechin et al., 2002 p.45), whilst still maintaining its non-human and ecological dimensions. Another important viewpoint on ecotourism comes from Fennell (2003), who argued that ecotourism is the sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism with local orientation (control, benefits and scale) and occurs typically in natural areas. He added that some authors on ecotourism attest that by adherence to his definition most of the ambiguities on the concept’s definition would be curbed. Indeed, Fennell’s (2003) definition helps reduce some of the ambiguities on ecotourism by highlighting the cornerstones of ecotourism- ‘nature’ (i.e. fauna and flora). However “there is no single ‘nature’, only ‘natures’, it therefore follows that ‘nature tourism’ will be variously constructed by different societies and therefore that there will be multiple ‘nature tourisms’” (Cater 2006, p.23). Also, especially in most southern countries, local cultures may be at the core of references to natural assets (Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro, 2007).

Indeed, ecotourism consumes culture directly or indirectly; for example, Gilbert (2002) has stressed that most eco-activities involve visits to cultural sites, especially archaeological remains and indigenous villages. For instance, Caribbean ecotourism has

been most strongly developed in Dominica, Belize and Guyana, and these countries all have remnant native Carib populations that are visited as part of each region's standard ecotours (Hall and Tucker, 2004). Consequently, Buckley (2009) has stressed that ecotourism is primarily resource-based and that the protection of these natural resources (which may include archaeological/cultural) are vital for sustained ecotourism. Nevertheless, whilst the coupling of wilderness with indigenous cultures may accurately reflect some groups' epistemological and cosmological viewpoints on nature, it also has the potential of positioning them as objects of a neo-imperial gaze (Hollinshead, 2004).

Community-based ecotourism (CBE) initiatives seek to address these neo-colonial tendencies and give sovereignty to local communities. Currently, there are three types of CBEs noted in ecotourism literature. First, is the CBE that is owned wholly by a community. Second, is the CBE that is owned by families or groups in a community, where they all pull their assets together to ensure the operation of the eco-enterprise for the benefit of all the participating members. Third, is the CBE that is partly owned by a community and the government, NGO or private investors (Honey, 1999). Kiss (2004) has stated that 32 out of the 55 World Bank-financed projects that supported PAs in Africa between 1988 and 2003 included CBE. Also, the 'leaking' of economic benefits may reduce when communities are active actors in ecotourism (Lindberg, 1998). Lash (2003, p.18) has stated, "because wildlife and habitats do not have an intrinsic value in an economic market...ecotourism can provide the economic incentive for preservation". Indeed, since most eco-destinations are located within former Euro-American Colonies, the situation begs us to review some of the existing arguments about imperial

constructions of nature as an ontological category and the subsequent replication of this ‘Otherness’ in the postcolonial South for material profits (Gilbert, 2007). Consequently, the next section provides postcolonial contestations on ecotourism’s merits and demerits.

2.3 Postcolonial Review of Impacts of Global Ecotourism Development

It is worth stating from the onset that this section seeks not to trivialise ecotourism, but rather to present a review that seeks to make the concept a worthwhile strategy that can achieve both biodiversity conservation and rural development, especially in the South.

2.3.1 Ecotourism and Conservation Issues

Eco-destinations, be they a whole country such as Belize and Costa Rica, or portions of countries such as PAs in Ecuador, Kenya and South Africa etc—seek adherence to international discourses on biodiversity loss prevention and anticipated commensuration in terms of a steady inflow of eco/tourists and revenue (Honey, 1999 and Akama, 2004). Ecotourism ‘success’ stories range from Rwanda’s mountain gorillas, to Equador’s Galapagos Islands and to Fiji’s Koroyanitu Development Project (Honey, 1999). CBE efforts in Africa almost always cite CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, which actually came into existence with the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act (However, Dzingirai (2003) has argued that some stakeholders of CAMPFIRE are excluding other people from Zimbabwe, a contentious issue that needs further reading). The Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in Nepal, which was established in 1986, is often cited as Asia’s success story in ecotourism. ACAP is made up an area of 7600 km² and was established in an effort to conserve forests and other natural resources to mitigate the negative impacts of trekking

in the area (Nepal, 2000). ACAP uses a bottom-up and participatory approach, comprising of village committees for village development, forest management and conservation and lodge management. Another example from Central America is the Community Baboon Sanctuary in Belize. This was formed in 1985 to conserve the population of black howler monkeys (*Alouatta pigra*) in central Belize, which were threatened through killing (Lash, 2003 and Honey, 2008). On establishment of the Sanctuary the monkeys almost doubled their population enabling 14 troops to be translocated to a national PA in southern Belize to bolster a declining population (Honey, 1999). Ecotourism's potential to contribute to biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation is increasingly courting the attention of international and national financial donor agencies (Buckley, 2009). Indeed, properly managed eco-destinations can acquire legal and financial power, and can help either to ameliorate the hardship at the local community-level, or heighten their existing livelihood strategies or provide alternatives. However, Upton et al (2008) have cautioned that in contesting the possibilities for achieving conservation and poverty alleviation aims concurrently, authors must seek to avoid giving expositions that eulogize successes of PAs or hyperbolize their challenges.

Currently, conservation through ecotourism in the South can replicate colonial representations and northern ideologies on nature and people (Echtner and Prasad, 2003 and Gilbert, 2007). In addition, postcolonials often downplay the ramified impacts of ecotourism development particularly at local community levels; these observations are thus discussed further. Firstly, the tendency to conceive of the wilderness in terms that exclude routine human activity is problematic since it fails to account for the historical

presence of indigenous people living in ecosystems worldwide. For example, Ceballos-Lascuráin's positioning of ecotourism, as offering tourists the opportunity to immerse themselves in nature in ways most people cannot enjoy in their routine urban existence is imbricated in the works of Romantic writers such as Thoreau and Muir who stressed the 'spiritual usefulness' and 'natural duty' of people to keep in contact with nature (Fennell, 2003). According to Enzensberger (1988), these Romantic writers cemented the textualisation of the notion that visiting nature untainted by humans could provide an antidote to the effects of modernity. These writers transfigured their positions on ontology, and created a folkloric and monumental image of a nature far from all civilization (Gilbert, 2002). Currently, ecotourism replicates these misrepresentations by subtly conjuring up pleasures based on pristine rainforests, unique animal species and exotic cultures. Though deployment of emotive words such as 'pristine and untouched may be a conscious effort to rally support to avert the global decline in biodiversity' (Pickerill 2008, p.1), it however depicts that colonialism still 'cast shadows on the postcolonials/postcolonies' (Gregory 2001, p.613). Indeed, most literature on ecotourism seems to persuade its readers almost to become ecotourism ambassadors by romanticising the trajectories that have led to its emergence and its consequent *raison d'être*, whereby Northerners are positioned as protectors in averting declining biodiversity.

Secondly, issues of conflict through conservation at the local-level are often subtly represented especially in Africa. Two sources of conflict from conservation are addressed here namely, raiding of crops by animals and change in power at local level following the creation of a PA. Firstly, Lamarque et al (2009) have acknowledged that larger

herbivores (e.g. elephant and hippopotamus) and large mammalian carnivores (e.g. lion, leopard and cheetah), and crocodiles are traditionally defined as problem-causing animals and are responsible for most of the human-wildlife conflicts in Africa. Crocodiles still kill people in Lake Nasser in Egypt and inside towns in Mozambique, leopards still kill sheep within 100 km of Cape Town and lions kill cattle around the outskirts of Nairobi (Ibid.). Zang and Wang (2003) have reported that in China, the rural inhabitants from the mountain area of Simao, in proximity to Xishuang Banna Nature Reserve, claimed that elephant damage accounted for 28 to 48 percent of the community's annual income in 2000, with the total economic losses between 1996 and 1999 amounting to US\$ 314,600. Lamarque et al (2009) have reported that rampant raiding by elephants in the past 5 years within the Kakum Conservation Area in Ghana has resulted in 10 people being killed. Thus, raiding of crops and killing of people by fauna in PAs can erupt into or heighten the existing conflicts between a park's management and local communities.

Secondly, changes in 'power relations' especially from traditional power centres in local community conservation and development initiatives, may bring or heighten conflicts. PAs bring with them new groups such as management committees, that have roles that may conflict with existing institutions, as responsibility for controlling ritual sites or decision-making on land-uses may pass from traditional village government or religious and ritual authorities to park managers (Bailey, 1999). For example, the creation of PAs in East Africa limited the landscape available for the Maasai to graze their cattle in areas deemed rich in foliage (Akama, 2004). Furthermore, "being made to shift from an area they know well to an area where they are unfamiliar with the natural environment will

reduce people's human capital as their acquired knowledge and skills may no longer be relevant" (Messer and Townley 2003, p.21). Additionally, in order for ecotourism to follow its touted global brand image as 'pristine tourism' it is often represented as "benign, romantic and peaceful, which hides manual labour that may have tamed harsh environments, domestic labour that transformed natural produce into home-made goods or warring factions among the villagers in other times" (Simmons 2004, p.47). The next section explores socio-cultural issues associated with ecotourism projects.

2.3.2 Ecotourism and Socio-Cultural Issues

Ecotourism acceptance depends partly on the socio-cultural opportunities it presents to local communities. Currently, socio-cultural benefits of ecotourism are often stated to include interaction with tourists, provision of social amenities such as hospitals, schools, roads, electricity, libraries, exchange programmes and provision of potable water. On the other hand, negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism are cited from Bangkok and Nairobi to Rio de Janeiro and include under-age prostitution, drug trafficking and armed robbery. The Manila Declaration in 1990 sought to address this problem (Honey, 1999), but the doleful repercussions of these 'plagues of society' have not changed much. Thus, the socio-cultural tenet of ecotourism offers an aegis to contest the 'commoditisation of colonial representations on nature and people', 'local resistances' and 'voice, community and community participation': these issues are reviewed respectively.

Firstly, ecotourism sells a commodified relation of an ontological 'other'—be it biodiversity or culture. Thus ecotourism offers four products based on habitat, heritage,

history and handicrafts (Smith, 1996). This relationship often manifests in practices such as sightseeing and souvenir collecting, the aestheticisation of various physical and cultural features of a destination and by the commercialization of immaterial resources such as hospitality. Corbey (1989) has stressed that four main colonial representations of Africans, namely violence, sexuality, eating habits and dressing code, are still being replicated in the tourism industry. On the issue of violence, Africans are portrayed as violent warriors, capable of the worst acts of barbaric violence towards their enemies and towards Europeans. On sexuality, the phallus of the African man has been depicted as a kind of *lusus naturae* (abnormality of nature), which makes him dangerous to be around white women (Arogundade, 2000). The views on eating habits of Africans are modeled around a stereotypic myth that they are cannibalistic. On the dressing code, Africans were depicted as being underdressed, especially in the context of 'Victorian' prudence.

This representation further subjugated African women as been sexually willing because they were seen walking around bare-chested. This 'mis-anthropology' (see Chilisa, 2005), helped position Africa as the Dark Continent replete with predators (e.g. lions) and very poisonous snakes. Thus, travellers attained *a priori* adventurous status, allegedly from contact with this dark side of Africa (Andreasson, 2005). Sadly, these misrepresentations are replicated in tourism marketing to heighten tourists' desire for the past social relations and visual discovery as the way to know place (a fanciful play that tends to hide travel's ramified realities) (cf. Akama, 2004 and Bonsu, 2009). These 'replica-misrepresentations' (i.e. the subtle and sometimes overt replications of the 'otherness' of people of the postcolonial South) is divorced from the realities of real

world contexts. In fact, tourism relies heavily on ‘dominant folklorists’, who take the position in their province as the ‘mouth’ of their people or the ‘folk of the community’:

“As a result, these folks used their “formula” in depicting a particular folk “essence”, which then is situated and projected in a nostalgic and esteemed Golden Age, away from its imagination and bodified into the contemporary moment, to represent singular versions of ethnic unity, and ultimately that essence-cum-Golden Age-cum-the ‘bodified’ imagination is commodified for material profits”.
(See Hollinshead, 2004, p.27).

However there are ambivalences and ambiguities in these “bourgeois discourses about non-lettered, peasant worlds’ (Pratt 1992, p.34-35). For instance, “the Bushmen of southern Africa are possibly the most exploited example of ambivalent European image of Africa(ns), perceived on the one hand as a people who are closer to primate apes...and hailed on the other hand as the noble savage living in complete harmony with the natural African environment” (Wels 2004, p.87). Kiren Asher (2000, p.112) has added that in the Pacific Lowlands (Choco) in Colombia the Afro-Colombian inhabitants are represented by the state as “impoverished, backward, and marginalized squatters in the vacant lands of the nation, or they are glorified as authentic ethnic minorities, noble savages and wise stewards of biodiversity”. Bhabha (1990) has cautioned that these ambivalent narratives, are a form of ‘postcolonial faultism’ (replication of an ‘other’) that aids in perpetuating the marginalisation of postcolonial subjects and the sub-groups within them.

Secondly, it is worth reviewing that ecotourism can become a site of resistance by “previously suppressed community groups, or previously silenced ethnic populations, towards radically new representations of themselves which confidently contest mainstream or established delineation of them” (Hollinshead 2004, p.37). Put differently,

eco/tourism development can help generate cathartic insights into the identities of the marginalized and through culturally strategic resistive representations can correct ‘fractured identities’ (that is the distorted cultural representation of people, landscapes and histories) (Bhabha, 1994; Echtner and Prasad, 2003 and Osagie and Buzinde, 2011).

For instance, when the Koroyanitu National Park in Fiji was proposed in the Koroyanitu Development Program, the villagers in the areas zoned for the park designed a new approach to ensure preservation of their village and agro-based livelihoods (Lash, 2003). Traditionally there is a culture in Fiji called ‘vanua’—which means a person’s property including land, fishing areas, tradition, relatives and culture that ensures minimal needs of all residents at local communities. The ‘vanua’ addresses issues of need of a village (e.g. food, shelter) and not its wants. However, the cash market has finally caught up with this village, which has led some landowners to sell trees, and provided some legal right to mine gravel by outsiders. The villagers fearing the danger of unbridled commercialisation in their domain have developed a new concept called ‘basinisi’ to embrace the commercial projects to bring in cash and support the wants of their community. The ‘vanua’ is still concerned with welfare and seeks to satisfy the needs of the community residents. Furthermore, three villages in Thailand have sought to decrease the leaking of funds from ecotourism (see Lacher and Nepal 2010, p.84). Firstly, the village-Tom Lod has formed a co-operative that employs people from the local area. Secondly, Huay Pu Keng charges high entrance fees for its cultural tourism. Lastly, Mae Aw links its agricultural base to tourism by selling locally grown tea. These three strategies are based on the villages’ unique positions, and what could be done to increase the benefits of

tourism to them (Ibid.). Thus, Spivak (1993, p.56) has stated, “tourism may blossom into a garden where the marginal can speak”. However, this is not ‘automatic or given’, for ‘how can a garden present a significant resistance by marginalised communities if the flowers in the gardens are predominantly exotic or cannot be picked by them?’

Thirdly, the issue of community and community participation in ecotourism in the South is a major socio-cultural issue (cf. Hall and Tucker, 2004 and Osagie and Buzinde, 2011). Although the Structural Adjustment Programme was heralded as the decentralisation of the South, the meaning of ‘community’ and ‘community participation’ in conservation and development projects often remains labyrinthine and moot (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4 Contesting the Meaning of Community

Lash (2003, p.21) has asked ‘what/who is the community?’ “Who gets to participate in the planning process and how much weight is given to various stakeholder-views in the final analysis?” “What is the height and best use of land and more significantly who determines what the highest and best use for the land is?” Community studies on ecotourism generally group people living together in geographic or political areas as being a ‘community’, therefore its members are all influenced in some way by ecotourism development (Akama, 2004). The members of a community could also be determined from the ‘horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ perspectives. The former refers to special or other groups interested in projects in the community, the latter makes reference to the different age groups i.e. the youth, the adult or aged members interested in the project in the community. Ecotourism acknowledges the differences in ‘community’ and their implications for the project’s sustainability brought about through class, gender, ethnicity, religious background, marital status, education level and race. However, Abdullah (1999) has rebuffed the ‘geographical straitjacket’ stance on definitions of community. Therefore, Curry (2000, p.1067) has proposed the term ‘ecological republicanism’. Curry argues that community members need not only know one another and have connections between members, but also ‘integrity’ must surely assume pride of place in its definition. Thus, integrity is only maintained by practices and duties of ‘active citizenship’. Lash and Austin (2003) shifted the argument to include ecological considerations. To them stakeholders need to examine the land for its inherent characteristics and capacities and best use—this is termed as ‘ecological community’.

On community participation, Cline-Cole (1995) has stressed it is an organized effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control. Goulets (1989) classified local participation into a four-tier typology namely, participation as a goal, the scope of the arena in which participation operates, the originating agent of the participation and the moment at which participation is introduced. Krefetz and Goodman (1973) dichotomised community participation into ‘populist’ and ‘elitist’ perspectives.

The ‘populist’ is a bottom-up approach, which involves the local people in determining and in the planning stages of a project. The populist believes in the capabilities of the local people to manage their own projects when given the necessary training. Consequently, the proliferation of community-based projects in the postcolonies is a form of ‘resistance’ by local communities—i.e. it helps challenge the misrepresentation that the postcolonials are incapable of managing their own resources (cf. Power, 2003). Kiss (2004) has added local communities have both the right and obligation to be involved in the planning and implementation processes of tourism projects in their localities, since they have to live permanently with its social and environmental impacts. Community participation continues to be seen as desirable, because it contributes to ensuring that the voice of the people is overt in the design, implementation and development stages of tourism. However, popular participation can also be achieved through:

“Local and national NGOs providing coordinative, overseeing services, assistance in writing and obtaining grants, attracting training for community members, and enhancing local knowledge of wildlife and natural resource use, along with the potential, technical, and financial support...by empowering communities, conservation NGOs and agencies can fulfil their missions”.
(Lash 2003, p.27).

For example, from May 2004 to May 2006, Friends of the Earth, initiated a project (GHA/98/G52) titled “Biodiversity Conservation and Community Ecotourism Development” around the Tafi Atome Wildlife Sanctuary in Ghana. The project targeted capacity building workshops for more than 60 people including youths, men and women, who were selected from Tafi Atome, Tafi Mador, Abuiife and Vakpo-Fu (Mason Pers. Comm., 2007). These people were trained in alternative livelihood strategies such as organic farming, grasscutter farming and beekeeping/apiculture.

However, the ‘elitists’/‘technological rationalists’/‘top-downers’ believe that participation of local people in conservation and development initiatives is not desirable because it makes the project formulation and implementation less efficient (Dei, 2000). Lash (2003, p.27) has argued that when planning ecotourism for communities, “the most influential voice is best given to local residents, in order for success to occur”. However, Cater and Lowman (2003) have stressed that attempts to involve local communities have been inhibited by often dismissive or condescending attitudes taken by some officials towards local participation. In addition, local communities’ participation is often seen as a threat to the power structure of local, regional and national bureaucracies (Cater, 2006 and Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008). Indeed, grassroots participation in ecotourism is still often restricted to informing the local communities of the ongoing and proposed plans for the area or incorporating them as menials, assistants and informants in research projects (Asher, 2000). As a result, popular participation in eco/tourism, especially in the postcolonies has been “promoted by the powerful, and is largely cosmetic...but most ominously it is used as a ‘hegemonic’ device to secure compliance to, and control by,

existing power structures” (Cater 2006, p.31). Linked to conservation and socio-cultural issues on ecotourism are its economic impacts, which the next section explores.

2.3.3 Ecotourism and Economic Benefits

According to Jaakson (2004, p.175), there are three categories of tourist separated by attitudes towards -difference and contrast, namely the contrast seeker (seeking areas which are *terra incognita* to tourism, or destinations less travelled), the contrast indifferent (maintains an insouciant attitude to differences in places) and the contrast avoider (seeks the comforts and reminders of home and hence craves for global culture). Though tourists may shift between these categories even within a single visit, ecotourists are often contrast seekers and they are at the core of the increase in the ecotourism market. Currently, precise estimates of ecotourism’s economic benefits are often unavailable, which is partly due to the inconsistency in definitions.

According to TIES (2005) for 40 world’s poorest countries tourism is the second most important source of foreign exchange after oil. Honey (1999) estimates ecotourism market is growing at the rate of 10 to 15 percent per year, and contributes US\$154 billion in receipts. Wilson (1987) estimated that of 62 tourists who visited Ecuador, with an average age mean of 42 years, the female to male ratio was 48 to 52 percent respectively. Additionally, 27 percent had an annual family income of US\$30,000 to US\$60,000 (before taxes) and approximately one-quarter earned more than US\$90,000 per year. Over 30 percent had at least bachelor degrees and a little over 10 percent had doctoral degrees (Fennell 2003, p.35). In Kenya a lion is worth US\$7,000 per year in tourist

revenues and income from an elephant herd is valued at US\$ 610,000 annually (Honey, 1999). Honey (1999) has further reported that foreign exchange from ecotourism has overridden the mainstay banana crop in Costa Rica and that it accounts for 80 percent of the income of the people living on the Galapagos Islands. Tourism revenues for the seven villages around the Belize Baboon Sanctuary rose from US\$8,500 in 1992 to US\$99,000 in 2000 (Lash, 2003). According to TIES (2005, p.4) “in Komodo National Park in Indonesia, independent travellers spend nearly US\$100 locally per visit; package holidaymakers spend only half this. In contrast, cruise-ship arrivals spend an average three cents in the local economy. In a U.K. survey, 87 percent of travellers said their holiday should not damage the environment; 39% said they were prepared to pay 5 percent extra for ethical guarantees (TIES, 2005). In South Africa nature-based tourism generates 11 times more revenue per year than cattle ranching on the same size of land, and job generation is 15 times greater (Honey, 1999). In the Monteverde area in Costa Rica, one ecotourism destination directly employs 43 staff, with 70 percent being local residents, whilst in Cuba ecotourism has been reported to generate over 54,000 direct employments (Ibid.). These people work as rangers and camping staff, in catering, selling fruits, handicrafts and also provide entertainment to the tourists. Consequently, as well as direct employment, ecotourism can provide markets for locally made goods especially from the productive sectors such as agriculture and fishing (Fennell, 2008).

Campbell (1999) has however remarked that most of the direct employment generated through ecotourism is predominantly unskilled and semiskilled, which includes boat drivers, waiters and domestic staff in hotels, whilst locals rarely occupy senior positions

in ecotourism businesses. This has led to some analysts commenting that jobs created by ecotourism are of low quality and remuneration, and that the postcolonial subject is still subordinated in an economic hierarchy (Cater, 2006). However, although direct employment in tourism (e.g. in hotels, restaurants etc) may be semi-skilled or unskilled, indirect employment (in supply industries, product services etc) may be highly skilled (Williams and Shaw, 1998). Currently, ecotourists are often thought of as post-imperial subjects whose nature-based activities actually advance conservation efforts and benefit local economies. However, ecotourism may show concinnity with the 19th century Cook-led tourism (see Chapter Four), because the socio-demographic attributes of ecotourists such as being more mature (typical age range 35-54), better educated (at least college-level trained) and being more environmentally focused, to a degree depict an ‘avantgarde travel’--i.e. it is a kind of travel for the elites of the world (Gilbert, 2007).

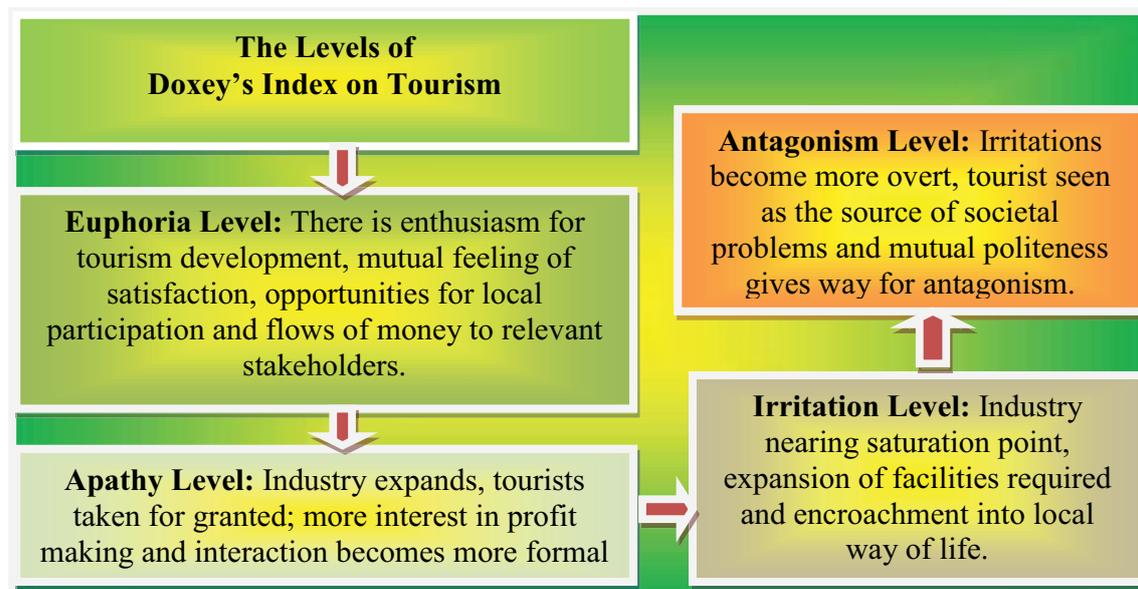
Furthermore with the majority of local people being economically marginalized especially in the South, the ‘rich enclaves’ (places patronised by compradors and northern tourists) present a case akin to colonisation of new physical spaces (Jaakson, 2004). This hierarchy produces stereotypes of humble peasants gladly sharing their subsistence with the enlightened northerners whose essential superiority is accepted. Thus, ecotourism to an extent replicates the hierarchy that privileges the colonizer over the colonized. As a result, ecotourism has been referred to as a ‘plantation-like agricultural system’, ‘something old with a new name’ (Simmons, 2004), ‘ecological imperialism’ and ‘neo-colonialist tourism’ (Jaakson, 2004 and Gilbert, 2007).

Currently, up to a half of all tourism income in the South leaks out of the destination, with much of it going to industrial nations through foreign ownership of hotels and tour companies (Akama, 2004). Akama (2004) has stated that 60 percent of the ownership of the tourism industry in Kenya (titled the *mzee* means Elder Statesman of ecotourism in Africa by Honey 1999, p.294 because it is the leading eco-destination in Africa) is by multinational conglomerates and only 2 to 5 percent of the tourism revenue trickles down to local communities. The 'leaking' in tourism in the south is demonstrated in five main areas. Firstly, imported goods and services consumed directly by tourists (e.g. food, petrol). Secondly, imported capital goods and services consumed by the tourist industry (e.g. taxis, furnishings, foreign architect fees, and management consultancies). Thirdly, indirect imports for domestic supplies to the tourism industry, which has an economic leakage element, for instance fertilizers for growing food crops, material and equipment for building hotels and restaurants and for furniture production. Fourthly, imports for government expenditures for example; equipment to construct roads, airports, etc., overseas publicity, overseas training of personnel. Finally, factor payments abroad for instance-repatriated wages, profit interest and hotel management fees.

Daniels and Radebaugh (2001, p.386) have added, "success is necessary to drive entrepreneurial activity, the collapse of small cottage industries in the face of multi-national corporations make the local population feel incapable of competing". This can cause local residents to shift their attitude from the 'euphoria level' to the 'antagonism level' on Doxey's (1975) Index Model of resident's attitude to tourists (see Figure 2.4). However, the 'hope' in ecotourism has led to it being labelled variously as 'green',

‘responsible’ and ‘pro-poor tourism’ (see Honey, 2008). Undeniably, ecotourism continues to attract growing numbers of travellers who are willing to pay for conservation and people’s welfare (Fennell, 2008 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010).

Figure 2.4 Doxey’s Index of Resident’s Attitudes to Tourists



Source: Modified from Carter and Lowman (1994).

Ashley (2000) has endeavoured to link ecotourism to sustainability of resources and livelihoods of rural people. Consequently, the next section reviews the position of ecotourism in livelihood strategies of people surrounding PAs.

2.4 Ecotourism as a Livelihood Strategy in the Postcolonial South

The ‘economics heritage’ of tourism has resulted in ecotourism being replete with economic models (Hall and Tucker, 2004). Through time, there has been a subtle dissociation of rural development concepts in ecotourism discourses. For instance, the

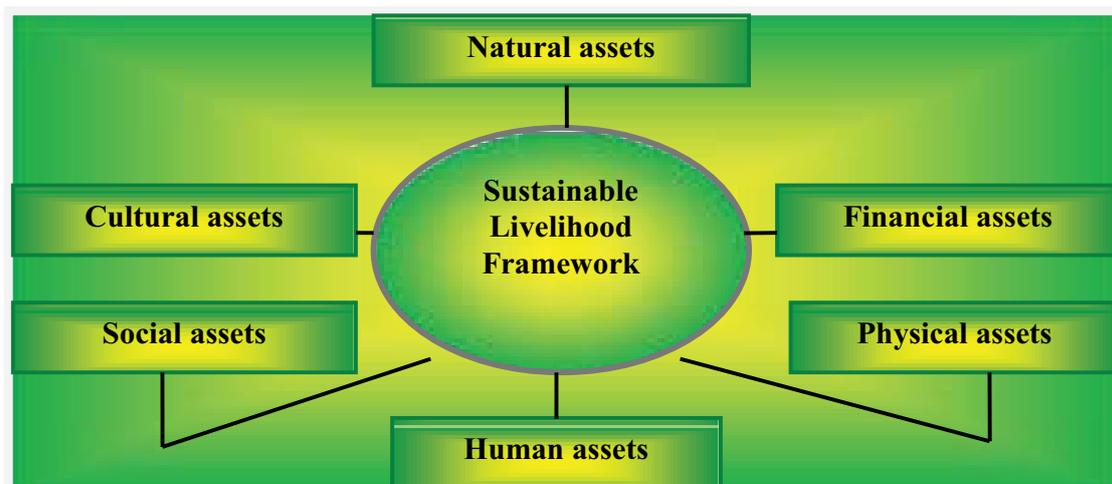
WSSD in 2002 had poverty, water and health as its key topics; however the IYE in the same year did not position ecotourism as a direct partner in addressing poverty (Lash 2003, p.12). Thus, the quote below serves as a preamble for the unfolding arguments:

“During an interview, an inquirer asks a respondent about his monthly income: Respondent: 2 shillings and 6 pence per month. Inquirer: what is your expenditure per week? Respondent: average 4 shillings. Inquirer: how do you ‘survive’ then? Respondent: hunting. Inquirer: you mean in that ‘forest’? Respondent: yes. Inquirer: and you call that ‘hunting’? Respondent: I know you want to say ‘I am poaching’. Inquirer: I am afraid you are poaching. Respondent: ‘hunting’ for survival?” (Akyea Pers. Comm., 2006).

Unquestionably, “adversarial relationships can be created if a clear understanding of needs and goals of both PAs (tourism based on them) and villagers is absent” (Lash, 2003). Adams et al (2004, p.1148) have identified four management positions to conservation and development. Firstly, those who advocate strictly for enforced PAs, thus treating the problems of extinction and poverty as a discrete problematic. Secondly, those who advocate for programs to tackle the poverty of people living around such parks, so to persuade them not to poach, thus seeing poverty as a critical constraint on conservation. Thirdly, those who seek to increase the flow of revenues from such parks, thus attempting to ensure that conservation does not intensify poverty. Fourthly, those who propose that conservation could build on local needs, thus adopting conservation strategies based on sustainable use as a means to reduce poverty. Thus, Adams et al’s (2004) positions 3 to 4 are more in consonance with addressing issues of poverty in the South. Currently, unlike the colonial ideologies on conservation, some stakeholders in ecotourism are gradually awakening to the need to satisfy ecological and moral deeds by building bioresources rather than protecting pristine habitats from humans (Few, 2001;

Asiedu, 2002; Brenchin et al, 2002; Akama, 2004; Buckley, 2009 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). Indeed, authoritarian conservation is increasing being touted as “an obsolete and a naïve view” (see Swarbrooke, 1999; Honey, 1999; Wallace and Pierce, 1999; Stem, 2001; Amanor, 2003; Lash, 2003; Fennell, 2008 and Honey, 2008). Undeniably, PAs need tourism and tourism needs PAs, and that though the relationship is complex and sometimes adversarial, tourism will always be a critical component to consider in the creation and management of PAs. Thus, issues of people’s welfare and combating of dwindling biodiversity levels have given impetus to ecotourism development especially in the South (Asiedu, 2002; Buckley, 2009 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). Overall, ecotourism seeks to understand the intricacies associated with resources that influence the capability of communities to cope in the face of poverty. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is a useful concept that can aid ecotourism to position itself on poverty alleviation particularly at the local community level. The SLF considers resources available to a group of people in a particular time and space (see Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5 Categories of Assets at the Local Community Level



Source: Author’s Own.

Livelihoods are the strategies “through which people obtain a secure living to meet basic needs for food, shelter, health, etc. They are secure when ownership of, access to, the resources and income-earning activities on which they are based are safe or guaranteed” (Cline-Cole 1995, p.172). Thus, the SLF helps stakeholders to know ‘who’ influences ‘access to resources’ and the particular types of livelihood strategies created especially at the local level. Also, the SLF considers the vulnerability context, which is defined as the set of external and internal perturbations that influence an entity’s (e.g. community’s) livelihood strategy. Vulnerability context involves three changes namely, seasonal change, long-term trends and shocks that affect people’s livelihood (Ellis, 2000).

The seasonal changes include factors that reduce or increase the availability of different resources at different times in the year. The creation of a PA may strongly influence people’s access to natural assets, e.g. access may be regulated or stopped altogether thus affecting a household’s need for firewood and wild fruits (Amanor, 2003 and Marfo, 2009). The long-term changes involve factors that may affect different aspects of people’s livelihoods. These include changes in population, environmental conditions, patterns of governance, economic conditions and technology. For example, world price fluctuations may create either more competition for households’ produce or new markets for goods. The shocks include factors which may be cataclysmic or natural disasters, like civil unrest, disease outbreaks or ill health, which may abruptly reduce resource base or their access to key livelihood strategies (Messer and Townsley, 2003).

Thus the livelihood strategy that a community develops depends on how it combines its livelihood resources in a particular vulnerability context and the policies, institutions and processes that affect them (Chambers, 1999). There are three broadly recognized livelihood strategies namely, migration, agricultural intensification and livelihood diversification (Ellis, 2000). PAs are forms of land use, thus their creation affect the livelihood strategies of households, especially of communities living on forest-fringes. Community members may have to intensify their agro-productions in order to meet the extra cost that they have to bear because of the creation of a PA (Bailey, 1999). Economic diversification is the process by which rural households construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities in order 'to spread risk and stabilise livelihoods' (Cline-Cole 1995, p.174). Ecotourism can be a form of diversification by a household or community. However, ecotourism must seek to complement existing livelihood strategies, and must not be positioned as a panacea to the 4 'S's' of tourism (sand, sea, sun and sex) in the South (Honey, 1999). Some aspects of the SLF are contested throughout the thesis. The next section summarizes the Chapter.

2.5 Summary to the Chapter

The recent global momentum on biodiversity conservation emanates from the Brundtland Report in 1987 and the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, in 1992. The resulting CBD, which entered into force in 1993, has seen many countries, especially in the South, re-strategizing to achieve the concurrent objectives of development and biodiversity conservation (Lash, 2003). CBCIs and other projects with similar objectives such as co-management, ICDPs and community natural resource management are on the increase

(Stem, 2001). Indeed, the prospects of positioning sustainable development in the tourism industry have led to the emergence of tourism niches such as sustainable tourism, responsible travel and ecotourism (Honey, 2008). Although finding a singular definition of ecotourism is problematic, however it is often touted as a benign form of nature-based tourism that contributes to conservation and development. Consequently, the Chapter critiqued issues of ‘representation’, ‘hegemony’ and ‘resistance’ through the tripartite-impact of ecotourism—i.e. its socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts.

The Chapter has shown that ecotourism-related literature continues to subtly position the concept as ‘avantgarde travel’, thus issues of how colonial history feeds into determining the limits and potentialities of the concept is made to appear inconsequential. The Chapter has also shown that most of the examples of ecotourism in Africa are concentrated in its Eastern and Southern regions. Furthermore, there has been overt neglect of how postcolonialism can contribute to making ecotourism more attuned to its conservation and development objectives, particularly in Africa. Can research on ecotourism in Ghana employing a postcolonialism approach contribute to bridging these gaps? It is noteworthy that ecotourism-related literature to date has been largely oblivious of issues of methodology. Yet, Chilisa (2005) has stressed vehemently that methodologies for research in Africa should be in consonance with the Continent’s realities and aspirations. Thus, the next Chapter attempts to fill this gap by proposing the *Sankofa* Postcolonial Methodology (SPMET) as a key methodology for postcolonial geographical research in Africa. It also provides the rationale for selecting the research locations and describes the tools used in primary data generation and analysis.

Chapter 3 Research Methods, Data and Analytical Tools: The Postcolonial methodological underpinnings to the Thesis

3.0 Introduction to the Chapter

Chapter Three explores the possibilities for materializing a postcolonial methodology for geographical research in Africa, along with issues of site selection and analytical tools employed in the thesis. Sharp (2009) has asserted that postcolonialism seeks to politically and ethically critique the continuities and discontinuities of colonialism in postcolonial societies. Thus, no postcolonial methodology can ignore the importance of history, space and voice in creating knowledges that are attuned to ‘speaking back with’ the ‘researched’ (Noxolo, 2009). The Chapter makes a claim for *Sankofa* postcolonial methodology (SPMET) for geographical research in Africa towards creating knowledges that ‘speak back with’ the realities and aspirations of Africans. The Chapter stresses that any move towards a postcolonial methodology must acknowledge the intersections of the global, national and local in order to engender a more theoretically informed postcolonial geographical research (Chakrabarty, 2000).

The Chapter is organised into two broad arguments: The Sections 3.1 to 3.4 build up to the proposed SPMET, whilst Sections 3.5 to 3.6 address issues of site selection and analysis. Section (3.1) presents the research context. Section (3.2) elucidates on the SPMET. Section (3.3) positions African oral cultural legacies in postcolonial geographical research in Africa. Section (3.4) presents some aspects of the SPMET explored in this thesis. Section (3.5) presents the criteria for site selection. Section (3.6) expounds on the analytic tools used in the thesis. Section (3.7) then summarizes the Chapter. The slightly lengthy size of the Chapter can be justified because it also serves as the prelude for Chapter Seven, which has been reduced accordingly.

3.1 Research Context and Methodological Approach to the Thesis

The first aim of the thesis addresses how pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary wildlife conservation and forestry show continuities in ecotourism projects in Ghana (see Chapter Five for full details). The second aim then moves on to compare the voices of the residents of the communities of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on development and conservation impacts of ecotourism at KNP and BFMS, respectively (see Chapter Six for full details). The third aim contests the potential of poetry in conservation education at BFMS (see Chapter Seven for full details).

Development (on which ecotourism is often convincingly promulgated) shows continuity with colonialism (McEwan, 2005). However, postcolonial research has been largely oblivious to development and its impacts in postcolonial societies (Sharp, 2009). Airhihenbuwa (2006, p.3) states, “development offers a rallying point for both researcher and practitioner of different disciplines to converge to do unto Africa as has not been done unto others”. McEwan (2005) has thus argued that postcolonialism seems a much needed corrective of the Eurocentrism of development. Moreover, postcolonialism desires to “critically address the Eurocentrism of the First World academy with a view to reforming it and making it more receptive to non-Western cultures and epistemologies” (Prasad and Prasad 2003, p.291). Shome and Hedge (2003, p.250), thus add that postcolonialism is a fervid “interventionist theoretical perspective to examine the violent actions and erasures of colonialism”.

Interestingly, there is some move towards postcolonial research methodologies and methods (see Table 3.1 for an interdisciplinary compendium towards postcolonial methodology). These contributions reveal that postcolonial methodologies like

feminist, post-development and post-structuralist approaches, have three prominent objectives namely; ‘re-examining of the categories and concepts employed to formulate theories within the geographical disciplines’, ‘critique of the methods used for exploring defined problems’ and ‘the process of selecting problems deemed to be significant for social research’ (Madge et al., 1997 and Osagie and Buzinde, 2011).

Table 3.1 Contributions toward a Postcolonial Geographical Methodology

Area of Contribution	Example of Contributors
Development Geography/ methods	McClintock (1994); Chakrabarty (2000); Sidaway (2001); and Raghuram and Madge (2006); McEwan, (2005) and McEwan (2009).
Representational and Resistance Issues	Fanon (1967); Said (1978); Spivak (1988); Bhabha (1990); Tembo (2003) and Sharp (2009).
Postcolonialism and Eco/tourism	Gilbert (2002); Akama (2004); Hall and Tucker (2004); Hollinshead (2004) and Marschall (2004).
Responsible research/writing/ Ethicality and Reflexivity	Tuhiwai-Smith (1999); Cloke et al (2004); Chambers (2005); Airhihenbuwa (2006); Jazeel and McFarlane (2007); Noxolo et al (2008); Raghuram et al (2008), Madge et al (2009) and Noxolo (2009).
Feminist Perspectives	Madge et al (1997) and Lurie et al (1999).
Postcolonialism, Literature, Mass Communication, Philosophy and Poetry	Ngugi (1986); Ashcroft et al (1989); Williams (1997); Mudimbe (1998); Ashcroft et al (1999); Anyidoho (2003); Cahnmann (2003); Shome and Hedge (2003). Young (2003); Langer and Furman (2004); Sherry and Schoulten (2004); Langer and Furman (2006); Patke (2006); Kalliney (2008) and Furman et al (2010).
Postcolonialism and International Business	Hammersley and Atkinson (1995); Prasad and Prasad (2000); Johnson and Duberley (2003); Jack and Westwood (2006) and Bonsu (2009).
Postcolonialism and research in Africa	Ahluwalia (2003); Chilisa (2005); Kibutu (2006); Yeboah (2006) and Madge and Eshun (submitted).

Source: Author’s Own.

Consequently, postcolonial methodology joins other approaches that pursue subjectivist ontology and acknowledges that knowledge is a cultural production made ontologically possible by the discourses of the researcher (Jack and Westwood, 2006). Secondly, these approaches reject any universalisms revealing that knowledge is both

ideologically and socially constructed and thus cannot be separated from its specific historical, ideological, social, epistemological and cultural context. Thus postcolonialism critiques ‘truth universalisms’ that are still in dominance in geographical research in the South (Chakrabarty, 2000). Indeed, research is not an innocent or neutral academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions (Jack and Westwood, 2006). Finally, these approaches raise vital questions about the cultural, ideological and political position of a researcher and their knowledge system affiliation, their warrant to research— thus knowledge creation is embedded in issues of power (Ibid.).

However, a postcolonial methodology unlike a feminist and post-structuralist approach, focuses on colonial logics (and the legacies of the triangular trade) and practices of Euro-American cultural/scientific hegemony, both historically and contemporarily. Currently, despite the laudable inputs into postcolonial research, the need to contest issues concerned with methodologies and methods, along with problems this might cause, and how these might be overcome, still remains apparently inchoate. Postcolonial research seeks to “reveal the partial and relative truth of all ‘truth’ and to make visible any ideological bias underwriting any epistemological system, which otherwise would have seen itself as definitive and axiomatic” (Hall and Tucker 2004, p.27). However, just as postcolonialism is at once contested, likewise there would be no singular position to what constitutes a postcolonial methodology and method (Ahluwalia, 2001). Thus, the Chapter specifically proposes the SPMET, which argues that research on Africa: “should find ways to investigate, interrogate, make visible and validate other knowledges and ways of knowing, particularly those that have served and still serve African communities” (Okolie 2003, p.236).

3.2 A Case for a Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology for Africa

This Section argues that the concept of *Sankofa* is a more direct concept to the postcolonial project of ‘decolonising the mind’, since it seeks to tune the ‘minds’ of Africans to their historical and cultural legacies as the below exegesis shows.

Etymologically, *Sankofa* is a mythical Akan bird and it is often represented as dipping its beak in the oil gland above its waist to oil its feathers. The concept thus seeks mutuality between “traditional values and the contemporary global cultural milieu by affirming the co-existence of the past and the future in the present” (National Commission on Culture 2004, p.23). Consequently, *Sankofa* is about taking from the past what is good and using them to serve the present and future. Postcolonially, the *Sankofa* concept thus seeks to position research enterprises in Africa on the project of ‘the Empire Writing Back’ (Ashcroft et al, 1989). The *Sankofa* concept thus can help postcolonial research to unravel “the assumptions inscribed in the theories, frameworks and models designed for programs and research in Africa” (Airhihenbuwa 2006, p.3). For example, the use of *Sankofa* offers to postcolonial geography the need to bring to the fore the largely neglected African oral cultures in research (see Section 3.3 for full details). The prefix of *Sankofa* to postcolonial methodology is thus to offer an alternative methodology towards moving geographical research to ‘more decolonised epistemological versions and visions’.

Indeed, the SPMET seeks to present a ‘dynamic and pragmatic platform’ to critique the hegemony of the hypothetico-deductive paradigm in geographical research in Africa and the importance to open up to ‘alternative world picturing’ (Sidaway, 2001). However, SPMET does not pretend to be an antidote to all postcolonial

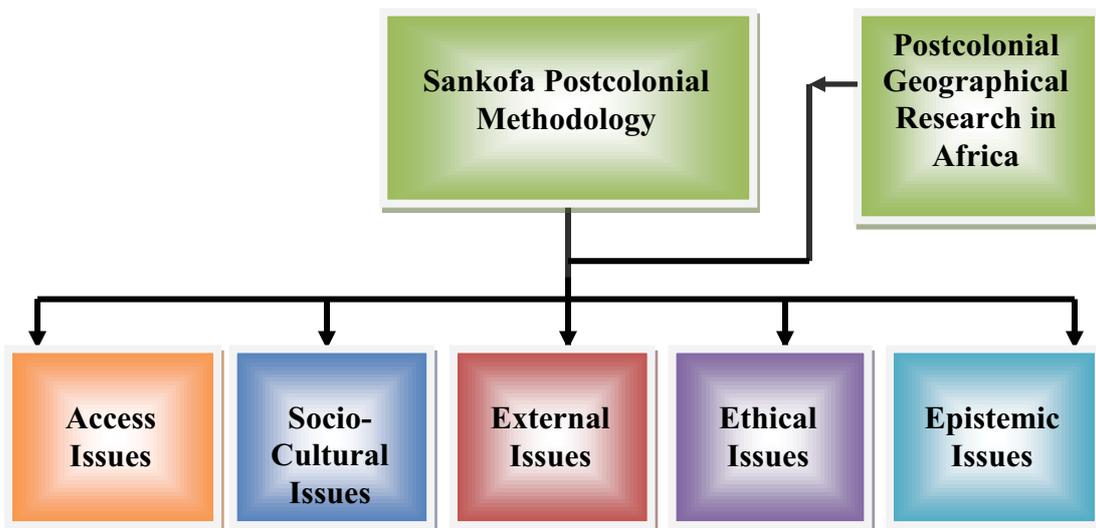
methodological problems, rather its underpinnings are directed towards the prospect of opening up alternative vistas for speaking, although even this is never automatic or given (Chakrabarty, 2000). Furthermore, whilst some of the discourses on the SPMET would stem from colonial narratives, other critiques will stand as intense new counter-narratives, based ‘on all sorts of negotiations’ (Hollinshead 2004, p.32).

The SPMET argues that if a postcolonial geographical methodology is to gain and maintain its credibility as a potent interventionist approach, then there is the dire need to ‘explore the possibilities offered by expanding the notion of methodology to include the questions researchers ask, how they theorize, and the investment they make in the research’ (Raghuram and Madge 2006, p.274). Currently, most African researchers still fetishize ‘methods’ at the expense of methodologies embedded in anti- and neo-colonist politics—this has contributed to the replication of the representations of Africans and their ways of knowing as being incapable of solving their own problems—thus ‘external solutions must arrive *deus ex machina*’ (cf. Anyidoho, 2003; Andreasson, 2005; Zeleza, 2005 and Airhihenbuwa, 2006).

Thus, the SPMET requires geographical research to be embedded in ‘politics of emancipatory intervention’, thus methodologies and methods divorced from this are not postcolonial research in its critical impulses (Shome and Hedge). Also, it is vital to note that claims for any postcolonial methodology involve complex and potentially contested processes that require recognition of the specificities of historical and spatial production of inequalities in particular places, “through going dialogue with those who inhabit these places and willingness to challenge existing hierarchies which are often linked across these places” (Raghuram and Madge 2006, p. 270).

As a result, the SPMET pushes this assertion forward by grounding the postcolonial methodology through five strands, namely access and concerns of the researched, socio-cultural underpinnings, external pressures, ethics and appropriateness of epistemic method in research (see Figure 3.1). For example, Pickerill (2008) has hinted that still ‘academic knowledges’ determine values accorded to biodiversity, which may further erode alternative socio-cultural values assigned to them. Owusu (2001) and Tapela et al (2007) have added that ‘formal scientisms’ need to open up to local perspectives on natural resources towards sustainable development.

Figure 3.1 Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology for Geographical Research



Source: Author’s Own.

Consequently, although the SPMET does not seek to reinvent ‘methodological wheels’, it however critiques why/how/where/which and what methodological wheel must move in postcolonial research. The *raison d’être* of the SPMET therefore is about creating knowledges embedded in the struggle for material equity in the postcolonies, by exploring alternative arenas of speaking where knowledges are legitimated on their geographical usefulness. Succinctly, the SPMET is concerned

with how Euro-American epistemologies may be “renewed from and for the margins” (Chakrabarty 2000, p.16). However, it can be observed that knowledges that tend to ‘generalize/universalize’ are often speculated as privileges of northern researchers (Raghuram and Madge, 2006). For example, Smith (1963, p.7) writing on Kwegyir Aggrey- a luminary African educationist, stated that he was usually discursive:

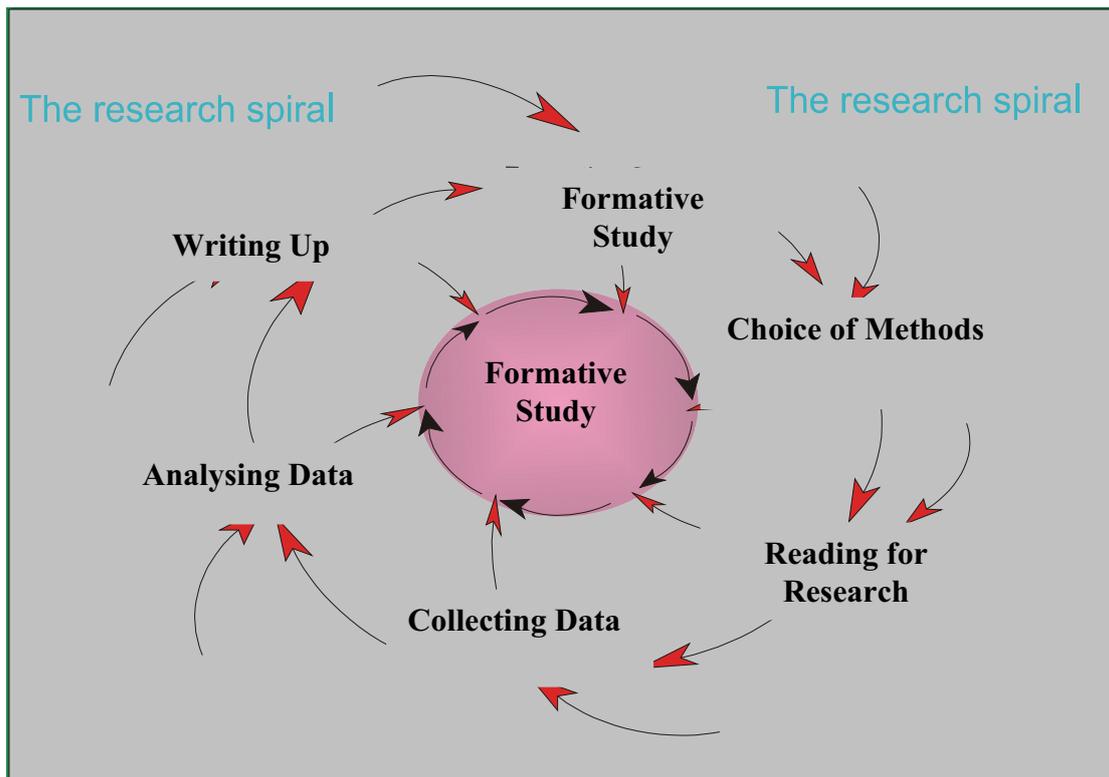
“And often florid in style...an inconsequence in his speech that tended at times to irritate his friends. This was a characteristic African trait. We (Europeans) endeavour to frame a discourse in logical order; the African sees a series of moving pictures in his mind and he puts them into words as they occur”.
(Smith 1963, p.7 Bracketed info. added).

An essentializing narrative such as the above is currently being replicated in postcolonialism. For example, Chakrabarty’s (2000) ‘provincializing Europe’, to an extent places the capability for ‘generalizable knowledges’ as quintessential traits of the post/colonialists. Now let us turn to the tenets of the SPMET presented below.

3.2.1 Considering Access and the Concerns of the Researched

Access is linked to material advantage (e.g. financial and institutional), history, otherness and the positionality of the researcher (Madge et al., 1997). Access thus involves the question of who has power to conduct research on whom, when, why and how this renders some more capable of speaking on behalf of ‘others’ (Raghuram and Madge, 2006). In the SPMET, the notion of access is enshrined in a ‘formative study’, which concurs that research is an iterative process, and thus lends itself more to a cyclical process (see Figure 3.2). In addition, a formative study shows similarities with a pilot study, however it does not proceed with procedural and pre-determined frameworks: ‘its premise is a proactive focus on the concerns of the research group, whilst recognising their layers of power’ (Cloke et al, 2004).

Figure 3.2 Research Process for Postcolonial Geographical Research



Source: Author's Own.

Although, the very politics of postcolonialism tilts the SPMET towards primary research—however, the formative study does not exclude totally documentary research, since this has its own merits and demerits. Raghuram and Madge (2006, p.271), have argued for ‘constructive dialogue’ with the ‘marginalized researched’ to shape the research questions during the formative study and to find value in the ‘imponderabilia of the actual life’ of the researched (Malinowski cited by O’Reilly 2005, p.8). A formative study thus seeks ‘an equitable inclusion of the plural values, knowledges and interests of the various stakeholders through constructive dialogue’ (Limb and Dwyer, 2001; Sidaway, 2001; Brenchin et al 2002; Brown 2003; Chilisa 2005 and Airhihenbuwa, 2006). For example, Madge (Pers. Comm. 2005) was to focus her research on women vegetable growers in The Gambia, however after constructive dialogue with some of the prospective respondents, she integrated and

totally changed the objectives of her research. Moreover, the SPMET recognizes that development programs in Africa have been “shaped by knowledge and knowledge production that is primarily EuroAmerican centred, and as a result tends to be exclusionary and often contemptuous of other knowledges and ways of knowing, including the lived experiences of the targets of development” (Okolie 2003, p.236).

Augmenting this perspective, Chikezie (2004) commenting on ‘The Africa Commission’ (the Commission was set up by Tony Blair to review Africa’s development experience—the resultant report was dubbed ‘Our Common Interest: An Argument’), has made a demand for proper inclusion of the ‘voices’ of especially the people of local communities in Africa right from the onset of development agenda:

“The commission will need to ask the right questions in the right way and involve Africans in setting the agenda. The tendency to wheel in people to speak to an agenda already set behind closed doors will waste valuable time... we’re all researched out... one reason why countless commissions...never make a difference. Those who should actually own the process of shaping their own destiny are marginalized, excluded and patronized. Solutions arrive, but they mean nothing to those who are at that point frustrated and alienated”.

Furthermore, Sylvester (2006, p.70) has expressed dissatisfaction about how some local elites in Africa can perpetuate marginalisations on the Continent by pursuing extravagant projects as well as embezzlement of funds allocated for development projects. As a result, the ‘custom’ of researchers’ (both northerners and southerners) relying on ‘compradors’ (i.e. national level associates and prominent people in local communities) as a way of gaining access to the researched may seem problematic, especially if the comprador has no creditable status in the fieldwork location. Thus, although a postcolonial researcher must pay attention to the institutions in the research country and the research community on issues of access, he or she owes much of

his/her allegiance to the ‘marginalized researched’. A researcher’s undue collaboration with dominant groups contrary to the marginalised at fieldwork locations creates a negative interface image, which indissolubly reduces the quality and the quantity of the data generated (cf. Twumasi, 2001; Tembo, 2003 and Airhihenbuwa, 2006). For example, in Ghana it seems that following the establishment of CBEs, the stakeholders relied largely on landowners and chiefs in the selected villages for ‘acceptance’, so when it came to the development phase of the CBE projects the bulk of the people had no idea at all about the projects as the information had not been disseminated down to them. Consequently, the SPMET critiques an excessive privileging of some residents at research locations, since that could be tantamount to washing postcolonial babies with ‘imperial lather’.

Furthermore, it would be a naïve chimera to presume that ‘insider researchers’ should be the only ones who should proceed and conduct research in their societies. For instance, Madge et al (1997) have argued that because there are few women from marginalized groups within the academy, if only the marginalized can ‘ask’ the marginalized, then marginalized women’s knowledges will never be fully sought and recorded. Kaliney (2008) has cautioned, however, that postcolonial theorists need a greater awareness of how we ourselves produce and circulate knowledge in a global academic context. This thus demands paying overt attention to the socio-cultural underpinnings to research projects, especially in Africa.

3.2.2 Considering Socio-cultural Issues

The socio-cultural tenet of the SPMET presents pertinent questions such as “will the research be anchored in African culture?” as well as “will African ways of knowing

be central to solutions framed for Africans?” (Airhihenbuwa 2006, p.10). Consequently, the socio-cultural tenet of the SPMET is widely concerned with ‘Africanising’ the whole research process as much as possible, by positioning African culture as the binding perspective and platform for research across fieldwork locations on the Continent. The socio-cultural issues of the SPMET thus have a bearing on the methods to be employed in research. For instance, Castillo (Pers. Comm., 2005), who was researching at the Il Ngwesi Group Ranch in Kenya on gender inequalities in a community-based conservation project, observed during interviews that the husbands of the interviewees would not stay out of hearing distance. This thus challenges the prominence of ‘individualistic methods’ in research—such as questionnaire-interviews since they may be antithetical to the lifeworlds of Africans.

Africans often embrace finding answers/or solutions to questions in groups rather than as individuals (see Kwansah-Aidoo, 2001). In addition, in Ghana divulging personal information to ‘strangers’ is incompatible with the country’s socio-cultural underpinnings especially if a question has community-wide implications. Moreover, postcolonial researchers need to pay attention to power variations among respondents. For example, in Malawi the presence of a witch/wizard in a focus group could restrain the other participants from voicing out their views, because of variance in power (Tembo, 2003). Furthermore, in Ghana during decision-making “individual input into decision is recognised but when decision on important issues are taken it carries weight because it is supported by the elders” (Twumasi 2001, p.74).

Indeed, participation in socio-cultural activities at fieldwork locations can unearth ramifications of socio-cultural activities and lead to an acknowledgement that the data

generated are not bank of words/figures but pieces of lifeworlds of the researched. As a consequence, rich data are intertwined with an effective uncovering of the socio-cultural underpinnings of the researched— ‘collection of data’, thus should be applied to documentary sources and ‘generation of data’ to primary research. Lastly, the socio-cultural issues of the SPMET demand that researchers contest the meaning of household, especially in rural communities in Africa (see Box 3.1). According to Twumasi (2001), members of the household will have some interest in improving their socio-economic condition from one generation to the next.

Box 3.1 Contesting the Meaning of Household in Fieldwork Locations

According to Kwansah-Aidoo (2001) household can be referred to as ‘a group of people who eat from a common pot, and share common stake in perpetuating and improving their socio-economic status from one generation to the next’. Households are usually based on family relationships, but they can often include people who have no ‘blood relation’. However, different social groups within cultures will often think of household from different references. Firstly, the numbering of housing system, especially in rural communities in Africa makes it virtually impossible to employ a systemic sampling frame. For instance, in Ghana one house may lead into another compound, and relatives from other houses may move up and down from one living quarters to other houses as part of their daily living operations. Secondly, the size of a household is also problematic. For instance, where migration exists, some individuals may be members of more than one household (members migrating for jobs in the urban centres or migrating to the North etc) and though space is a factor, nevertheless the households in their local communities still see them as part of them especially in terms of the household’s economic pool. As a result, the ‘tight spatial-jacket’ on conceptualising a household is increasingly becoming problematic.

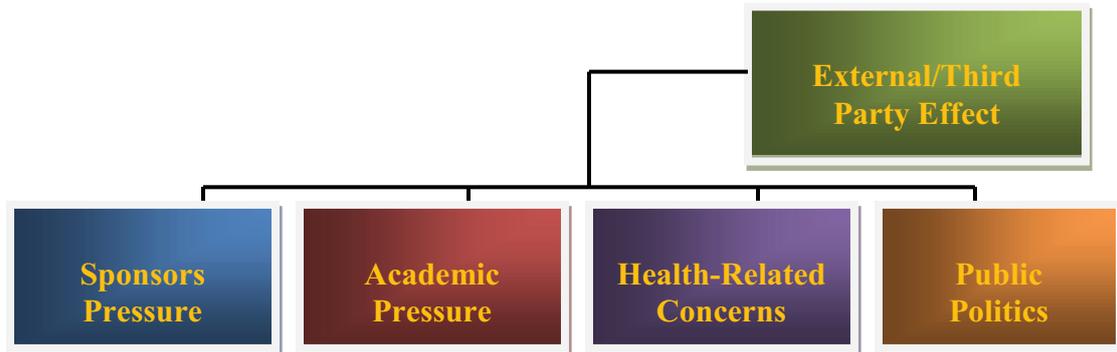
The apparent difficulty in defining what constitutes a household remains a challenge to many researchers to Africa (see Kibutu, 2006). Thus, in seeking for sampling sizes in especially Africa, sometimes what is needed is ‘common sense’ rather than a craving for rigorous statistical packages to secure sample sizes. Some of the craving for statistical palliatives may be due to ‘external pressures’ (see Sub-section 3.2.3).

3.2.3 Considering External Influences

Currently, four main research stakeholders are seen in Africa namely, research by individual African researchers, local institutions, South-South networks and Northern consortiums (Serpell, 1999). According to Serpell (1999), local institutions and individual African researchers face an uphill challenge towards ‘alternative world picturing’ because of the lack of sustainable funds. For example, Conservation International sponsored a five-year research project in KCA in Ghana, which involved over 30 different research projects; however these were overly positivistic (KCA, 1997). Indeed, “while the desires of the individual researcher to make a particular intervention in a certain set of academic debates will play a part in determining what gets written, a larger factor will be the needs and the requirements of the funding bodies” (Cloke et al 2004, p.373). Thus, sponsors’ demand for specific knowledges can cause a researcher to be a conformer rather than being a reformer.

South-South research projects often seek consolidation and capacity of African scholars and institutions, however their shorter history than other international collaborative structures may make them compromise on defining priorities. Thus the now common research groups from the North (often with local research collaborators) seek to fill ‘knowledge gaps’ in Africa. However they are preoccupied with quality control, and often demand conformity with a blueprint and streamlining of procedures across different fieldwork locations (Serpell, 1999). Sponsors thus, remain a source of external pressure on researchers in Africa along with academic institutions, health-related concerns and public politics (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 External Factors in Postcolonial Geographical Research



Source: Author's Own.

Mroz (2010, p.5) has stressed that “the cornerstone of the academy is the liberty to pursue ideas and knowledge without constraint”. However, academic institutions have ‘traditionalisms’, which may include use of language, specific topics for theses, location of research, thesis presentation, and orbit of research execution that subtly demand adherence, and as a result may trivialize ‘alternative epistemologies’ or saddle them with difficulties in getting accepted and published in scholarly publications (Chakrabarty, 2000; Cloke et al 2004 and Chilisa, 2005). Consequently, a researcher may be wrought with ambivalences as to whether to address the ‘concerns’ of the researched fully or conceal them under layers of academic icings, characterized by fixations on what would be considered as ‘legitimate knowledge’. Blunt and McEwan (2002, p.4) have thus stated that even postcolonialism seems to have been:

“Institutionalised, representing the interest of western based intellectual elite who speak the language of the contemporary western academy, perpetuating the exclusion of the colonized oppressed”.
(Blunt and McEwan 2002, p.4).

Nagar (2002) has argued further that there are tensions between North-based scholars and their institutions because of the demands on them to create quality theoretical works for publication in international journals, whilst the majority of the world

researchers, including non-academic collaborators in the North, are often tuned to addressing more grounded and immediate practical questions. The SPMET thus tackles the preoccupations of academic institutions' on specified orthodoxies and their implications for 'alternative world picturing'. Furthermore, a researcher adopting a postcolonial methodology comes in contact with the multiple realities of their positionality not only in the 'field' but also within the frameworks of the academy, which produces its own pressures of what constitutes academic work. Arguably, for African postcolonial researchers, the problem is compounded and far more challenging, since some people express discomposure with the mere mentioning of terms such as triangular trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism of which postcolonial research critiques both in its discursive and material ramifications. Unequivocally:

“So far as neo/colonialism exists, Africans (postcolonial researchers) cannot help talking (arguing) the way we (they) do now. We (postcolonial researchers) are adamant in our (their) purport to destroy neo/colonialism in Africa (postcolonies), no lukewarm approach will avail. This requires some plain speaking and for the sake of Africa (postcolonies) let us (they) speak plainly”.
(Nkrumah, Speech on 4/6/1962 Bracketed Info. added).

Nonetheless, Williams (1997, p.830) has stated quite unambiguously that some “postcolonial theorists for sake of stardom in northern academe, do rewrite and revise their scripts and drain them of their ‘poisonous’ effluents, and by celebrating their new found cultural power as postcolonial theorists, they actually may be celebrating an insidious form of disempowerment”. Undeniably, for those trained and grounded in the West the politics of, “knowing this non-Western ‘Other’ will be precarious and ‘touchy’, but for many a different breed of individual, it will also be vernal and exciting (although it can be exciting, however northern and southern researchers alike have the responsibility to avoid the tendency of getting a bit of the other)” (Hollinshead 2004, p.32-33 Bracketed info added).

The third source of external pressure is health-related issues, although care must be taken not to replicate misrepresentations conjured by condescending terms such as the Dark Continent and ‘White Man’s Grave’ among others. Health-related issues concern northern and southern researchers alike. For instance, despite the researcher’s ‘applaudable immunity’ to parasites, he often makes an exception to malarial *plasmodium*. Thus, after years in the UK, he was aware of the fact that his long fieldwork in Ghana presented an obvious probability to be infested by the disease. The researcher therefore was not surprised when he had to battle malaria, whilst his research assistants seemed relatively healthy. The crux of the argument is researchers must know their personal health history and prepare as much as possible to avoid falling sick during fieldwork- for when health flops, research stops! Also, since postcolonial research is often dearer on time, all researchers need to take into account their reproductive responsibilities, for example by way of grants to permit bringing families along on extended fieldwork (Raghuram and Madge, 2006).

Finally, public politics and knowledge creation have always shared an ambivalent relationship. Indeed, public politics may sideline some knowledge categories or have encouraged their production. For example, geography and anthropology continue to receive huge criticisms for their role in aiding colonial expansion through misrepresentations of the people of the post-colonies (Said, 1978). Currently, political pressures are often seen through geopolitical tensions and acts of militancy; these cause some countries or their regions to be deprived of research attention. Lopez (1998) has stressed that; researchers cannot guarantee *in toto* how their research may affect the researched community, which demands that issues of ethics are contested.

3.2.4 Considering Ethics

A researcher sometime ago once said to the author that he used a mobile phone to record secretly some data from some key respondents, because he perceived the respondents might not be too open. Lopez (1998, p.229) has added there is no “guarantee that a researcher will keep his or her word, work collaboratively after leaving the field or give credit to others who help the researcher in the process of co-constructing knowledge”. These situations demand answering questions such as, ‘is ethics just an appurtenance of research or it is an integral part of a research process?’ ‘Why is ethics always made to take the last chapters in social science research books?’ ‘What is an ethical research?’ ‘Whose ethics is an ethical research project?’

Ethics is derived from the ancient Greek word *ethos* meaning moral character, thus issues of ethics should invariably include ‘responsible representations’ and ‘issues of giving back’. The SPMET thus maintains that geographical research must always seek to protect the ‘marginalised researched’ from further burdens such as ‘physical, mental and/or psychological harm’ (Chilisa 2005, p.675). Indeed, Cloke et al (2004, p.374) have stressed that most research projects are still carried out ‘on’ others rather than being done ‘for’ others. Madge and Eshun (submitted) maintain that current postcolonial research has not addressed adequately issues of ‘giving back’ (see Chapter Eight). Thus the SPMET argues against any ‘academic hedonism’—which may include selecting research locations because it fits into a researcher’s holiday desire. The SPMET thus demands ‘speaking back with’ the marginalized to ensure that the wrong footprints that engendered European ‘others’ are contested ethically.

Three main areas of ethics, namely empathy, informed consent, privacy and information sharing are addressed here. The empathic consideration demands inclusion of material needs of ‘marginalised researched’ in geographical research (Chilisa, 2005 and Jazeel and McFarlane, 2007). The SPMET, therefore problematises Yeboah’s (2006, p.50) assertion that, “postcolonial theory does not solve problems of underdevelopment”. Certainly, postcolonialism is not enamoured with producing knowledges for sole consumption by the literati—but rather producing knowledges that help to contest legacies of colonialism such as: “entrenchment of class interest, corruption and poor governance, political infighting, single sector economies based on agriculture or a natural resource; lack of infrastructure; lack of human capital” (Jaakson 2004, p.173). As a result, postcolonial research seeks:

“Distribution of employment and wealth, the location and provision of welfare services; the exploitation and conservation of natural resources; the emergence of new cultural and political identities; and the...(addressing) of inequality (resulting from) gender, race, sexuality, disability or age”.
(Cloke et al., 2004, p.375 Bracketed info added).

As implied so far, a researcher needs the informed consent of the respondents. Firstly, it involves researchers having the full willingness of the people at the fieldwork locations to participate in the research. Secondly, researchers must make known to the researched the purposes of the research, their identity and institution affiliation (Few, 2001 and Cloke et al 2004). This is important for breaking ice and creating the needed trust between the researcher and the people of the fieldwork location.

In most social research, participants are often assured of their privacy and anonymity. Usually, privacy embraces three main considerations, namely the setting of the research, the sensitivity of the information and the use made of the research (Falconer

and Kawabata, 2002). The setting of the research is based on the will of respondents to participate in the research and the liberty to stop participating in the research. For instance, where researchers deem some information to be embarrassing or confidential, they may opt to ignore that question. Anonymity strives to make the respondents bear pseudonyms or other characters that hide their names and other identities as much as possible, especially in research outputs such as publications, theses and conference papers. Anonymity helps to prevent risk to the respondents, especially on very sensitive research areas (Robinson, 1998). However, anonymity does not mean all respondents must be given codenames for the sake of it. The SPMET cautions against ‘codename fantasies’—where researchers give names to respondents to create semblances with quantitative research variables and presentations. Chilisa (2005) has argued that an overly obsession with the rhetoric and practice on individual anonymity and privacy must involve representations that aim at bringing positive material realities across the whole fieldwork location.

Information sharing has become a very important issue among respondents, researchers and other stakeholders with interest in the research (Chilisa, 2005; Airhihenbuwa, 2006 and Tapela et al., 2007). Information sharing is usually through thesis, publications, conferences, respondents, and word of mouth among others (Kitchin and Tate, 2001 and Cloke et al, 2004). Often issues of data protection and rights to information, act against each other to reach trade-offs. Finally, the SPMET argues that the marginalized in the South are often illiterate in the languages of the metropolis; thus the practice of sending printed copies of research to, especially the institutions at the fieldwork locations, may deny them valuable information that may be useful towards their material and psychological transformations.

3.2.5 Considering Epistemic Methods

Epistemic methods are more usually employed along two research paradigms namely; quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Quantitative research implies the gathering of data in order to quantify them in some way, this involves turning the data into numbers or codes through frequency counts, percentages, cross tabulation, correlation and regression (Madge et al., 1997). Positivism's insistence and reliance on the values of objectivity and neutrality from the choosing of a topic through to the writing up of the research have been the source of its legitimacy—'a god-trick', enabling a researcher to claim to see everything and know everything (Mohammad, 2001). Knowledge is then posited as the truth, as grand, totalizing, theories implying universal applicability. Positivism therefore seeks neutrality and often separates objects and subjects, methods and theory, and ontology from epistemology and with research methods often depicted as techniques, developed from abstraction and devoid of subjectivity (Dreze, 2002). Consequently, the positivist thinks of realist ontology and objectivist epistemology and is more akin to the natural sciences, which to great extent sidelines particularistic methods for universalistic approaches.

In contrast, qualitative research is methodologically appealing because it allows a wide range of experiences to be documented, voices to be heard, representations to be made and interpretations to be extracted (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). This involves the qualities of a phenomenon and relies more on the skills of a researcher as an interviewer or observer (Robinson, 1998). Often qualitative research is enshrined in interpretivism, which is positioned as a counter-reaction to positivism. Interpretivism draws on a constructivist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. Interpretivist research allows respondents to speak about their own lifeworlds by accessing those

knowledges neglected in earlier period of more authoritative social research. Indeed, positivism and interpretivism have different ontological, epistemological and historical stances to methodological contexts for most social science research. Chilisa (2005, p.662) has stressed that despite the laudable presence of qualitative research literature, geographical research in Africa is still largely characterized by use of mainstream research methodologies, “which assume universal validity in assembling, analysing, interpreting and producing knowledge thereby remaining colonizing cannon that continues to delineate and define voices of the researched”. Postcolonial researchers thus contest the hegemony of neopositivist knowledges, which in their archival forms may suppress the embodied oral knowledge, which is at the helm of postcolonialism (Sidaway, 2001; Cloke et al 2004 and Phillips, 2005). In common with these assertions, Ateljevic et al (2009) have challenged geographers, especially those researching on tourism to embrace more resolute approaches:

“Beyond its still dominant Eurocentric perspectives and thereby develop fresh sense/new sense conceptualizations of the world (as seen through tourism), which are informed by mature and evolved understanding about cultural difference and identity – where the prevalent worldviews and research orientations of the field considerably and faithfully recognize and reflect the teeming plurality of all practices and positions in each locale”. (Ateljevic et al 2009, p.549-550).

Thus, since postcolonialism seeks to ‘speak back with’ the ‘researched’, it problematises methods that reify theoretical concepts and over-privilege their explanatory status, and in so doing de-politicize postcolonialism. The calls for postcolonialism to be embedded in interpretivism and the mere numbers of qualitative research do not, however, accord them *a priori* resistance to positivism, and thus researchers must be made to be reflexive and aware of their political and ethical obligations. Thus some authors have argued that researchers should think beyond the

myopic quantitative-qualitative divide when it comes to dressing a suitable methodology for their research (Cloke et al., 2004) The SPMET therefore, argues against appropriations of qualitative approaches at the expense of an eclectic, holistic research approach (Chilisa, 2005). The SPMET thus demands stretching the meaning of mixed-methodology to include the prospects of combining alternative methodological and epistemological approaches with the prevailing orthodoxies.

Furthermore, the fetishisation of ‘method’ at the expense of ‘methodology’ and ‘epistemology’ in the postcolonies contributes to the continual suppression of their voices. This observation is closely linked to the case of ‘epistemological dromophobia’— i.e. the ‘fear’ of including less known methodologies and methods in social science research, especially among African researchers. This is evident in the way that many African social scientists continue to believe almost religiously that the hegemony of epistemologies and methodologies of Northern heritage compel *nolens volens* that they should conform to, rather than contribute to the ‘provincialisation of Euro-Americanism’. Obeng-Quaidoo (2001) argues that this might be due to the lack of research culture in Africa, which forces African scholars to replicate the mainstream methodologies. Lopez (1998) adds if research is a tool of the ‘master’:

“And all we are doing tinkering with the tool is to make it more user-friendly or adaptable to marginalized populations, then can we truly hope for substantive social and epistemological change in our research practices?”
(Lopez 1998, p.230).

These foregoing arguments demand sympathy, yet exactly how have researchers sought to draw upon the same sorts of resources as the ‘marginalized researched’ in making sense of the phenomena their investigations seek to explain, thus producing a ‘local perspective on lived experience’? It is a disturbing observation that, just as the

earlier feminist scholarship carved out positionality based on ‘gender’, postcolonial researchers are also deploying ‘singular positions’ such as race and financial status as positionality, whilst other factors such as religion, politics and personal values are greatly downplayed. In addition, the mammoth criticisms of African postcolonial theorists on missionaries’ contributions to the denigration of African cultures are largely oblivious to how the use of African oral cultural legacies can contribute to ‘variant epistemological and methodological visions’. The next section therefore makes a case for African oral cultural legacies in SPMET.

3.3 African Oral Culture in Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology

This section argues that if postcolonial methodology is really concerned with issues of the voice of the researched, then African oral legacies have the potential to support the postcolonial project of ‘speaking back with’ the ‘marginalised researched’.

According to Chilisa (2005, p.679), African oral cultural legacies illustrate how “African communities have collected, analysed, deposited, retrieved and disseminated information”. Currently, orality in most African societies falls into three main categories-folkstories, proverbs and poems. In Africa, folkstories have been championed by the Wolof and Mandingo of West Africa and indeed, the Akans folktale legacy called *Ananse* stories are even well known in African diasporic societies for example in Jamaica. African folkstories are often culturally, spiritually, economically and politically embedded and can serve as a channel of fortification of African lifeworlds (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2002). Secondly, proverbs represent ‘cultural theories or experience, evaluative assertions from a moral perspective, generalised knowledge that can be applied to the interpretation of particular events’ (Ibid.). This is

in concinnity with the Ivorian proverb ‘the death of an elder is like a burnt library’ (because elders are considered to be repositories of oral knowledge) and the Akan saying ‘*tse tse wo bi ka*’ (the past has a voice for the present). In fact, proverbs are a way to compress a mass of knowledge to give insights, into what Malinowski probably meant by the ‘imponderabilia of actual life’ (see O’Reilly 2005, p.8). Thirdly, poetry remains a significant feature of African lifeworlds shown through everyday overt use in Africa. The Akans refer to poetry as *awensɛm* (meaning ‘weaved message’) because of its flexibility to incorporate other oral forms.

Currently, postcolonial geography in Britain is “dominated by critiques of the discursive construction of historical colonialism” (Gilmartin and Berg 2007, p.123). This behoves postcolonial geography research to aim at deconstruction of the ways in which language reproduces binary power relations and to harness language towards provincializing Euro-American epistemologies. The SPMET thus argues that the use of oral cultural legacies in postcolonial geographical research presents three advantages namely, to “counter Eurocentrism in academia”, decentring of authorial voice” and ‘responsible academic writing’. Firstly, African orality in postcolonial geographical research can help to counter Eurocentrism in academia by contesting “why (and how) do we produce knowledge, and for whom do we produce it? What kinds of knowledge predominate, and what work does knowledge subsequently do” (Jazeel and McFarlane 2007, p.9). Currently academic relations: “in the global era are characterized by Western universities transferring educational ideas and practices to the developing countries, often without taking into consideration factors such as the political climate, traditional beliefs and cultural values, the economy and social class” (Kanu 2005, p.494). Nepal (2009) who traced researchers’ contributions to tourism

geography since the 1920s did not directly mention even a single major contribution by an African to the field. Freire (2000) in 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' introduced the term 'the banking concept of education', which can broadly apply to how the North comes across as the depositor of knowledges and the South as the depository. Yeboah (2006, p.63) therefore could state unambiguously that "with African geographers, the empire is not writing back, rather the empire is still being written to". This assertion thus demands research on Africa to place African realities and references at centre stage in the process of countering a complex history of spatial relations and uneven power relations, which includes Eurocentric views of the inferiority of Africans in the educational field (Chilisa, 2005). The SPMET thus is in ambivalence to formal education: both resisting it (because of its links with Eurocentrism and practices and its tendency to indoctrinate people into hegemonic canons of reasoning and actions) and embracing it (for through education it is also possible to reveal and resist the continuing hold of colonialism on geography).

Secondly, appropriating African oratory can help to 'decentre and write back'. This brings to the fore the deeply seated Eurocentric problematic of the use of English language in conducting research in Africa, and also hints at the concurrent need for Said's 'contrapuntal reading'— where close reading of a situation or a text is essential to reveal its often hidden implication in imperialism and colonial processes. The SPMET therefore maintains that, 'writing back' by using African orality is germane to postcolonialism because it contests especially positivism, which with its nomothetic logic often fails to convey *in toto* the complexities of cosmologies, which in part revolve around creative means of knowing. Sadly, knowledge creations in the social sciences portray "that the only kinds of knowledge that are taken seriously are

those that conform to Euro-American formats of writing, citation and history” (Jazeel and McFarlane 2007, p.786). Thus, knowledge creation even about the ‘non-West’- has been skewed towards the modes of articulation of Western writers and institutions (Noxolo, 2009). This can belittle knowledges from other cultural sites and de-politicize research coming from other centres. For Africa, this can frustrate researchers to settle for methods incongruous with Africa’s *desideratum*. Indeed:

“As long as we (Africans) cannot bring our knowledge home and share it with Our people in such a way as to lead to some general transformation in the material conditions of their lives, for as long as we are unable to build our new knowledge from...the foundations of knowledge our own cultural systems have generated over the centuries, we may be engaged in nothing more than game of betrayal and of self-delusion, the dangerous and possibly suicidal game of language and the “politricks” of knowledge”.
(Anyidoho 2003, p.10 Bracketed info. added).

Still some African social scientists ‘romanticise’ African realities and aspirations by addressing them “in borrowed paradigms, conversing with each other through publications and media controlled by foreign academic communities, and producing prescriptive knowledge” (Zezeza 2002, p.9). These social scientists are part of a ‘research class’ known as ‘comprador intelligentsia’, which consists of:

“A relatively small Western-style, Western-trained writers and thinkers who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery. In the West they are known through the Africa they offer; their compatriots know them both through the West they present to Africa and through an Africa they have intended for the world, for each other, and for Africa”.
(Appiah 1991, p.348).

Thus arguably, there is a relatively higher opportunity for ‘comprador intelligentsia’ in northern institutions to contribute to ‘methodologies’ built on Africans’ historical, epistemological, ontological, cultural and spiritual foundations (cf. Anyidoho, 2003; Chilisa, 2005; Airhihenbuwa, 2006; Yeboah, 2006 and Ateljevic et al, 2009). These assertions demand research to move towards responsible geographies.

Thirdly, the appropriation of African oral legacies in postcolonial geographical research necessitates a more considered engagement with the concepts of responsibility, than currently exists in knowledge production. Consequently, the SPMET demands: what are the economic, political and cultural conditions under which we are creating particular forms of academic geographical research and how do these frame the creations we make, how we present them, and how we describe our own role in that process? This is in tandem with Noxolo's (2009) call for 'responsible academic writing', which is neither easy nor straightforward because knowledge production is indissolubly tied to global capital (including postcolonial work itself). In these circumstances, the postcolonial contestations over meaning that could arise from a multiplicity of voices may be rather difficult to either stage or hear. Kaliney (2008, p.16) has added: 'the paradox, in which the politically marginal becomes part of a cultural dominant (or a site of symbolic prestige), point to the difficulties of interpreting the political function of works of art in a postcolonial age'.

Consequently, the SPMET demands that postcolonialism moves beyond calls for inclusion to decipher how intellectual communities and institutions are imbricated in systems of world power. Noxolo (2008, p.4) argues that this involves 'exploring dimensions that highlight the importance of 'clearing space' with the need for a much wider range of perspectives on an irretrievably interlinked world'. Indeed, one way to 'clear space' might be through a strategic unpicking of the past with what Harris (1999, p.85) terms 'Infinite Rehearsal'. This involves a researcher rehearsing a range of possibilities, "of what may be true, always bringing to the fore the reality of heteroglossia in the existence and possibility of a range of other texts, known and unknown, and of which the one they are writing is only one" (Noxolo 2008, p.31).

This heteroglossia- the genuine plurality of unmerged and independent voices- inevitably involves contestations between different social actors located in specific historic and contemporary conditions. African orature (such as poetry) then might be a useful method to explore the heteroglossia of multiple voices and portray a more responsible version of a situation and decentring of authorial voice. It is the ‘acting out postcoloniality’, however, that might be where the most radical form of responsible research may lie (see Chapter Eight). The Chapter now goes on to provide an account of how aspects of the SPMET were employed in this thesis.

3.4 The Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology as Used in the Thesis

The thesis seeks to be a valuable resource for other researchers aiming to employ a postcolonial approach in their research in Africa. Thus, this section provides a succinct summary on how the SPMET has been employed in the thesis.

As shown in Table (3.2), the SPMET is not a one-size-fits-all methodology; therefore researchers can adapt it to their own research aims and fieldwork locations. The “British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Institute of British Geographers (IBG) urge researchers to conform to the principle of voluntary ‘informed consent’ by advocating that researchers achieve full, informed and meaningful consent from the participants for the research” (Gangadharan 2008, p.66). This observation demands contesting how guidelines on ethics may contribute to suppressing or elevating the voices of the ‘marginalised researched’. For example: “greater anonymity has the subtle reaction of shifting the research (the voices of the marginalised researched) from its original context. Ensuring anonymity might require removing so much detail

that the data is rendered meaningless and also the research participants do not always want their identity concealed” (Gangadharan 2008, p.66-67 Bracketed info. added).

Table 3.2 Some Aspects of the Sankofa Postcolonial Methodology in the Thesis

The SPMET	Areas Employed in the Thesis
Access and Researched concerns	The formative study involved giving bottles of Schnapps to the chiefs in the fieldwork locations. This is an Akan custom still very significant in villages, because of chiefs’ power to influence people under their domains. The study also involved modification of aims to reflect some material concerns of the respondents. Respondents differed in gender, income and education etc.
Socio-cultural Issues	The thesis was embedded in the concept of <i>Sankofa</i> , which demands that research in Africa is situated in the Continent’s realities and aspirations. The researcher joined in some community activities such as funeral ceremonies. Personal attributes of the researcher such as his empathy, savoir-faire and mien were useful in reaching targeted respondents in the villages.
External Pressures	The researcher suffered severely with paludal fever during the fieldworks due to his reduced immunity to <i>plasmodium spp.</i> Furthermore, there was constant financial incubus on the researcher, which delayed the completion of the PhD. The impasse was finally broken by the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund) to enable the successful completion of the study.
Ethical Issues	Pseudonyms are used where necessary in the thesis. In addition, some of the respondents’ names were dropped where there seemed to be an accompanying dishonour or discomfort. The research was embedded in the struggle of the researched for equal materiality.
Epistemic Methods	The epistemic methods used in the thesis aim to ‘speak back with’ the ‘researched’. On the 26 February 2006, in an interview with BBC Leicester, the researcher performed some of his literary poems and then argued for the need to bring African orality in research in Africa. The researcher has also performed at the Centre for West Africa Studies—University of Birmingham, the University of Leicester and in Ghana. The researcher thus engages poetry in the thesis both as a poet and a social geographer. The thesis shows that poetry is a postcolonial method <i>par excellence</i> .

Source: Author’s Own.

Among the Akans and Ewes especially in Ghana, most people are called by the days on which they are born. As a result, a name like Kwabena (male born on Tuesday),

when used in research analysis, is itself a potential pseudonym since there are hundreds of other people with the same name often in the same community. The researcher therefore gave names to the respondents after days or in some cases employed a different name altogether. In fact, some names were dropped altogether, because there seemed to be a concomitant negative effect on the respondent. For example, the name of the Chief, who is accused of causing the ‘sinking’ of the spring *Daworo Etifi* at Boabeng-Fiema of BFMS, was dropped (see Chapter Seven for details). The names of the interviewees for the specialist interviews remained unchanged at their request. Authors such as Zeleza (2002), Cloke et al (2004) and Airhihenbuwa (2006) have expressed concerns that issues of ethics, should contest ‘whether research is still being done *on* others or rather *for* them’.

In Noxolo et al’s (2008) ‘geography is pregnant’ the paradoxical position of geography as global discipline and still marginalizing the voices of the majority of people especially from the postcolonies is critiqued. Consequently, postcolonial research must take a stand against any representations that seem to marginalize the voices of the researched. Sylvester (1999) has added that the seeming passion for ‘theorisations’ in the North must revisit the greater priority of contesting for the materiality of the researched. Furthermore, the researcher maintained a ‘strategic nativeness’ in the researched communities, which demands exploring his positionality. Positionality is defined as an emerging model of intersecting positions where, “researcher should aim to clarify his or her position in a wider societal hierarchy of power, status and influence, *ipso facto* ascertain the different sorts of relationships complete with the many differing roles, responsibilities and possible limitations to what can and should be exposed” (Cloke et al 2004, p.29).

An insider's positionality in Africa is often an aggregation of factors such as economic status, educational level/alumni type, religion, family history, age, gender, personality, political party membership, marital status and ethnicity (Chilisa, 2005; Airhihenbuwa, 2006 and Yeboah, 2006). Gangadharan (2008) thus maintains that an insight into the principal local language of a fieldwork location is an advantage. The researcher's Akan background therefore helped him to settle quicker in the fieldwork locations since they are chiefly Akan communities. However, individuals in any culture are "multiple situated (which demands avoiding) homogenizing positions that favour essentialist/totalising narratives" (Lopez 1998, p.227). In addition, on entering a house at Boabeng of BFMS, the researcher observed that:

"The respondent had withheld her usual receptiveness, which prompted him to ask her 'are you ok today'; only then she explained her discontentment with one of his research assistants. The assistant has taken lead into the house, and has not waited for the interviewee to get herself 'well clothed' before videoing her. The researcher said to the respondent—"fa kyɛ hen!" (please pardon us!). The researcher then asked his assistant to delete that coverage. This appeased the respondent, which enabled the researcher to proceed with the day's interview".

Consequently, access is not *in situ*, but one constructed based on day-to-day negotiations between a researcher and respondent (Tembo, 2003). Furthermore, how does the anecdote above problematise the singularity stance to a researcher's positionality, especially those with research assistants during fieldwork? The next section delves into the criteria for the selection of the study sites.

3.5 Criteria for the Site Selection for Ecotourism Research in Ghana

The expositions in this section are presented along the three major studies in the thesis; namely historical, comparative and methodological studies. The historical study was a nationwide study, which did not focus on particular sites but traced how precolonial and post/colonial wildlife conservation and forestry meshed with

ecotourism development in Ghana. Currently, there is less research attention on comparing how the different governance of ecotourism—the State-Led Ecotourism (SLE) and Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) in Ghana has contributed to achieving the twin-objective of conservation and development. The comparative study involves KNP and BFMS (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Chapters One and Chapter Six present some historical background information on KNP and BFMS. The selection of BFMS and KNP is based on Stem's (2001, p.30) statement that an eco-site must be established at "least for the last five years", explaining that this time frame is important for assessing changes in practices and impacts on community.

KNP is named after the Kakum River, a major river that lies within the park's boundaries. However, KNP helps protect the headwaters of three other major rivers that supply water for more than 300,000 people. The Kakum forest was established as a forest reserve in 1927 for sustainable timber extraction (KCA, 1997; Owusu, 2001; Asiedu, 2002; Barnes et al 2003 and Attuquayefio and Fobil, 2005). In 1989 the Kakum Reserve and Attandanso Reserve were re-classified by GOG into KNP and Assin Attandanso Production Reserve (later changed to a Resource Reserve) respectively (Bailey, 1999 and Owusu, 2001). KNP and Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve (AARR) constitute the KCA through the Legislative Instrument 525 in 1992. The total land area of KCA is 363.48km², with KNP and AARR covering tropical moist forestland areas of 213.48km² and 150km² respectively. The park is underlain by Birrimian rocks of gneisses and schists. KNP (which is 5,20-5,40 N and 1,51-1,30 W) is in the Central Region of Ghana and is about 30km from Cape Coast—the Regional Capital. KNP served originally as a source of livelihood for most of its

surrounding communities (KCA, 1997; Bailey, 1999; Barnes et al, 2003; Narud and Vondolia, 2005 Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008 and Lamarque et al, 2009).

Figure 3.4 Kakum National Park in the Kakum Conservation Area

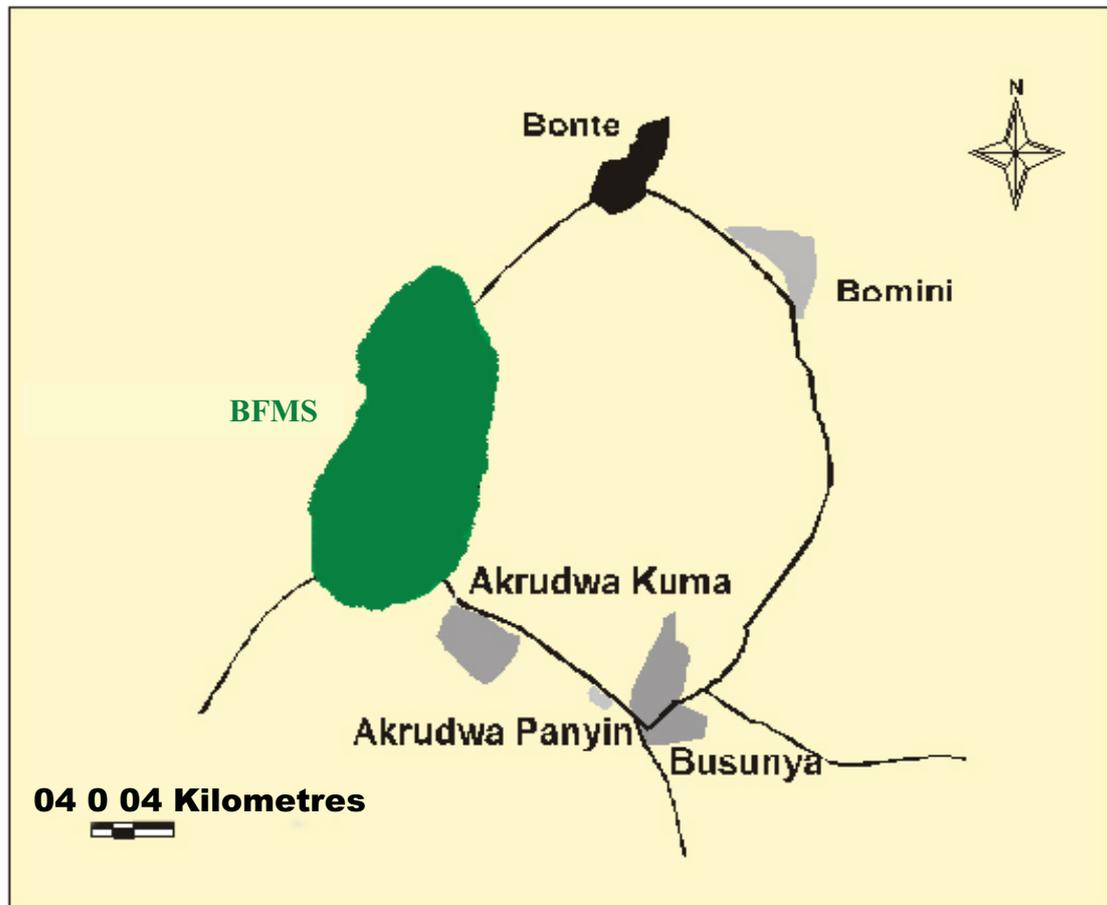


Source: The Map of KNP showing some surrounding villages. Credit: Google 2009.

BFMS was founded in 1975. BFMS (which is 71,430 N and 11,420 W; 350m above sea level) is in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. BFMS is located 22km north of Nkoranza, and consists of two communities of Boabeng and Fiema. It is 230km from Accra. In 1975, a bylaw was passed which prohibited the hunting of the monkeys within 4.5km² Boabeng and Fiema (the habitat for the monkeys is actually 1.9km²). KNP and BFMS are, respectively, at the forefront of SLE and CBE development in Ghana (USAID, 2005 and Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008). KNP has been “the

driving force of tourism development in Ghana, winning the Ecotourism award in 1998” (Narud and Vandolia 2005, p.119). Whilst, BFMS has been called “a classic example of traditional conservation dating back to the 1830s” (Saj et al., 2005, p.285).

Figure 3.5 Boabeng and Fiema and Boabeng Fiema Monkey Sanctuary



Source: Modified from Wong and Sicotte (2006, p.366).

Eagle et al (2002) have stated that the distance for an involved community should be within 1-5 km from an eco-destination, since they are more likely to have historical reliance on the bioresources and water sources in it. Consequently, the comparative study of this thesis compares the voices of the residents in communities in close proximity to the study areas. The selection of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema for the

comparative study thus was partly due to their proximity to the eco-destinations. Although seven other villages linked to BFMS fall within this distance-frame, Boabeng and Fiema were selected because they receive most of the visitors to the Sanctuary. Boabeng-Fiema is seen as a ‘twin-village’ because of the role of their gods *Abujo* and *Daworo* in ensuring a near excellent protection for the monkeys in BFMS. Furthermore, because of the relative combined human population size of Boabeng and Fiema compared to Abrafo, they are taken as one research location for the study. The selection of Abrafo as against the over 200 villages linked to KNP came from the formative study, which showed its frequent visitations by tourists. Akyea, the Executive Director of GHCT stated, “Abrafo receives most of the material benefits from KNP compared to the other surrounding villages” (Pers. Comm., 2006). The third aim of the thesis explores how the appropriation of poetry can contribute to transformation in the behaviour of the residents of Boabeng-Fiema and also ways of bringing out their voices in conservation at BFMS. The research question was how conservation education using poetry can contribute to the sustainability of BFMS and the wellbeing of the peoples of Boabeng-Fiema. This part of the study was carried out in the villages because still orality is more common there compared to Abrafo of KNP (see Section 3.6 for details). The follow-up sections provide comprehensive expositions on data generation and collection for the thesis.

3.5.1 Primary Data Generation

Primary data collection took place between March 2006 and April 2007 (see Figure, 3.6 for epistemic methods employed). The formative study involved preliminary visits and ‘constructive dialogue’ in the potential study communities, which finally led to the selection of the fieldwork locations of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema.

how the use of poetry could help to ‘speak back with’ the voices of the residents on conservation education at BFMS. This involved focus groups, informal interviews, personal communications and personal observations at Boabeng-Fiema. The specialist interviews were principally concerned with Aim one of the thesis, which contributed to tracing colonial conservation in ecotourism development in Ghana.

3.5.2 Questionnaire Survey

The expositions under the SPMET cautioned the overly deployment of top-down methods in postcolonial research, since they are often conceived within positivism, which claim objectivity and unencumbered knowledges. For example, questionnaire and statistical analysis limit investigations to what can be asked in interview and what can be counted (Chambers, 1983). Thus the realities of rural deprivation are often missed (Ibid.). However, use of questionnaires can be used as a prelude to gain understanding of a research problem and allow for an in-depth qualitative study. Indeed, questionnaires are extremely versatile, thus enabling a researcher to study and describe large populations fairly quickly. Researchers using questionnaires in their research seek to provide often a comparison between variables. The thesis thus employs questionnaire survey in the comparative study to compare some variables between BFMS and KNP. However, the analysis of the questionnaire survey was concurrently contested with qualitative data analysis on the themes that emerged and thus the resultant triangulation was a purposeful attempt to avoid sidelining the voices of the residents of the local communities on the impacts of the eco-sites—BFMS and KNP. Questionnaires were distributed at Abrafo and at Boabeng and Fiema (see section 3.5). All the respondents were above 18 years of age. Overall 200 questionnaires were distributed, with 100 questionnaires (see Table 3.3) distributed at

Abrafo and 100 questionnaires at Boabeng and Fiema (50 apiece). Each questionnaire had 90 main questions, which contributed to generating over 18,000 responses needed for addressing the research aim. The questionnaires were administrated face-to-face.

Table 3.3 Sample Sizes for the Comparative Study

Selected Community	The Population of Community	Sample Size
Abrafo	4200	100
Boabeng and Fiema	1300 } 1600 } 2900	100 (50 questionnaire per community)
Total	7100	200

Sources: BFMS and GHCT Offices (2006).

The comparative study of the thesis was divided into a rural development component and a conservation component. The rural development study, investigated the socio-cultural and economic impacts of ecotourism at BFMS and KNP. Overall, the comparative study sought to trace how issue of spatiality play out in the costs and benefits of ecotourism development in two different places (under two different ecotourism regimes—SLE and CBE) in Ghana. Special attention was given to the role of spatiality in determining the type and level of impacts on the bioresources in BFMS and KNP, and the residents of the surrounding local communities (see Chapter Six).

3.5.3 Formal and Informal Interviews

There are two types of interviews used in this research, namely formal and informal interviews. Six formal interviews with key specialists in the field were conducted, focusing on tracing ecotourism development in Ghana (see Table 3.4). Qualitative interviews are methodologically appealing to postcolonial geographical research because they are relatively less restrictive to the emerging voices of respondents than questionnaires (Valentine, 2001). It has been observed that in Ghana respondents

could still holdback information because of their socio-cultural considerations even in interviews. However, the qualitative interviews are an obvious way to allow people to speak for themselves about their own views on experiences and situations.

Table 3.4 Specialist Individual Interviews

Interviewees' Names, and Organisations	Thesis Aim One: To tease out how colonial wildlife conservation, land use and forestry are imbricated in ecotourism development in post-independent Ghana.
Akunea Akyea Executive Director, Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust	Essence of interview: What role has GHCT played in ecotourism development in Ghana? What is the role of the GHCT in the management of KNP? The challenges to GHCT in contributing to the sustainability of KNP? Etc.
John Mason Executive Director, NCRC.	Essence of interview: What role has NCRC played in ecotourism development in Ghana? What challenges do the NCRC face in championing CBE in Ghana? Etc.
Nana Adu-Nsiah Executive Director, Wildlife Division.	Essence of interview: What role has Wildlife Division played in ecotourism development and conservation of biodiversity, in Ghana? Etc.
Frank Kofifah Business Manager, GTB.	Essence of interview: What role has GTB and MOT & DR played in biodiversity conservation and ecotourism development in Ghana? Etc.
Jacob Awere Business Manager, Wildlife Division	Essence of interview: What role has GOG played in ecotourism development in Ghana? What are the pre-colonial Ghana wildlife conservation practices? Etc.
Anthony Dassah The Chief Warden, BFMS	Essence of interview: Wildlife Division's role in conservation education at BFMS and the challenges the staff of the Division face in discharging their duty? Etc.

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

This group of specialists had been involved in tourism-related fields in Ghana. The interviews were semi-structured and each lasted over an hour. The interviews were recorded and on occasions where an interviewee felt uncomfortable about having some information on an audiotape, the researcher paused and noted down the information in the fieldwork notebook. Although the researcher had prepared some questions for the interviewees he was very open to include any emerging information

from the interviews that was of importance to the thesis (see Appendix 3.1). This approach is based on the inclusive and polymorphous tenet of postcolonial knowledge creation (Kibutu, 2006). Sampling for formal interviews was based on a non-random sampling method of snowballing; Mason of NCRC kick-started this process. The formal interviews were preceded by informal visits. These informal visits with some of the respondents even continued after the data were generated. Usually, during these interviews some useful secondary data were handed over to the researcher for photocopying or downloading in case of soft-copies. At Boabeng and Fiema, however the researcher had to make photocopies by travelling to Nkoranza, which could offer such a service. Also, the thesis benefited from personal communications with Dei (Ex-dean of Geography and Tourism Department, University of Cape Coast) and David Western (President of the African Conservation Foundation). Overall, these respondents helped to address principally aim one of the thesis. The informal interviews of the thesis are mostly concerned with the aim three of the thesis. These respondents were selected based on their length of stay in Boabeng-Fiema, gender and their knowledge on the themes under the methodological study (see Chapter 7). The responses were audiotaped or hand-recorded depending on a respondent's preference.

3.5.4 Focus Groups at the Eco-destinations

The usefulness of focus groups for research in sub-Saharan Africa has been documented (Owusu, 2001). The members in focus groups usually run from 6 to 10 (Twumasi, 2001). In order to collect in-depth data to address the comparative study and methodological study, focus groups were conducted within the communities of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema. In all, four main focus groups were carried out at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema. The first focus group was with members in the chief's house at

Boabeng, a group of seven, the chief, the Boabeng elder, messenger, the next of kin, nephew of the chief, the ex-fetish priest of *Daworo*'s son and the son of the Boabeng queen. This focus group targeted how the origin of the monkeys influence conservation at BFMS. The second focus group was at Abrafo, comprising the chief, community elders and two community members. The third focus group was at Fiema, with one household. The final focus group was at Boabeng with seven selected youth. The focus groups were concerned with the comparative study (thesis' aim two) and the voice and methodological study (thesis' aim three). The members of the focus groups were selected based on their knowledge on the research questions. Usually, one of the members would suggest that a certain member of the village be called to participate in the discussion because according to the rest of the members in the focus group that person has something useful to contribute as well. The focus groups were held one-off for all the four focus groups and they lasted for 2 to 3 hours.

3.5.5 Participant/Personal Observation

Cloke et al (2004) have stressed that personal and participant observations are important techniques in qualitative research. Participant and personal observation enable a researcher to obtain in-depth data on a particular theme under study. Fixative recording of the lifeworlds of respondents without their consent is, however, a contentious ethical issue. Thus, data from these techniques were used in the thesis in ways that would afford no discomfort to the individual or the community at large.

The researcher participated in some activities such as funeral ceremonies and child-naming ceremonies at Boabeng and Fiema—e.g., at Fiema in October 2006 the researcher was a participant observer to the ceremony of their god *Abujo*. This

ceremony involved drumming, dancing and ritual meals being offered to the god; in fact the good attendance at the ceremony showed that the god is still significant to the residents and BFMS. The researcher also participated in a funeral ceremony in Boabeng. Usually, when one visits a funeral durbar he/she offers condolence and money (*nnsawa* Akan) to the deceased family. Such an act contributes to the fortification of ones ‘citizenship’ in a community. Indeed, if a researcher is seen to dissociate himself/herself from ‘concerns’ at fieldwork locations, his/her previous or potential respondents may keep the same stance. The participant and personal observations were employed in particular to address aims two and three of the thesis.

3.5.6 Documentary Data

The usefulness of documentary evidences in research is well recognized (Robinson, 1998). Gangadharan (2008) illustrates how secondary data can be used to support a project that is inherently qualitative in nature but for which a justification in terms of importance is derived from statistical information (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Documentary Data Sources for the Thesis

Sources	Sources of Data Collected
International Source	Websites: http://pdf/usaaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACD818.pdf , www.worldbank.org , www.undp.org . Articles, books, magazines, pamphlets and conferences. Archival documents, Government Reports, International News Papers, World Tourism Organisation (WTO). TIES, Seminars and some videos on www.youtube.com .
National Sources	Historical data from National Archive in Accra, photos from the Ministry of Information, Data from the Forestry Commission, the National Commission on Culture, Websites of Environmental Protection Agency, Nature Conservation Research Centre, Ghana Tourism Board, the MOT &DR, http://www.ghanaweb.com , Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Televisions and University Libraries.
Local Sources	BFMS and KNP offices. Video backups on some of the in-depth interviews and focus groups.

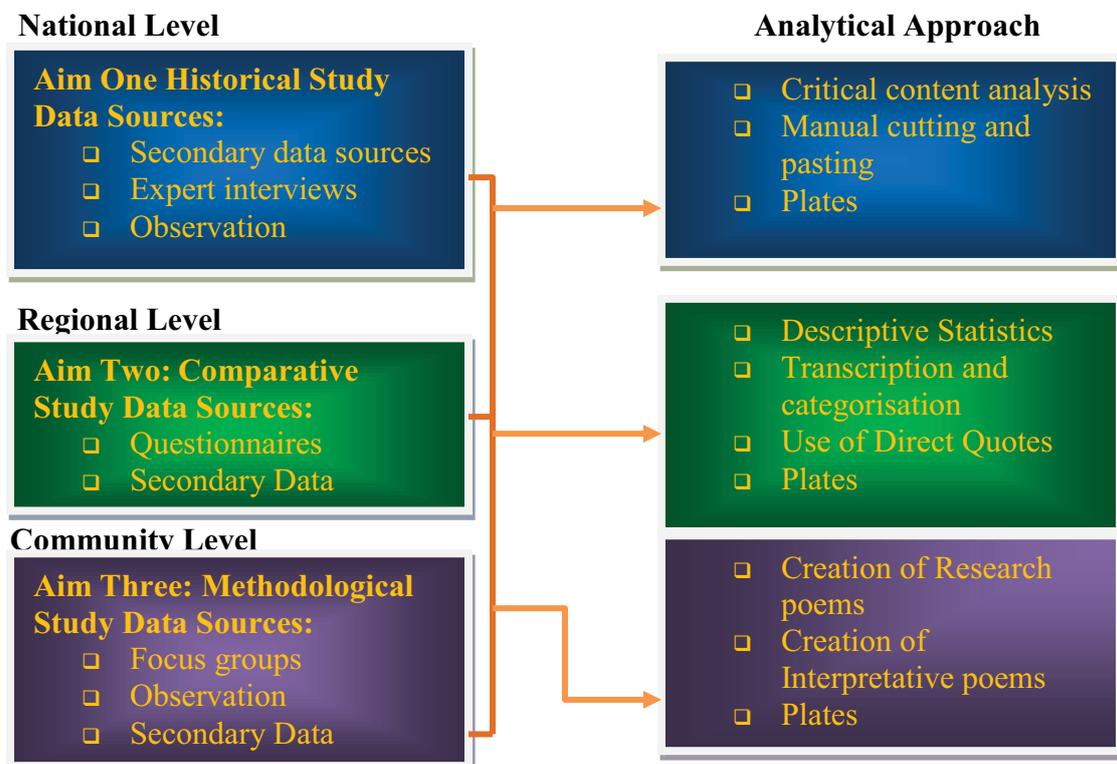
Source: Author’s Own.

However, the list provided is not exhaustive of the documentary data available for the researcher as the diverse referencing throughout the thesis shows. The next section provides elucidations on the analytic tools employed in the thesis.

3.6 Tools for Research Analysis

According to Crang (1997) there are no rigid rules over the precise mechanics of analysing qualitative data. However, the SPMET seeks for analytical tools that are relevant to the research aims. The analysis under the historical aim (aim 1), followed the traditional qualitative analysis, which according to Dey (1993) involves three main levels namely, the description, classification and interconnection. Consequently, the first step in this analysis involved transcribing data from the six principal interviews and the focus groups into a mass of text (see Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7 The Analytic Tools Employed in the Thesis



Source: Author's Own.

Transcription of data often produces a large amount of descriptive information (Cloeke et al, 2004 and O'Reilly, 2005). This is where coding of the information becomes necessary. Coding involves marking-up transcripts with a series of codes that label particular words and phrases (Robinson, 1998). However, researchers are not actually interested in the codes themselves, but the text they denote, thus the codes aid the researcher in making sense of descriptive data (Kitchin and Tate, 2001 and Gangadharan, 2008). The second step involved categorising the transcribed data into similar classes of themes. Consequently, the classification step involved relating the transcribed data to where they fitted best in the whole research analysis. Thirdly, the interconnecting step involved making sense of the themes in relation to the research aims. The second aim of the thesis focused on two main components—the community development and biodiversity conservation impacts of BFMS and KNP. The analysis of the second aim involved triangulation, whereby the data from the questionnaire survey were analysed using descriptive statistics techniques (see Chapter Six).

Analysis of the third aim of the thesis involved the use of poetry in conservation education at BFMS. This involved transcribing the data from in-depth interviews, focus groups and personal observations, along with photos and videos, which helped to capture the respondents' gestures. Secondly, the key phrases from the transcribed data were used to create research and interpretative poems (Langer and Furman, 2004). Overall, 12 poems were created in English language (and two translations in Fante). Five key themes were analysed and seeking to 'uncover hidden voices'—the poems created were based on data from across the villages on people who differ on gender, age, education, religion and occupation (see Chapter Seven).

3.7 Summary to the Chapter

The Chapter explored the possibilities for materializing a methodology for postcolonial geographical research in Africa, along with issues of site selection and analytical tools employed in the thesis. The Chapter under the tutelage of *Sankofa* proposed the SPMET for geographical research in Africa. The SPMET contests issues of ‘access and the researched concerns’, ‘socio-cultural considerations’, ‘external pressures’, ‘ethical issues’ and ‘epistemic methods’. In addition, the Chapter provides examples of how aspects of the SPMET were explored in the thesis. Overall, the SPMET seeks to ‘speak back with’ the ‘researched’, whilst acknowledging that the enterprise of ‘provincialising Euro-Americanism’ is a multifaceted challenge—i.e. it is not automatic or given (Appiah, 1991; Chakrabarty, 2000; Sidaway, 2001; Zeleza, 2002; Chilisa, 2005; Airhihenbuwa, 2006; Yeboah, 2006 and Noxolo, 2009).

The Chapter then explored the criteria for selecting the research locations and analytic tools used. The justification for selecting BFMS and KNP for the thesis was explored along with the rationale underpinning the selection of the Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema communities for the comparative study. The Chapter then teased out the processes leading to the primary data collection and generation and the analytic tools employed for thesis. Chapter Four now goes on to explore the mercantile trade, the triangular trade and tourism development plans in Ghana. This enables the thesis to be situated in the case study country as well as contesting how its ‘slave history, colonial history and post-independent history’ are implicated in its tourism development effort.

Chapter 4 Triangular Trade, Colonialism, Political Independence and Tourism Development in Ghana

4.0 Introduction to the Chapter

The Chapter seeks to locate the thesis in its historical, political and economic contexts within expositions on Ghana's tourism development efforts. There are five main sections in the Chapter. Section (4.1) explores the history of pre-independent Ghana from 1471 to 1946. Section (4.2) provides key discourses on Ghana's struggle for political independence along its economic performances from 1947 to 1982. Section (4.3) then gives the overview of the world tourism market along with Ghana's tourism development plans. Section (4.4) then explores the tourism market in Ghana. Section (4.5) provides a summary to the Chapter.

4.1 Historical Overview of Pre-Independent Ghana: 1471-1946

This section explores the colonial administrators' contact with the people now known as Ghanaians. Emphases are placed on how the triangular trade linked with colonialism to contribute to the economic realities of the Gold Coast up until 1946.

Exactly when non-indigenes began travelling to West Africa is not known, however Sudanic and trans-Saharan trades have both been recorded. The first evidence of European mercantile trade with the Gold Coast (now known as Ghana) is that of the Portuguese expedition of 1471 by Juam de Santerem and Pedro d' Escobar, to what they called Costa d'Oro or Gold Coast (Fage, 1969). The Portuguese explorers finding gold in this region, eventually demanded to build a trade post at Elmina. Kwamina Ansah—King of Eguafo, who had welcomed the

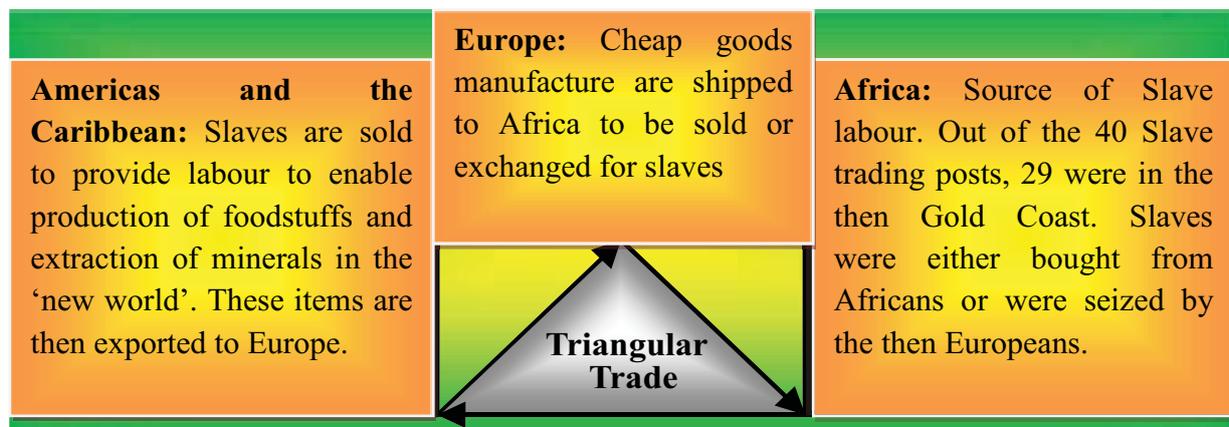
Portuguese explorers to the coast, gave the first statement of resistance to any foreign domination: “have you seen the sea, it visits the land every now and then and always goes back. We wish that you would continue to come and go as you have been doing, the moment you build and stay here there would be trouble for us” (The Mirror 2007, p.3). However, on the 21st January 1482, to promote this trade in gold, King John II of Portugal commissioned the construction of a fortress in the Gold Coast. Under the leadership of Diego d’Adzambuja, 12 ships carrying building materials and 600 men (100 artisans and 500 hundred soldiers) left Portugal for the Colony (Richards, 2005 and Essah, 2006). By 1496, the castle was completed and named *São Jorge da Mina* (St George of the Mine or Elmina Castle). The castle served as a warehouse to safely keep Portuguese merchandise, during periods when no Portuguese ships were in the offing as well as serving as a garrison to ensure that only properly licensed Portuguese merchants were allowed to trade in the Colony (Fage, 1969). Thus the mercantile trade involved mainly gold because of its abundance in the area (see Plate 4.1). In the 1600s, the Portuguese supplied about 10 percent of the world gold demand from the Gold Coast, at an estimated £100,000-350,000 per year (Pellow and Chazan, 1986).



Plate4.1 Arrows show some Ghanaian Chiefs with assorted gold regalia. Credit: MIS.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade (euphemistically termed the triangular trade) came to overshadow this trade in gold and other goods. The triangular trade (see Figure 4.1) started in about 1530, and involved the Portuguese, who had become well established in Brazil; the Spanish on the mainland of South, Central and North America and the English, French, Dutch, Danes and Spanish on the islands of the Caribbean Sea (Agbodza and Agbo, 2006). The expansion of sugar cane plantations and the decimation of the Native American populations in the New World demanded that ‘alternative labour’ was sought. Eventually, “Africans were identified as an ideal source of labour for the mines and plantations of the New World” (Stock 2004, p.111). The triangular trade thus made Africa a key source of raw labour and raw materials (e.g. gold and diamonds) in exchange for European goods.

Figure 4.1 An Overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade



Source: Author’s Own.

The Spanish authorities controlled the slave export to the Americas, but since it possessed no trading bases in West Africa, the trade was done by means of contracts called *asiento*s, (singular, *asiento*) which were issued by the Spanish government between 1543 and 1834 to merchants who were either Portuguese or who had Portuguese agents (Fage, 1969; Stock, 2004 and Asirifi-Danquah, 2008). The *asiento*s were disregarded by the English in 1553,

Swedes in 1640, Danes in 1640 and the Brandenburgers in 1683 (Pellow and Chazan, 1986). Indeed, the “slave trade was a major force in the underdevelopment of West Africa” (Stock 2004, p.112), by draining its human capital. For instance, it has been recorded that at one time the Gold Coast was transporting as many as 10,000 slaves per year (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 An Overview of Estimates of Slaves in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Slaves of the Tran-Atlantic Trade transported from the Whole of Africa		
Year Category	The Estimates of Slaves from Africa	Approx. average numbers of slaves per yr
Up to 1600	330, 000	2,200
1601-1700	1,560,000	15,600
1701-1810	7,520,000	68,400
After 1810	1,950,000	32,500
Total	11,360,000	118,700
Approximate Average numbers of Slave taken from the African Coasts per year during the 1780s		
West African coasts	Annual numbers	Approximate percents
Senegambia	2,200	} 7.0%
Sierra Leone region	2,000	
Grain and Ivory Coasts	4,000	
Gold Coast	10,000	9%
Slave Coast to Benin	12,500	14%
Niger delta & Cameroon	22,000	25%
All other part of Africa	40,300	45%
Total	93,000	100%

Source: Fage (1969, p.83-88).

The Danes abolished the triangular trade in 1803 and the British in 1807. Akyeampong (2001) has given the case of the Anlos in the then British Togoland, to buttress his claim that the trade did in fact continue ‘illegally’ right into the upper-half (1856) of the 1900. The abolition of the triangular trade was based mainly on humanitarian rationalizations, overproduction of sugar in the New World and the resistances by the slaves (Pellow and

Chazan, 1986). Two of these resistances are worth noticing. Firstly, there were slave revolts in Barbados in 1816, Brazil in 1828-1837, Bolivia in 1840, Cuba in 1844 and Jamaica in 1861. Secondly, there were resistances from the world of letters by some Africans liberated from the slave trade—e.g. Ottobah Cuguano’s “Thoughts and sentiments of the evil of slavery” published in 1787 and Olaudah Equiano’s, “The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano” published in 1789, helped to mount pressure on the slave merchants and frustrated the reliance on slave labour for raw material production in the New World. Eze (1999) and Ahluwalia (2001) have argued that the institutionisation and entrenchment of the triangular trade was the antecedent of colonialism in Africa. For example, after the abolition, the European powers sought to find a commodity to take the place of slaves as the main export from Africa. In 1884, about 20,000 tons of palm oil was exported from the Gold Coast, and latex from wild rubber trees became a valuable export, but the over-exploitation of the trees brought the trade to an end after 1900 (Hoefter, 2001). Incontrovertibly, Britain sought to control the Gold Coast land and its natural resources (see Chapter Five). In 1850, Britain bought all the Danish possessions in the Colony for £10,000 and the Dutch transferred their possessions to the British between 1871 and 1872 (Davidson et al., 1967 and Fage, 1969). However, the Bond of 1844 (the Fante chiefs signed the Bond to access the military might of Britain against external invasions on the 6th March 1844, at the Cape Coast Castle) was the landmark agreement that brought the Colony finally under the jurisprudence of the British Crown (Adu-Boahen, 1987). Seven Chiefs signed the Bond namely:

“Cudjoe Chibboe—King of Denkyira, Quarshie Otto—Chief of Abrah, Chibboo Coomah—Chief of Assin, Nana Gebre—2nd Chief of Assin, Quarshie Ankrah— Chief of Donadie, Nana Amonoo—Chief of Anomabo, and Nana Joe Aggrey Chief of Cape Coast. The Bond was signed on behalf of H.M. Queen Victoria of Britain and Ireland by His Excellency Lieut. General H.W. Hill and witnessed by Governor George Maclean, F. Pagson, Lieut. 1st W.A. regiment—commanding H.M troops and S. Bannerman, Adjutant of the Militia and Police”.
(Ministry of Information Services, 2007).

Britain laudably forbade human sacrifice and ‘panyarring’—the forceful seizure of a person (or sequestration) in order to secure redress for a debt. The British Crown sought to ensconce its power on the Gold Coast by revising the Native Jurisdiction Act of 1883, to force all local chiefs to be under its control (Abu-Boahen, 1987). Then in 1901, an Order in Council by Britain turned the Gold Coast officially into a Colony. In addition, the British Crown sought further to control the natural resources and land of the Gold Coast by passing the Lands Bill in 1895 and the Forest Bill in 1911 (Amanor, 2001; Amanor, 2003 and Marfo, 2009).

The invention of steam engine gave a further thrust for the industrialisation in Britain and the concomitant demand for *carte blanche* supply of raw materials such as peanuts, cotton, palm oil, gold and cocoa from its colonies (Power, 2003 and Stock, 2004). Britain thus sought to secure protection for its trading places in Africa from rivals such as Germany and France. This was based on the observation that Britain’s monopoly of trade in Africa before 1865 was being challenged by Germany and France—these two countries were matching up to Britain’s power in science and technology (Fage, 1969). Thus, Fage (1969) has argued that:

“The Europeans desire to exploit African trade and resources were apt to be a stronger force than...obligation to help the African peoples to advance”.
(Fage 1969, p.184-185).

As a consequence, the 1884-85 Berlin Conference envisaged the internecine outcomes if the colonialists were allowed to compete against each other and granted that formality which came to be known as the ‘Scramble for Africa’. In addition, the Brussels’ Conference on Africa in 1890 demanded that the colonial administrations maintained a presence on a coast of Africa to mark it and its interior as a protectorate (Fage, 1969). Thus, following the Berlin Conference, the British sought to carve a boundary for the Gold Coast. This was agreed with

the French to the west and north and with the Germans in Togo to the east, regardless of the racial, cultural, economic, and ethnic considerations of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast living around these boundaries. Therefore, the Ewes found themselves in the Gold Coast and the majority in Togo; the Dagomba state was divided between Togo and the Gold Coast and part of the Akan states found themselves in the Ivory Coast. However, the people in the then Gold Coast were not passive receivers of external invasion (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 History from the Colonial Period in the Gold Coast

Date	Event Details
1471	Portuguese reached Del Mina and completed Elmina Castle by 1482. The Portuguese driven out by the Dutch.
1553	First English Voyage Thomas Windham recorded. The 1500 and 1700 attracted the Dutch, the Swedes, the Brandenburgers, Danes and English.
1662	English established themselves at the Cape Coast Castle.
1844	The Fantes signed the Bond to become a British Protectorate.
1850	The Coastal areas given their own legislative Council from Sierra Leone.
1865	The Coastal areas, given back to Freetown to be administrated from there
1871	In October, the Fantes gathered at Mankessim to sign the Fante Confederation, to organise all the Fantes against the invasion of the Asantes
1872	In April the Dutch forts were taken over by the British.
1873-74	Garnet Wolesey arrives on Gold Coast. He attacks Asante with a force of 2,500 British soldiers. Main battles started from 31 st Jan. 1874.
1874	On the 12 th September Gold Coast proclaimed a crown colony.
1896	Britain extends the Protectorate to include Asante. The Paramount Chief of Asantes (<i>Asantehene</i>), Prempeh exiled to Seychelles.
1900-1901	Frederick Hodgson, the Governor demanded the Ashanti Golden Stool. The Asantes resisted by fighting the British in 1901, lead by Yaa Asantewa. The Asantes were conquered and exiled Yaa Asantewa to Seychelles.
1901	The 1901 Order in Council turned the Gold Coast into a Colony.
1902	In Jan. Northern Territories and Ashanti are added to Gold Coast Colony
1922	German Togoland divided into two, the Germans asked the British to take care of the Western part and the French, the Eastern part.
1956	In a plebiscite, the British Togoland voted in majority to join Ghana.

Source: Davidson et al (1967) and Fage (1969).

As earlier as 1871, the Fantes had formed an association called the Fante Confederation, which sought to unite all the Fantes, to enable them to mount a singular voice and defence against Ashantis' invasions and any external subjugation (Fage, 1969 and Davidson et al, 1987). The British thought the Confederation aimed to undermine them, which caused the British to arrest some of the Confederation leaders, although they were later released. However, some of the colonials collaborated with Britain on its expansionist agenda. For example, George Ekem Ferguson, a Fante surveyor, explored and mapped the northern part of Ashanti and alongside other British agents, negotiated with the northern chiefs so that by 1898 the British protectorate had extended to 11⁰ N (Fage, 1969).

4.1.1 An Overview of the Economic Activities in the Gold Coast

In 1903, a railway line was constructed between Kumasi and the port of Takoradi, allowing transportation of large volumes of cocoa from the Ashanti forest region and the forested hinterland to the coast. By 1923 the railway between Accra and Kumasi was completed and that of Kade to Huni valley was completed in 1927 (Fage, 1969). This was also to enable transportations of heavy machinery to the mining areas. Gordon Guggisberg the Governor from 1919-1927 drew up the first Colonial Development Plan (1919-1929) for Gold Coast. The Plan focused on development of basic physical and social infrastructure to make the Colony a more efficient raw material producer to feed the industries in Britain. The first export of cocoa from the Gold Coast was in 1891 and in 1910 the value of cocoa exports exceeded that of gold (Fage, 1969). By 1911 the Gold Coast was the world's largest cocoa exporter and accounted for 40 percent of the world's total supply between 1920 and 1940 (Konadu-Agyeman, 2003). In 1951 the value of cocoa exported from the Gold Coast was £60,300,000 (US\$169,000,000), which was two-thirds of the value of the colony's total exports of £91,249,000 (£255,000,000) (Fage 1969, p.193). Gold export in the same period

was £8,500,000 (US\$23,800,000) and timber £4,976,000 (US\$14,000,000) (ibid.). Importation of manufactured goods especially from Europe was £63,313,000 or US\$ 177,275,000 in 1951 (Ibid.). Consequently, Chilisa (2005) argues that colonialism organized societies to produce along the imperialistic undergirding of a ‘mother country’ as against local needs. For example, the people from the Northern Territories were forcibly recruited to work in mines, railway construction and on export crops (e.g. cocoa plantations). Indeed, colonialism contributed to the Northern Territories and British Togoland suffering from acute spatial and socio-economic disparities. For instance, per capital income of the residents of Takoradi, Kumasi and Accra was £185 compared to the £38 for the residents in the Northern Territories in 1960 (Okonjo, 1996). Furthermore, colonialism in Gold Coast produced a bifurcated state that differentiated between a civic sphere, reserved for Europeans and elite citizens, and a customary sphere of the *indigenat* (Native Authority) with paramount chiefs as head. These areas were divided into distinct ‘ethnicities’. The civic sphere was the domain of democratic political processes. The customary sphere was one ruled by appointed chiefs. In the case of the Northern Territories, the British regrouped them under strong kingdoms like Mamprugu and instituted a ‘pseudo-chieftaincy system’ for areas where there were no chiefs: this rule was referred to as indirect rule (see Pellow and Chazan, 1986).

This was shown in the way the colonial administration controlled the expenditure in the Gold Coast. The colonial administration established the Cocoa Marketing Board, which bought the goods from the producer at a fixed price and sold them. Depending on the world market fluctuation a loss or a surplus was made; the surplus was then kept for stabilization or as a buffer reserve to finance the deficits of other seasons (Fage, 1969). The revenues were invested in British government securities or used for building infrastructure by the colonizers; therefore the use of the capital was the sole prerogative of the colonial masters. Britain took

a worthy move to invest more heavily in the empire through the Colonial Act of 1929. However, the Colonial Development Act gravely sidelined social development such as education. Moreover, the meagre percentage allocated to agricultural development caused Rodney (1995) to stress that Europeans failure to transform technology in African agriculture is one of the gravest mistakes of colonialism (see Table 4.3). Indeed, Lord Passfield, the Secretary of State for the British Colonies is noted to have asserted that the Colonial Act was “an attempt to stimulate the British exports trade” (Abbott 1972, p.70). Moradi (2008) provides useful insights into some of the benefits that accrued to the colonials under Pax Britannica—i.e. there was relative improvement in nutrition for Ghanaians who served in the WWII on behalf of Britain. However, Moradi’s (2008) thesis suffers from the subtle belittling of the enormous and sometimes unspeakable atrocities associated with the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the accompanying colonial administrations, especially in Africa.

Table 4.3 The Components of the Colonial Act of 1929

Heading under the Act	Amount Located (£)	Percentages
Agriculture Development	534,118	6%
Internal Transport and Communication	2,658,290	30%
Harbours	474,245	5%
Fisheries	156,630	2%
Forestry	106,630	1%
Surveys	253,375	3%
Land Reclamation and drainage	444,100	5%
Water supplies and water power	923,417	10%
Electricity	163,608	2%
Mineral resources	770,050	9%
Scientific Research	597,654	7%
Public Health	1,460,338	16%
Miscellaneous	332,618	4%
Total	£8,875,083	100

Source: Abbott (1972, p.74).

Also, there were disconcerting disproportions in the ‘mother country’s expenditure. For instance, in the British Isles the spending on social services was £6 and 15 shillings per person, whilst a Gold Coaster settled for 7 shillings 4 pence per person (Rodney, 1997). Now let’s focus on the trajectory to Ghana’s political independence.

4.2 Independent Struggle and Economic Overview before 1983

This section provides expositions on the Gold Coast’s struggle for independence. Ghana’s economic development prospects after political independence is based on the pre-1983 and post-1983 economic initiatives (the Chapter elucidates on this).

The resistances of proto-nationalist movements such as the Aborigines Right Protection Society (see Chapter Five) and the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBW) reached an apogee in the Gold Coast on 28th February 1948. On that day, some unarmed soldiers of the Gold Coast marched toward the Christianborg Castle (the Governor’s residence) to present their demands to the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Regiment-Gerald Creasy. These soldiers demanded a decent standard of living after fighting loyally under the command of their colonial master-Britain, especially in Burma in WWII. When these soldiers reached the Christianborg crossroads, however, the British soldiers ordered them to stop, which they refused. Superintendent C.H. Imray a British soldier seized a gun and killed Sergeant Adjetey, Corporal Attipoe and Private Odartey-Lampety, all members of the Gold Coast Regiment of the Royal West African Frontier Force. This erupted into a riot in Accra and other major towns and cost the lives of 29 colonials with 230 wounded (Royle, 1996). In addition, some damage was done to the stores of the members of the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM), which were monopolised by Europeans, Syrians and Lebanese (Pellow and Chazan, 1986).

Before the riot, the first political party—the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) had been formed in August 1947 with Paa Grant as the Chairman. The UGCC sought for self-rule for the Colony. Earlier, Kwame Nkrumah along with George Padmore served as co-secretary to the 5th Pan-African Congress at Manchester in 1945—seeking for self-rule for Africans (Sallah, 2007). Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in December 1947 to take up the position of General Secretary in the UGCC. Thus, when the 1948 riot occurred the colonial administration quickly accused and detained Nkrumah, J.B. Danquah, Obetsebi-Lampsey, Akufo-Addo, Ofori-Atta and Ako Adjei (the ‘Big Six’) all of UGCC, on the grounds that they were attempting to exploit the situation to their own advantage. The riot also led to the colonial administration setting up a Commission under the Chairmanship of Andrew Aiken Watson, an English lawyer, to probe the causes of the riot and to make recommendations. The Watson Commission led to the colonial administration appointing an all-African Committee under the chairmanship of a British Jurist Justice Henry Coussey. The Coussey Committee sought to address the need for full participation of the colonials in the Colony’s governance. Five of the members of the Big Six were invited to serve on the Coussey Committee; however—Nkrumah, by then the most popular nationalist, was not invited.

At the same time, Nkrumah was facing criticisms from some of the UGCC leaders on his socialist ideologies, his formation of the Committee of Youth Organisation (CYO), within the party and above all implicating them in the 1948 riot case. Subsequently, Nkrumah was relegated to the post of an Honorary Treasurer in the party. Nkrumah judged perspicaciously that the youths of the Colony were behind him and formed a new party—the Convention People’s Party (CPP) on 12th June 1949 in Accra. CPP had the motto ‘Self-Government Now’, thus the UGCC motto of ‘self-government within the shortest possible time’, was seen as taking a gradualist approach by the majority of the Gold Coast electorate. Indeed, when the

Coussey Commission, reported that a new system of regional and local government should be established under the British Crown, Nkrumah thus stressed that the Commission's recommendation was meretricious since it tactfully denies "the country its legitimate demand for Self-Government" (Ghana International Review 2007, p.71). On 8th January 1950, Nkrumah called for Positive Action (strikes etc) and was later imprisoned with other native personalities for the attendant upheavals in the Colony. In 1951, based on the Coussey Constitution, an election was held, in which CPP won a landslide victory. Arden-Clarke, the then Colonial Governor, released Nkrumah and appointed him as Leader of Government Business (Abu-Boahen, 1987 and Stock, 2004). The CPP started working with the British officials, and on the 6th March 1957, the Gold Coast became the first Colony below the Sahara to gain political independence (see Plate 4.2). The dropping of the name Gold Coast in favour of Ghana was a Pan-African stance to link the new state to an old African empire that the Arabic author al-Fazari mentioned in A.D 773-4 as 'the land of gold' (Fage, 1969).



Plate 4.2 Nkrumah proclaiming Ghana's independence at the Old Polo grounds (which used to be forbidden ground for people of the Gold Coast). Credit: MIS.

Also, the choice of the name Ghana for the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence from the colonising states symbolised “both new beginnings and ancient roots, thus affirming that the underdevelopment of Africa was not original or a natural state” (Stock 2004, p.114). Undeniably, much euphoria surrounded this independence (Pellow and Chazan, 1986), thus it is worth providing an overview of how the country has performed economically since 1957.

4.2.1 Overview of Ghana’s Economic Performance since Political Independence

At independence in 1957, Ghana had over £500 million in foreign exchange reserves and by 1960 a per capita income of £70, which was higher than that of Egypt (£56), India (£25), Thailand (£35) and Nigeria (£29) (Hoefter, 2001 and Konadu-Agyemang, 2001).

The colonial administration drew up the Second Colonial Plan for the period 1946-1956. However, in 1957, GOG changed the Second Colonial Plan into a Five Year Plan (1959-1964) (Okonjo, 1986 and Adu-Febiri, 1994). GOG then hired Arthur Lewis a renowned economist to advise it during the period 1957-1961. Arthur Lewis advised GOG to pursue the liberal economic model of development. However, GOG realising that this model had failed to yield the right outcomes, changed its Second Five Year Plan for the period 1959-1964 to a Seven Year Plan (1963-1970). This Seven Year Plan was however underpinned by socialist elements (Aryeetey and McKay, 2004). The Cocoa Marketing Board became the funding agency for GOG’s development plans, as well as a source of public employment and political patronage (Adu-Febiri, 1994 and Aryeetey and MacKay, 2004). Cocoa is a major contributor to Ghana’s economy, thus its performance on the world market has had great impacts on the political economy of the country since independence (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 A Chronology of Major Political Economy Events of Ghana

Year	Event Details
1957	Ghana becomes the 1 st sub-Saharan country to gain political independence.
1960	Ghana becomes a Republic.
1965	1 st serious drop in the world price of cocoa from US\$467/t to US\$91/t. 19 th July—cedis and pesewas, replaced pounds, shillings and pence. This caused further dissatisfaction among cocoa farmers in Ghana and contributed to the unpopularity of Nkrumah.
1966	Coup ousts Nkrumah on the 24/02, the National Liberation Council formed.
1969	Busia as the Prime Minister and E Akuffo-Addo as President. 2 nd Republic.
1971	2 nd serious drop in the world price of cocoa from US\$517/t to US\$289/t.
1975	Akyeampong replaces NRC with Supreme Military Council.
1978	General Akuffo replaces Akyeampong. Cedi (¢) devalued 1 to US\$2.75.
1979	Coup by Rawlings on 4 th June. Elections won by Limann. 3 rd Republic.
1981	Rawlings prevails in coup. Provisional National Defense Council formed.
1982	Widespread bushfires in Ghana. Over 1 million Ghanaians expelled from Nigeria to Ghana. Famine experienced. 3 rd serious drop in the world market price of cocoa
1983	from US\$2953/t to US\$980/t.
1983	The SAPs introduced. Cedi (¢) devalued ¢30 to US\$1.
1986	Import Licensing abandoned. New mining code established.
1988	Foreign Exchange Bureaus established.
1989	Initialisation of Privatisation of State Owned Enterprises.
1992	Rawlings elected president. 1992 Constitution introduced. 4 th Republic.
1994	Implemented fully Liberalized Investment Code.
1996	Rawlings re-elected as president of Ghana for the 2 nd term under NDC.
2000	John Agyekum Kufour elected president of Ghana. HIPC introduced.
2004	John Agyekum Kufour re-elected as the president of Ghana under NPP.
2007	Redenomination of the Cedi (¢) from GH¢1 to US\$1 on 1 July.
2008	John Evans Atta Mills elected as President of Ghana under NDC.
2010	Commercial drilling of oil scheduled for the second half of the year.

Source: Adopted from Adu-Boahen (1987) and Hoefter (2001).

At independence, Ghana was the world's largest exporter of cocoa (currently, the country is the second largest producer with World market share of 13.7 percent-behind Ivory Coast with 45.1 percent) (Hoefter, 2001). More significantly the value of cocoa to total exports of domestic production averaged annually 63.3 percent between 1960 and 1964 (Ibid.). This high figure for cocoa highlights the structural imbalance of the Ghanaian economy on its extractive industries such as agriculture. By way of further example- cocoa, minerals and timber exports accounted for more than 90 percent of all foreign exchange earnings

throughout the 1960s and 1970s, thus perpetuating the very economic system that had dominated in pre-independent Ghana. Since political independence, agriculture has provided over 50 percent of employment in Ghana. Between 1976 and 1982, agriculture contributed 51.0 percent to real GDP, which was higher than the 17.0 percent and 32.0 percent contributed by industry and services respectively over the same period (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Sectoral Contributions to Real Gross Domestic Product

(Period Averages %)						
Sector	1970-75	1976-82	1983-86	1987-90	1991-95	1995-2000
Agriculture	52	51	52	46	42	39.5
Industry	19	17	12	14	14	27.5
Services	29	32	36	40	44	33

Source: Konadu-Agyemang (2001) and McKay and Aryeetey (2004).

The decline in agriculture's contribution to real GDP and the improving performance of both services and industry over the same period is attributed to the former's overt dependence on weather, lack of distribution channels and poor transport system. From 1960 to 1982, the productivity of labour declined by 3.6 percent per annum, and the productivity of capital declined 2.0 percent per annum (Hoefter, 2001). Also, the total factor productivity for all sectors of the economy showed a decrease of 2.3 percent per annum (Ibid.). In 1960, Ghana was a middle-income country, with comparable per capita income to South Korea and Malaysia. Nonetheless by 1994, Thailand's per capita annual income was slightly over three times that of Ghana and Malaysia registered £3550 annual income per head in 2002, compared to Ghana's per head income of only £280 (McKay and Aryeetey, 2004). Threefold factor is often presented as bedevilling the economic progress of Ghana since the 1950s. Firstly, the issues of the 'stool' (indigenous power structures) and the 'fort' (ex-colonizers'

power structures) in a way confused the young Ghana, regarding the role of the ‘stool’ in the ‘new government’ (Amanor, 2003). In 1957, the civic sphere became politically decolonised and partly Africanised. On the other hand, the chiefs raised objections to their alienation in governance. Nkrumah rebuffed any move for federal Ghana, but this was exactly what some of the agitations of the chiefs and intelligentsia were insidiously seeking. Along with the need to curb the rising schisms among the political parties in the country, Nkrumah declared Ghana as a One Party State. Consequently, there was a bomb-threat on his life on 11th August 1962 at Kulungugu and he was eventually overthrown on 24th February 1966, with the resulting political instability, which attenuated Ghana’s economic plans and development.

Secondly, both the triangular trade and colonialism combined to stifle entrepreneurship in the Gold Coast and to orient the Colony’s economy as a mere appendage of Britain (Rodney, 1995 and Asirifi-Danquah, 2008). For example, in 1751 the British Board of Trade instructed the English Resident of Cape Coast to stop the Fantes from cultivating cotton, since the:

“Cultivation of agriculture and the promotion of industry among the Negroes is contrary to the established policy of this country, England...it might extend to tobacco, sugar and every other commodity which we now take from our Colonies in the New World...and thereby the Africans...would become planters and their slaves be employed in the cultivation of these articles in Africa, which they are employed to work in America”.

(Asirifi-Danquah 2008, p.61).

Consequently, what persisted after Ghana’s political independence was an ‘export oriented colonial economy’. This was shown by the country’s heavy reliance on exports to gain funds for importation of particular goods and machinery. Nkrumah introduced import-substitution strategies to avert this situation. Aryeetey and McKay (2004) have offered further insight into the entrepreneurial stagnation in post-independent Ghana. For example, under Nkrumah they

argued that he actively opposed development of entrepreneurial class in Ghana by making the state play a major role in its industrialisation. The part reliance of GOG on Ghana's main export, i.e. cocoa, also drained funds needed for its optimum production to finance especially its import-substitution strategies. For instance, cocoa production dropped from a peak of 572,000 tons in 1964 to 180,000 tons in 1983. However, world market fluctuations in the price of cocoa also prevented GOG from having the ready capital to develop the industrial base of Ghana. Between 1970-1980, export volumes declined by 33 percent; export earnings dropped 52 percent, investment dropped from 12 percent of GDP to zero, inflation rose to three-digit rates alongside rampant shortages of goods and services (Hoefter, 2001). Booth et al (2005) have revealed that Ghana still has a state of 'neo-patrimonialism', where public resources are still owned by networks controlled by dominant patrons.

Lastly, a series of coups hampered Ghana's economic well-being. Indeed, between 1966 and 1992 (a period of 26 years), the military juntas have ruled the country for 20 years. This arguably led to huge abandonment of most of the developmental projects that had been initiated by Nkrumah, and deepened the country's economic dependence on the North. For example, in 1982, Ghana's GDP per capita of US\$300 was similar to what it had been at the beginning of the country's independence in 1957 (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). Some analysts have also added that the lack of sufficient local human capital at the time of independence was partly responsible for the slow progress of the Ghanaian economy. For example, education in the Northern Territories in the Colony was stifled to ensure that they continued to provide manual labour on cocoa plantations and mining sites. The year 1983 however marked a major turn away from the country's abysmal economic record. This was brought about through the IMF and the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that were introduced into most countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa.

4.2.2 An Introduction to the Structural Adjustment Programme in Ghana

The decline in Ghana's economy has been attributed to structural weaknesses, external shocks— particularly, declines in the terms of trade, economic mismanagement and political instability. In 1983, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African state to implement the SAPs. The SAPs globally were mainly macroeconomic in orientation, and sought to free the economy from state control by promoting trade liberalization, privatisation, implementation of fiscal austerity policies and good governance. Ghana's effort at implementing the SAP has often been hailed by the World Bank as an example of a 'successful adjustment'.

The efficacy of the SAP in Ghana is seen in four areas. Firstly, Ghana saw a consistent growth in GDP at an average of 5 to 6 percent between 1984 and 1991, and at 2.5 to 3 percent since 1992—an improvement from the negative 2.1 average annual economic growth for the period 1965 to 1983 (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). Secondly, it was able to repair structural imbalances caused by years of mismanagement in the 1960s and 1970s and towards averting the concomitant economic *damnosa hereditas* (national debt inherited) from the 1970s and 1980s by maintaining a decrease in inflation (inflation in 1962 was 1.7 percent, 112.8 percent in 1983, but reduced to 10.7 percent in 2007), and revamping manufacturing capacity. Thirdly, real income per head grew by an average of 2 percent since the launch of SAPs in 1983, having fallen by 0.4 percent annually in the 10 years preceding the programme (Ibid.). Fourthly, there was a tripling of goods production between 1986 and 1996 on the launch of the SAPs. However, these successes of the SAP have been achieved, at what critics consider a 'great sacrifice' for the quality of life and well-being of Ghanaians. Indeed, the fiscal austerity measures associated with the SAPs resulted in the removal of subsidies for farmers, with the extra cost of food production pushed down to the masses. Also, the freezing of

increases in the wage bill to growth in GDP irrespective of the rate of inflation meant the erosion of the real incomes of the urban public sector worker. An estimated 200,000 public sector workers lost their jobs by 1994, however only 50,000 new jobs were created by GOG by 1995. In addition, the relatively stable Ghanaian cedi (¢) suddenly devalued against the US dollar. In the three years preceding the SAPs (1979-1982) the rate remained unchanged at 2.75 Cedis to \$US1. Following the first devaluation in 1983 the Cedis value lowered to GH¢8.83 to \$US1, and the downward slide has been irreversible hitting a low of GH¢3,400 to US\$1 in December 1999. This devaluation represents 124,000 percent over 16 years.

The IMF and the World Bank seeking to reduce the hardships of the citizenries of the ‘SAPed’ countries promoted some poverty alleviation programmes. Ghana’s PAMSCAD (Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment) became the strategy that was replicated especially elsewhere in Africa. A total of US\$84 million (excluding contributions from local cost recovery, and other contributions totalling US\$5.8 million) was to be spent over a two-year period (1988-89). However, nearly 80 percent of the funds for PAMSCAD went to the non-poor (redeployed public sector workers above the poverty line) while the vast majority of the poor received no benefit at all. Despite these clear disadvantages, the SAP has helped to diversify the economy and may have helped transform the tourism industry into its current position as an integral GDP contributor in the country. In 1993, GOG launched a 25-year development framework called Vision 2020. The Vision 2020 is for Ghana to become a middle-income country by the year 2020. However, Ghana is bound to become one of only a few African countries that are able to achieve Millennium Development Goal Aim One (reduction of poverty by half) earlier than the target year of 2015 (Breisinger et al., 2009). With this “success in growth and poverty reduction, the GOG has declared its new development goal of reaching middle-income status by 2015 in its

second Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (Ibid.). The Vision 2020 identifies tourism as providing an important opportunity for economic development based on the natural, historical and cultural resources of the country. Currently, the competitive edge of Africa is often positioned around its *épatant* natural resources as against the prospect of ‘service or knowledge-based’ economy (Aryeetey and Fosu, 2003). Ghana’s ‘export problem’ is not simply the general dependence on primary commodity exports, but rather the heavy dependence on a narrow range of primary commodities (Ackah et al 2009). Furthermore, export of minerals, cocoa and timber, together accounted for about three-quarters of total export revenue in 2007 (Ibid.). For example, the current economy of Ghana shows continuity with the ‘Guggisberg Structure’ (whereby the economy of Ghana is still dependent on exports of its natural assets and employs part of its foreign exchange to import goods and services, especially from the North). Breisinger et al (2009, p.520) have argued “that diversifying Ghana's export structure is vital if exports are to become an engine for accelerated growth and structural change”. Consequently, Ghana’s attention to tourism- a service sector- is a welcomed development. Section (4.3) thus unfolds Ghana’s position in world tourism.

4.3 Global Tourism: Tracing the Trajectory of Ghana’s Tourism

This section provides an overview of the global tourism market and then reviews how GOG has contributed to conventional tourism development in the country. The section thus sets the scene for the ‘case study’ Chapters that follow. In 1841, Thomas Cook of Leicester organised an all-inclusive package tour for some 570 members of the Temperance Society on the Midland Counties Railway to Loughborough in order to prevent them from partaking in an alcohol festival. He followed this up with other trips to Egypt and other parts of Europe. However, despite Cook’s early activities the increase in mass tourism is mainly linked to the decades following the WWII. Firstly, through legislative instruments it became mandatory

for citizens, especially of the North, to take vacations. This was based on faith in a continuously growing economy, rising disposable personal income, and establishment of a rationally managed travel and hospitality industry. Secondly, the rise in aircraft technology and availability of aircraft lead to “the boom of international tourism in the 1960s, with the introduction of jet planes (Boeing 707) and, in the 1970s, with the arrival of wide-body jets (Boeing 747)” (Lohmann and Duval 2011, p.5). According to the UNWTO (2010, p.2) international tourist arrivals have risen from “25 million in 1950, to 277 million in 1980, to 438 million in 1990, to 681 million in 2000, and stood at 880 million in 2009”.

In 2008, the total revenue generated by the global tourism industry was US\$941 billion, with the top ten countries sharing almost half of this amount (Ibid.). Although China, Malaysia and Mexico made it to the 4th, 9th and 10th positions respectively in the top ten ranking, the predominance remained with the North. France registered the highest international tourist numbers in the same period (79.2 million); nonetheless the USA registered the highest earnings (110 billion). In addition, in 2008, Europe commanded 53 percent of the international tourism receipts, Americas (16.1 percent), Asia and the Pacific (20 percent), Africa (5 percent), and Middle East (5.8 percent) (Ibid.). Currently, no African country has ever made it in to either the WTO’s world’s top 20 destinations or top 20 tourism earners. In 1998, South Africa, Tunisia and Egypt were among the world’s top 40 destinations, ranking 25th, 31st and 35th, respectively—indicating the marginal market-share of Africa of global tourism. The WTO’s Tourism 2020 Vision forecasts that international tourism arrivals will reach over 1.56 billion in 2020. Of these, 1.2 billion will be intra-regional and 0.4 billion will be long-haul travellers. The top three receivers are estimated to be Europe (717 million), East Asia and the Pacific (397 million) and the Americas (282 million) with Africa registering a much lower number (77 million) (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 WTO Vision 2020 Regional Estimates for 1995-2020

Location	Base Year 1995	Forecasts		Market Share (%)		Average Annual growth rate (%) 1995-2020
	{Million}	2010	2020	1995	2020	
World	565	1006	1561	100	100	4.1
Africa	20	47	77	3.6	5.0	5.5
Americas	110	190	282	19.3	18.1	3.8
East Asia and the Pacific	81	195	397	14.4	25.4	6.5
Europe	336	527	717	59.8	45.9	3.1
Middle East	14	36	69	2.2	4.4	6.7
South Asia	4	11	19	0.7	1.2	6.2

Source: WTO/IMF (2004).

Indeed, global tourism is controlled by the North—e.g. the position of Europe as a powerhouse of global tourism was felt in April 2010—when volcanic ash from Iceland—Eyjafjallajökull—caused trepidations that led to the cancellation of 100,000 flights to and from the Continent for almost 6 days with the airlines incurring between €1.5-2.5billion liability with its impacts on local tourism globally (Gabbatt, 2010). Tourism represents around 35 per cent of the world’s export of services and over 70 per cent in Least Developed Countries (Reid and Bojanic, 2010). WTO (2004) adds Ghana remains the only West African state to have made it into the world’s top emerging destinations for the period 1995-2002. As a result, the sections below throw more light on Ghana’s tourism trajectory.

4.3.1 Tourism Activities in the Pre-Independent and Nkrumah’s Era

Tourism activities during pre-colonial Ghana involved mainly trips to the coasts, hillsides and lakes. Western-type accommodation started in Gold Coast not dating further back than the 1930s (Adu-Febiri, 1994). These included Seaview, Ringway, Trocadero, Aams and Avenida

all in Accra and Acquah's Hotel in Cape Coast. These hotels were mainly patronised by the colonial administrators, European seamen, merchants and some wealthy colonials. Tourism did not feature in the colonial plans for the Gold Coast. The Guggisberg Ten-Year Plan (1919-29)—the first for the colony was mainly focused on the extractive businesses such as mining. Although, 4,800 tourists visited the Gold Coast after the WWII, however in the Second Colonial Plan-the Ten-Year Plan of Development (1946-1956), the colonial administrators' did not incorporate tourism towards the development of the Colony's (Ibid.).

The first development plan for Ghana-The Second Development Plan (1959-64) for the first time recognised the importance of tourism for the country's development (see Table 4.7). GOG allocated 1 million Ghanaian pounds to build state hotels and towards developing tourist attraction sites in the country. The Ghana Airways Corporation was established in 1958 to provide domestic and international travel. In the 1950s Ghana held the 'All African Peoples Conferences' both in 1958 and 1960 in Accra. The 1950s and 1960s, received Pan-Africanists/and human right activists (Lumumba, Kaunda, Padmore, Dubois, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jnr. and Mohammed Ali), foreign emissaries (e.g. Richard Nixon and Duchess of Kent) among others. In 1962, the State Hotels and Tourists Corporation was formed to provide accommodation and catering facilities in the absence of private and travel agents. In 1965, the State Hotels and Tourists Corporation was divided into two companies—the State Hotels Corporation and the Ghana Tourist Corporation. The Legislative Instrument 403 empowered the State Hotels Corporation to provide accommodation on egalitarian basis in Ghana. Hotel constructions were of international class standards: Ambassador, Continental and Star Hotels in Accra, Meridian Hotel in Tema, City Hotel in Kumasi, Akosombo Hotel and Elmina Motel. There was also Catering Rest Houses in most of the regional capitals of Ghana for especially the itinerant public workers (Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008).

Furthermore, there was not a parallel effort to motivate locals to help jumpstart the fledging tourism industry, for example out of the 1 million Ghanaian pounds allocated for tourism development through the Second Development Plan (1959-1964), only 3,000 pounds was devoted to assisting small scale investors (Adu-Febiri, 1994). However, the period 1957 to 1966 depicts ‘state activism in tourism development’ (Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008).

4.3.2 Ghana’s Tourism Development Efforts from 1966 to 1982

GOG sought to catalogue and classify the potential tourism resources for a five-year development plan covering the period 1972-1976 (Obuam Committee, 1972). Based on this study, GOG issued a White Paper on Tourism, which identified investment areas for foreign participation, including various concessions and incentives for investors. Furthermore, various studies were carried out by local and foreign stakeholders—e.g. the UNDP made an assessment on tourism planning and development, and a review of human resource requirements for the tourism sector in Ghana. USAID also recommended a formulation of a comprehensive tourism development strategy in Ghana, whilst a project by the US International Executive Service Corps aimed at effective resource utilisation for tourism development in the country. Furthermore, a number of domestically sponsored projects focused mainly on tourism impact assessment. They included ‘foreign exchange earnings’, ‘tourism multiplier effects’ and ‘socio-cultural impacts’ (see Teye, 1999). In 1973, the first tourism plan—the 15-Year Tourism Development Plan (FTDP) was developed for the period 1975-1990 by the Danish Consultant—Hoff and Overgaard and funded largely by the Danish Government. Hoff and Overgaard stated, “the second main element in the tourist development after coastal belt is the national parks, Ghana seems to have more and better possibilities than other West African countries” (Asiedu 2002, p12). However, because of

Ghana's pressing need for foreign exchange to avert the country's balance of payment problems, the Hoff and Overgaard Consultant advised for the development of international tourism targeting mainly European, American and Japanese visitors (Adu-Febiri, 1994). Under the FTDP, average annual tourism growth rate of 12.5 percent was projected; and international tourist arrivals were to increase from only 64,000 in 1975 to 357,000 by 1990. The number of hotels with minimum international standards was to expand from only 900 in 1975 to more than 13,000 in 1990. Furthermore, in 1973, Ghana Tourist Corporation was divided into two entities—the Ghana Tourism Control Board (responsible for the defining overall development goals of the industry-later changed to Ghana Tourist Board) and Ghana Tourist Development Corporation—responsible for providing financial mechanism to potential developers in Ghana. On the whole, the lack of funds and threats of coups impeded the implementation of the FTDP. After World War II many countries and regions, whether in the South or North chose the path of developing large-scale tourism (Theobald, 1999). Similarly, Ghana's tourism development efforts since the 1950s have been underpinned by the same philosophy. Koutra (Pers. Comm., 2007) adds that the “coups created political instability that put off foreign investors for investing in mass tourism development in Ghana”. Sub-section (4.3.3) presents Ghana's tourism developments efforts from 1985 to date.

4.3.3 Tourism Developments Efforts from 1985 to Date

The 1980s saw two main tourism plans introduced. Firstly, the Medium Term Tourism Development Plan (1983-1995), sought to promote leisure and business travels to Ghana and within Ghana. Secondly, the National Tourism Plan in 1987 focused on promoting three different types of tourism: in-bound international tourism, regional tourism and domestic tourism. Also, in 1985, the PNDC Law 116 identified tourism as one of four key sectors to

serve as the pillars for economic development, alongside timber, gold and cocoa. In 1989, an international tourism fair was held in Ghana to promote domestic tourism by exhibiting the potential attractions in each region. In 1993, GOG finally established a Ministry of Tourism as the policymaking body with policy implementation to be overseen by the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), the Ghana Tourism Development Company (to oversee GOG's investment in tourism) and the Hotel Catering and Tourism Training Institute (HOTCATT- to train personnel for the sector). Finally, the State Hotels Corporation became defunct in 1994-5. Currently, MOT seeks a sustained growth rate of 20 percent to contribute to the country's aim to achieve per capita income of US\$1000 by 2015. The efforts of the MOT are enshrined in the Second Tourism Plan—the Integrated Tourism Development Plan (ITDP) for the period 1996-2010, with financial support from the UNDP and technical assistance from WTO. The ITDP pays attention to ecotourism and heritage tourism development in Ghana (Adu-Febiri, 1994; Teye, 1999; Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008). The ITDP projects tourist arrivals to increase from 304,860 in 1996 to 1,062,000 by 2010 as well as increasing tourist receipts from US\$248.8 million in 1996 to US\$1.562 billion by 2010 (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 International tourist arrivals and receipts in Ghana for 1990–2010

Year	Tourist Arrivals	Percentage (%) change	Tourist receipts (US\$ million)	Percentage (%) change
1992	213,316	23.7	166.90	41.80
1993	256,680	20.3	205.62	23.20
1994	271,310	5.7	227.60	10.70
1995	286,000	5.4	233.20	2.46
1996	304,860	6.6	248.80	6.70
1997	325,438	6.7	265.59	6.75
*2000	399,000	22.6	386.00	45.3
*2010	1,062,000	166.2	1,562	304.66

Source: Ghana Tourist Board (1998) *Projection

The ITDP targets the holiday segment to increase from a mere 13.3 percent in 1995 to 50.2 percent in 2010 (GTB, 2005 and Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008). The ITDP also estimates that the leisure or holiday category will override the business tourist category by 50.3 percent to 28.4 percent respectively by 2010. In comparison, arrivals in the business category would relatively decline from 48.6 to 28.4 percent, although in real terms, they would actually increase from 139,000 to 302,000 annually (Agyemang-Konadu, 2001).

In 2002, GOG drafted a five-year Strategic Action Plan (2003-2007), with targets slightly modified from the ITDP to make Ghana a high quality and international tourist destination in Africa by the year 2007. This Plan sought to increase visitations to one million tourists with accompanying receipts of US\$1.5 billion and 300,000 jobs to be created by 2007 (Appiah et al., 2005). In addition, in 2005, GOG passed a new Tourism Promotion Law– Legislative Instrument 1817, in a bid to attract more tourism investors to Ghana. The L.I. 1817 provides generous pecuniary incentives such as customs duty exemptions and Value Added Tax exemptions on certain products for development of tourist facilities, and tax holidays for new companies. For instance, accommodation establishments will be granted tax holidays of between 4 to 7 years to motivate new start-up companies to move to Ghana, and new catering companies will enjoy tax breaks of between 3-5 years (GTB, 2005).

Furthermore, in 2003, USAID awarded Georgia State University, through the Robinson College of Business and the Office of International Affairs, a US\$4.9 million cooperative agreement to implement the Ghana Tourism Capacity Development Initiative (GTCDI). The GTCDI focuses on five key areas namely, marketing and product development, human resource development, institutional capacity development, policy and regulation enhancement and tourism management information systems (Bernhardt and Eroglu, 2004 and Asiedu and

Akyeampong, 2008). In addition, the World Tourism Organisation has instituted the Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) programme (UNWTO, 2010). The ST-EP grew out of the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg to put a human face to UN projects in the South. The ST-EP seeks to link education and tourism especially in communities around tourism destinations. Currently, Ghana benefits from the ST-EP programme. The ST-EP programme is underway in the Western and Northern regions in Ghana and eight libraries have already being built in eight communities (Ibid.).

Akama (2004) has argued that the overall objective of tourism in any postcolonial society must be to bring equity among the regions especially those areas particularly marginalized during the colonial era. That is why in 2003, when the then GOG renamed the Ministry of Tourism the Ministry of Tourism and Modernisation of the Capital City, some tourism actors were concerned that the previous years of progress in tourism were going to be affected and tourism was going to be concentrated in the capital. In 2006, however GOG again renamed MOTMCC into Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Relations, which at least seems an appropriate addendum, since it highlights the importance of the African diaspora to Ghana's tourism market. Currently, there are some challenges that impede achieving the projections of the ITDP. McKay and Aryeetey (2004, p.64) argue, 'human development institutions in Ghana should respond to the changing demand for skills, without losing sight of the need to make the entire society literate'. However, the tourism industry in Ghana is besieged with lack of human capital. In 1991, HOTCATT was established to train people for the tourism sector in Ghana. However, tourism development in the country has paid less heed to developing critical areas of specialisations to help heighten and sustain creativity in the industry. Secondly, Ghana's improved accessibility to the North has not translated into lower airfares. For example, international airlines charge between US\$1,800-2,000 from USA to

Ghana, whereas the same airlines charge about US\$850 from USA to South Africa, which is a longer distance (Ibid.). In addition, although the transportation system of Ghana was a model for the postcolonies in the 1960s, however the country's rail network of 950km has not changed since 1960 and remains antediluvian to the majority of Ghanaians (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). Ghana's total road network of 40,000km consists of 14,750km of trunk roads, 22,000km feeder roads and 2000–3000km urban roads—however out of these roads only 28 percent are in good condition (Ibid). These observations thus demand an overhaul of Ghana's transportation system to make it congruous with the objectives of the ITDP.

Thirdly, the disparity in financing Ghana's tourism is another point for concern. For instance only GH¢5,807,469,479 from the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative was accorded to the MOT Tourism between 2002-2003, for the construction of tourism reception facilities. This is meagre compared to the GH¢10,999,800,000 and GH¢16, 420,624,575 accorded to the Ministry of Land and Forestry and Ministry of Food and Agriculture respectively. However, Mozambique used its HIPC fund to promote ecotourism on the basis that, by providing roads and amenities at eco-sites, they are striving for development concurrently. So since Ghana seeks to position tourism as its leading foreign exchange earner, GOG's lack of strategic financial inputs into the industry is problematic. Also, there is some emerging negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Ghana such as armed robbery, 'the nascent but foreign-oriented prostitution', child prostitution, homosexuality and cocaine trafficking. Nonetheless, Ghana along with Argentina, Poland, Chile, Lithuania, South Africa, Namibia, Suriname, Belize and Seychelles remain the 'World's 10 Best Ethical Destinations' (Tourism Review, 2010). These countries are concerned about preserving their natural surroundings, promoting safe and responsible tourism opportunities, and protecting local communities. The next section thus delves into Ghana's tourism market.

4.4 Exploring the Tourism Market in Post-independent Ghana

Ghana's tourism sector remains the country's fourth largest foreign exchange earner after gold, cocoa and remittances from Ghanaians overseas. In 2002, gold, cocoa, timber and tourism contributed 702.03 US\$million, 437 US\$million, 386 US\$million and 175 US\$million to the Gross Domestic Product (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). In addition, Ghana's tourism sector remains the fastest growing sector at approximately 9 percent in 2005 and contributes over 16 percent of the total annual foreign exchange revenue (see Table 4.8). In 2005, 44 percent of tourists to Ghana were from Africa (188,470), 32 percent from Europe (135,634), 8.2 percent from USA (72,359) and 7.0 percent from Asia/Pacific (32,070) (GTB, 2005). Tourist arrivals increased from a mere 85,332 in 1985 to 286,000 in 1995, raising tourist receipts from US\$20 million to US\$233 million over the same period (GTB, 1998).

Table 4.8 Economic Performance of Tourism in Ghana from 2001-2008

Year	Arrivals	Receipts (US Million)
2001	438.8	447.8
2002	482.6	519
2003	530.8	602.8
2004	583.8	649.9
2005	428.6	836.1
2006	497.0	986.8
2007	586.0	1,172.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2008, p28).

In 2005, GTB conducted an international air and road survey, which revealed the average spending per tourist to be US\$1,950 compared to the US\$1,711 in 2004 (Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008). Tourism in Ghana employs more than 500,000 people both directly and indirectly in the country (Ibid.). Overall, Ghana's tourism sector recorded a 33.3 percent

revenue increase, from US\$1.2 billion in 2007 to US\$1.6 billion in 2009 (Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008 and UNWTO, 2010). Currently, three main types of tourists are seen in the Ghanaian tourism market, namely those visiting friends and relatives, business and holiday categories (see Table 4.9). Holidays to Ghana are linked mainly to the country's culture, nature, history and current geopolitical relations. Ghana remains one of the most convivial and hospitable countries, vivified by its tourism marketing motif *akwaaba* (means welcome). Furthermore, Ghana has a strong competitive edge in 'Root Travel' (i.e. diasporic travel from especially the trans-Atlantic Slave trade) (cf. Zeleza, 2002; Teye and Timothy, 2004; Richards, 2005; Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008 and Venkatachalam, 2010).

Table 4.9 Projected Figures for International Market in Ghana -1995-2010

International Market Targets for Ghana 1995-2010					
a) Type of Tourist Arrivals	1995	2000	2005	2010	Percent (%)
Business	139, 000	177, 000	237,000	302,000	28.4%
VFR	109, 000	139,000	177,000	226,000	21.3%
Holiday	38,000	83,000	224,000	534,000	50.3%
Total	286,000	399,000	638,000	1,062,000	100%
b) Tourist Receipts in Million US(\$)	237	386	757	1,562	100%
Accommodation (2 Star and Above)					
Beds	3,420	5,750	8,500	11,350	
Rooms	2,750	4,480	6,385	8,250	

Source: WTO/UNDP (1996).

UNESCO has declared European forts and castles built in Ghana, especially those connected with the triangular trade, as World Heritage Sites. Elmina Castle (see Plate 4.3) and Cape Coast Castle have become pilgrimage sites mainly during the biannual festival called the Pan-African Historical Theatrical Festival (PANAFEST), which commenced in 1992. In addition, to commemorate the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, Emancipation Day has been

packaged by MOT & DR into a Pan-African event to attract summer tourists from the African diaspora, involving them in performances of culture and history (see Hasty, 2003). On the 11th June 2009, the first African-American President of the USA—Barack Obama and his wife, their two daughters and mother-in-law visited the Cape Coast Castle as part of his first State Visit to sub-Saharan Africa (see Appendix IV). The US President’s visit to Ghana and the Cape Coast Castle reinforces these historical monuments as ‘edifices of bonding’.



Plate 4.3 Elmina Castle.

In 2007, the ‘Joseph Project’ by MOT & DR was to mark the bicentennial celebration of the abolition of the triangular trade by Britain. The ‘Joseph Project’ was an open invitation to the diaspora to visit the forts, castles, the slave washing rivers and markets (e.g. at Assin Manso and Salaga) and also explore business opportunities in Ghana. However, the theme ‘Joseph Project’ seems an apologia and portrays a gross ‘postcolonial faultism’ (Bhabha, 1990), since

Africa was blamed quintessentially for the triangular trade. Furthermore, Ghana does not have monopoly over ‘Root/Genealogical travel’ in Africa —e.g. Senegal’s Goree Island, has a major castle, which is associated with the triangular trade and pulls a lot of people of the old-diaspora annually. Currently, three problematics are associated with ‘Root travel’ in Africa. Firstly, although it has been observed that descendants of slaves from West Africa choose to ‘forget’ the experiences of the slave trade, those in North America, the Caribbean Islands and Europe respond in the opposite way to the historical experiences of slavery in wishing to visit areas such as the castles (Richards, 2005 and Venkatachalam, 2010). Secondly, Africans at home prefer face-lifts to especially the castles and forts, however for the descendants of the ‘old diaspora’ (i.e. from the triangular trade); these heritages are best left alone, to portray the conditions of the triangular trade as much as possible. For example, African-Americans presented to Ghanaian officials’ that creation of a restaurant in Cape Coast Castle was a sign of unbridled commoditisation that belittles the history of this edifice—this led to the removal of the restaurant (see Appendix IV). Lastly, although descendants of the ‘old diaspora’ could dream of returning to Africa—however, the partition of Africa through colonialism created many countries within Africa, with the concomitant uncertainty of which country a descendant of the ‘old diaspora’ could call ‘Home’ (this can reduce their inclination to visit Africa). It must also be noted that Ghanaians overseas (the new diaspora) accounted for 27.2 percent of total arrivals in 1997. They mostly stayed with friends and relatives. According to Manu and Asante (2005) present that 15 per cent of Ghanaians live abroad, which forms the base of this tourism market. These Ghanaian tourists are to extent different from the ‘old diaspora’ travel (see Box 4.1 for more insights).

The contemporary stable political milieu in Ghana is increasing its attractiveness to global investors especially from Asian countries such as India and China. This is linked to the

Economic Recovery Programme of 1986, which liberalised the Ghanaian market. Most tourists in the business category are involved in the mining industry, thus boosting the business category, which accounted for 48 percent of tourist arrivals in 1997 (GTB, 1998). In 2007, Ghana discovered two oil locations in its deep sea (the Jubilee Oilfields), about 65 km from the coast of Effasu. Full commercial production was on the 15th December, 2010; *ceteris paribus* this could increase business tourism in the country. Moreover, since the 1990s Ghana has been receiving international visitors who could be classed as ecotourists.

Box 4.1 Providing Insights into Visiting Friends and Relatives in Ghana

Out-migration in Ghana was significant only from the 1970s because of the country's evil romance with *coups d'état* and mismanagement of the country's economy. By 1981 some fourteen thousand trained teachers had left the Ghana Education Service, of whom approximately three thousand were university graduates. The "movement abroad of university faculty members, physicians, engineers, and technicians of various kinds was by all accounts similarly dramatic" (Price 1984, p.183). Ghanaians out-migrated largely to Nigeria because of the country's relatively better economy as well as the two countries' geographic, cultural and linguistic heritage (local and English language). However, between 1982-83 Nigeria expelled 1 million Ghanaians who became known as *Agegefo* (means Ghanaians returning from Agege, a suburb of Lagos, Nigeria). Moreover, the civil hardship from the SAPs in the 1980s, gave further thrust for some of these *Agegefo* and other Ghanaians at home to travel mostly to the North. They were all branded as *Boggers* (derivative of Hamburger). There are two main groups of diaspora in Africa's case namely the 'older/historic diaspora' (from the triangular trade etc) and the 'new African diaspora'/'contemporary diaspora' (Zezeza, 2002). The new African diaspora include the diasporas of colonisation, decolonisation and out-migrants of the SAP era. In Ghana's case, the self-exile of some Ghanaians during Nkrumah's era, the out-migration due to the *coups d'état* and civil hardship from the SAPs constitute the 'new diaspora'—known in Ghana as *Boggers*. In the 1990s it was estimated that 12 per cent of the Ghanaian population were living abroad and that Ghanaians form the largest Sub-Saharan African population in the EU (Akyeampong, 2000). The term *bogger* is thus synonymous with VFRs in Ghana. Also, the 1990s saw a phenomenon we can refer to as 'light *Boggerism*' in Ghana, where a number of especially tertiary institution students apply for visas to travel especially to the North to visit relatives etc on their semester breaks. However, immigration legislations and terrorism globally, have a way of marginalizing further, the rights of Africans in general to travel mostly to the North (cf. Venkatachalam, 2010).

Currently, there are four sub-markets of ecotourism in Ghana. The first sub-market is agro-tourism and includes visits to subsistence farm areas, commercial farms, fisheries, and plantations and, sometimes, associated processing plants. A survey into agro-tourism possibilities by the MOT & DR, GTB and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has identified some areas in Ghana as being of agro-touristic potential. For instance, animal husbandry, plantations, subsistence farms, and horticultural areas like the Aburi Botanical Gardens. Tetteh Quarshie, who was first to introduce cocoa in the then Gold Coast from Fernando Po, had a small cocoa farm his family owned for about 124 years in the Mampong-Akwapim North District. Currently, this farm is receiving some tourism attention. Indeed, increased attention to agro-tourism in Ghana can increase economic benefits, particularly for rural communities (Dei Pers. Comm., 2008). The second sub-market under ecotourism is adventure tourism, which involves tourists travelling to natural areas to purposefully engage in physically demanding activities with elements of potential danger to themselves. For example, paragliding in the Kwahu Mountains in the Eastern Region, or mountain climbing in the Agumatsa areas in the Volta Region. The third sub-market under ecotourism is cultural tourism, where visitors come to visit to learn and experience the local culture as expressed in music and dance, folklore and visual arts, language and food culture, festivals and rituals. In addition, they may include pottery, textile weaving, wall mural painting or sacred rocks. The fourth sub-market in ecotourism is community-based tourism.

Community-based tourism demands controls by the community, thus the proponents of Integrated Community Development Projects argue that it can increase the socio-economic benefits to communities (see Asiedu, 2002; USAID, 2005 and Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008). In Ghana, this is championed by the community-based ecotourism project (see Chapter Five). The next section provides the summary of the Chapter.

4.5 Summary to the Chapter

Chapter Four has explored the triangular trade, colonial history of Ghana and its tourism development efforts. Spanish authorities controlled the slaves' export to the Americas, but since they possessed no trading posts in sub-Saharan Africa, the trade was done mostly through *asientos* granted by the Spanish government to either Portuguese merchants or Portuguese agents (Fage, 1969 and Pellow and Chazzan, 1996). The Chapter has shown that the Berlin Conference in 1884-85 gave impetus for the British to colonise the Ashanti, British Togoland and Northern Territories along with the Gold Coast to ensure uninterrupted supply of raw materials for its industrial bases. This resulted in labour being mainly forced out of the Northern Territories by the colonial administration to produce export-oriented products demanded by Britain (Davidson et al, 1967; Adu-Febiri, 1994 and Okonjo, 1996).

Eventually, Gold Coast became the first Colony south of the Sahara to gain political independence on the 6th March 1957. However, the 'Guggisberg Structure' (the colonial economic structure) is still in operation in Ghana, with tourism as a new addition. Thus, the Chapter explored tourism development in the country. The first 15-Year Tourism Development Plan was designed for the period 1975-1990 to develop tourism in the country. Nonetheless, the overt vicissitudes of the political landscape in the 1970s and lack of funds impeded its implementation. The ITDP for the period 1996-2010 seeks to make tourism the leading foreign exchange earner, by developing the historical and natural heritage of Ghana. Overall, the Chapter argued that the political and the economic realities of the country exhibit continuities and discontinuities with the triangular trade and the colonial 'Guggisberg Structure'. The Chapter thus provides a timely platform on which to present the study of colonialism and ecotourism development in Ghana as presented in chapter Five.

Chapter 5 Colonial Land Use, Wildlife Conservation, And Forestry: The Continuities and Discontinuities in Ecotourism Development in Post-Independent Ghana

5.0 Introduction to the Chapter

Chapter Five unravels especially the continuities of pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary wildlife conservation and forestry with the emergence of ecotourism in Ghana. Through the lens of postcolonialism, the author then teases out how ecotourism projects in the country show colonial continuities such as ‘community marginalisation’, ‘entrenchment of international forces’, ‘neo-crisis narratives on environment and people’ and ‘marginalisation of local ecological knowledges’. Owing to the diverse range of stakeholders connected with ecotourism development in Ghana, the primary data generation included interviews with, Kofifah (Business Development Manager, GTB), Mason (Executive Director, NCRC), Nsiah (Executive Director, Wildlife Division), Akyea (Executive Director, GHCT), Dei (Ex-Dean, Geography and Tourism Department, UCC), David Western (President, Africa Conservation Centre) and Awere (Business Manager, Wildlife Division).

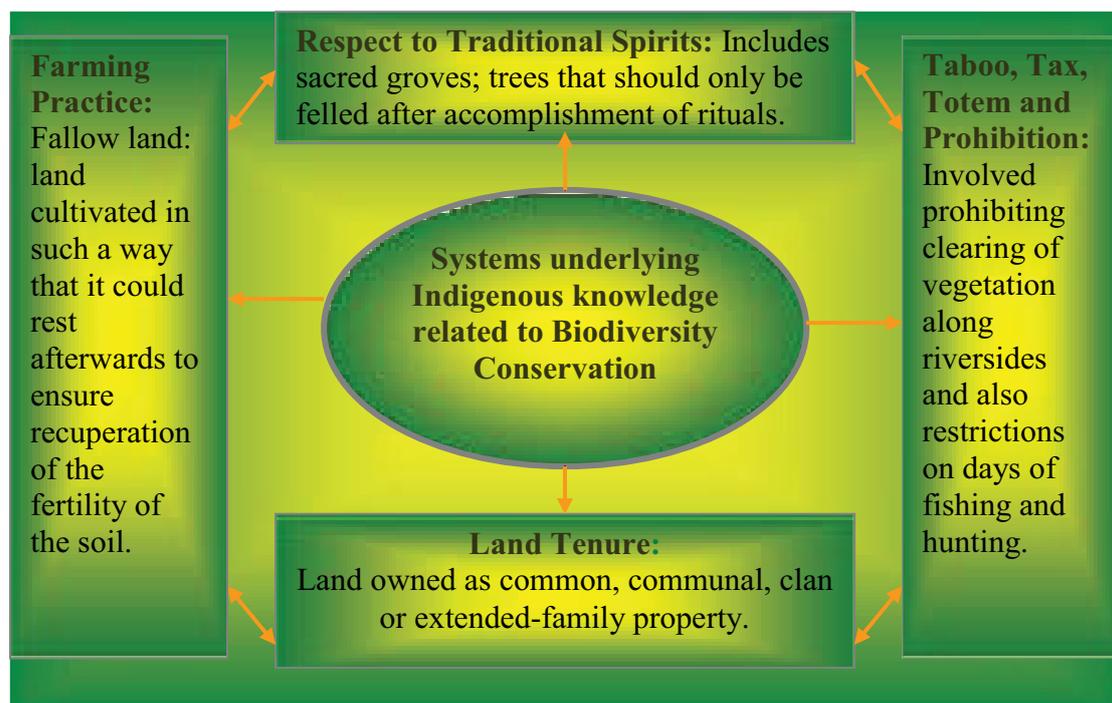
The Chapter is divided into six sections. Section (5.1) elucidates on pre-colonial conservation in the then Gold Coast and links with Section (5.2), which addresses the resistance to land use and fortress conservation in the Gold Coast. Section (5.3) gives expositions on land use and biodiversity conservation in post-independent Ghana. Section (5.4) provides an analysis of the emergence of ecotourism development in the country. Section (5.5) then offers a postcolonial critique of ecotourism development in Ghana and Section (5.6) summarises the Chapter.

5.1 Land Use and Biodiversity Conservation in Pre-colonial Ghana

This section explores pre-colonial Ghanaian perspectives on land use, forestry and wildlife conservation. Following the particularistic stance of the thesis the exegeses are mostly based on pre-colonial Akan cosmologies on land use, fauna and flora.

The people of pre-colonial Ghana made no formal distinction between land use, forestry and wildlife conservation; this was partly due to their holistic lifeworlds engendered through indigenous beliefs, knowledges and laws (Eyong and Foy, 2006). According to Hens (2006), the holistic approach included respect for spirits, customary farming practices, land tenure systems and the presence of taboos and totems (see Figure 5.1). The holistic approach to wildlife conservation and forestry contributed to achieving minimal livelihoods in pre-colonial Ghana.

Figure 5.1 Systems Underlying Indigenous Pre-colonial Conservation in Ghana



Source: Modified from Hens (2006, p.25).

The pre-colonial management of land use revolved around what can be termed loosely as core, buffer and transitional zones (Campbell, 2004). A core zone was a highly protected area of a forest and was only entered during ceremonial or ritual activities. A buffer zone allowed for limited use of resources, and a surrounding transitional zone allowed for farming and logging and this was managed in an ecologically 'sustainable' way. However, the people-out viewpoint of colonial conservation abrogated this fluid relationship of the natives to their environments. Amanor (2003) has argued strongly that the pre-colonial systems that ensured conservation of wildlife and trees were not primitive, in fact in many cases they championed sustainable natural resource use. Consequently, colonialism underpinned by reductionism at the core of natural sciences formalized differences between land use, forestry and wildlife conservation. This observation was enshrined in the usufructuary standpoint on land tenure, which ensured that for the 'common good' of a clan an individual to whom a parcel of land was given took great care to protect it (Amanor, 1999).

Farming practices involved intensive cultivation of small plots around compounds and around houses, to extensive bush fallow which allowed the land to rest for more than 10 years to restore its natural fertility but also coincidentally conserved indigenous plants (Baidu-Ntiamoa, 2002). Farming did not trespass within 30m of riverbanks and streams, which ensured that trees near the banks protected the watershed thus preserving certain species of fish and molluscs as well as varieties of flora therein (Hens, 2006 and Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2007). This continued into the middle of the 18th century, where biodiversity use in Gold Coast was largely for subsistence purposes, with the exception of the commercial trade in ivory (Owusu, 2001).

Indeed, the agricultural techniques used in Africa during precolonial times were not signs of ‘primitivism’, but techniques based on an economic choice and which also contributed to conservation of natural resources (Fairhead and Leach, 2000). Sadly, lack of this understanding caused some authors such as Adam Smith to assert “all the inland in Africa seems in all ages of the world to have been in the same barbarous and uncivilised state as the present” (Hymer 1970, p.38). Eyong and Foy (2006, p.26) have subsequently argued that colonialism “denied Africans the right to pursue the development path and the level they had attained prior to their arrival”.

A third important aspect of indigenous knowledge systems that encouraged wildlife conservation involved prohibitions, taxes, taboos and totems. The killing of pregnant animals was prohibited, which ensured that specific species of animals were conserved during the closed seasons (probable periods of gestations of wildlife, usually between June to September), (Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2007). Moratoria were also imposed; for example, snail picking was regulated at three year intervals throughout the then Gold Coast in order to maintain the snail populations and prevent over-exploitation (Baidu-Ntiamoa, 2002). The imposition of taxes was associated with kills of such animals as bongo (*Tragelaphus eurycerus*), bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*), duiker (*Cephalophus spp*), deer (*Cervus spp*) and red river hog (*Potamochoerus porcus*). Hunters were required to send the hind legs of their kill to the chief of the village as a form of tax. As a consequence, the tax on killing big animals discouraged some hunters and contributed to their conservation (Hens, 2006).

Before colonialism totemic relationships ensured that some trees and animals were not depleted. They included pachyderms such as elephant (*Loxondota spp*) and birds

such as parrot (*Psittacus spp*) and raven (*Corvus spp*), which are totems for the *Anona* and the *Asona* clans of the Akans, respectively. Elephants are the totems of areas such as Denkyira, Eguafu, Abura, Ajumako, Abeaze, Shai, Old Ningo, Osudoku and Wassa Amenfi in Ghana. Crested porcupine (*kotoko*) remains the foremost totem for four traditional areas namely Drobo in Brong Ahafo, and Sambo, Wellebele and Galibaba in the Upper West, however they are now extinct in the wild and only found in the Accra and Kumasi zoos. Reptiles such as pythons are associated with several communities, for example the Manya Krobos and the Awudomes of the Ewe stock hold that pythons are sacred to them, and therefore they do not harm them.

The respect for spirits also engendered conservation, for instance in the Northern savannah zone of Ghana trees such as shea butter (*Butyrospermum parkii*) and dawadawa (*Parkia clappertoniana*) were not felled till after a ritual performance (Hens 2006, p.23). Thus, among the Akans the notion of *Tumi* (supernatural powers), that *Onyame* (the Supreme Creator) imbues on inanimate resources like rocks, rivers, streams, stones and living resources like trees, animals as well as humans, has long engendered a holistic interaction between people and their environment (see Box 5.1). Examples of spirits engendering conservation are epitomised by sacred groves. Sacred groves are usually: “partially or fully protected by local religious and/or cultural agents” (Okoti 2006, p.23). Ghana has 1904 sacred groves ranging in size from 0.5 to 1300 ha— all inexorably embedded in reverence to spirits (Campbell, 2004). For instance, in 1826 the Ashantis fought the people of Kantamanso and according to the latter it was their god *Afiye* who enabled them to defeat the Ashantis.

Box 5.1 Spirit and Conservation before Colonialism in Akan Societies

The *Tumi* imputes spirit or *sunsum* to natural resource, and is also associated with the belief in a 'life force' or *sasa* in plants and animals equivalent to the *kra* or soul in humans. Based on the *sasa* there is dichotomy of vindictive natural resources (*sasa eduru*) and harmless and less evilly powered natural resources (*sasa ehare*). It is also held that gods like dwarfs (*mmbotia*, singular *abotia*) and *sasabonsam* (chief hairy monster, living on the top of tall trees) could imbue natural resources with *tumi*. The *mmbotia* were reputed to initiate their recruits (both men and women) to become herbalists (*onninsifo*, singular *onninsinyi*). Since the *onninsinyi* is supposed to have been taught whilst in the company of the *immotia*, s/he is revered as being endowed with *tumi*, which increases his or her social status in a community. A chief of a local community was also seen as possessing *tumi*, the stool as a symbolization of the soul of a particular tribe, ethnic group or family was seen as a conduit for ancestors to communicate with chiefs etc. As a consequence, a chief had the customary right to punish community members who offended the gods by entering *inter alia*, forests, mountains, and rivers on their forbidden days. Among the Ashantis, trees such as odum (*Chlorophora excelsa*), African mahogany (*Khaya ivorensis*), betene (*Elaeis guineensis*) and osese (*Funtumia spp.*) were regarded as housing spirits and were not felled without rituals.

Source: Sarfo-Mensah and Oduro (2007).

Consequently, the Pikwae Sacred Grove is revered because it is believed to host the spirits of their ancestors who died in the battle. Furthermore, the Nkodurom Sacred Grove is believed to contain the cave from which the seven clans of Ashanti, namely Aduana, Asona, Bretuo, Asakyiri, Ekoona, Oyoko and Asene, originated. Other distinguished sacred groves in Ghana are the Agumatsa Wildlife Sanctuary, Tano Boase Sacred Grove and Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary (USAID, 2005).

Currently, there are international declarations and conventions that advocate for some of these indigenous knowledge systems to be regarded in biodiversity conservation initiatives, such as ILO Convention Number 169 on Indigenous and Tribal People, Programme of Action for Sustainable Development of the Agenda 21, International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) Guideline for the Sustainable Management of Natural Tropical Forest, Chapter of the Indigenous—Tribal People of the Tropical

Forests, Convention on Biodiversity and the Oslo Statement on Ecotourism (Owusu, 2001). These international inputs recognise the rights of indigenes over the lands, which they traditionally occupy and: “to ensure indigenous people in planning of national forest policies and laws (and also to) ensure indigenous and tribal peoples benefits on an equal footing with other members of the population” (Owusu 2001, p.9 Bracketed info. added). However, impediments to indigenous conservation are cited to include population increase, cultural and economic globalisation and Judeo-Christian and Islamic faiths, thus “sacred groves alone would have contributed little to forest conservation” (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam 1995, p.8).

Despite the colonial forest reserves being initially established to meet demands for timber resources, their purpose was subsequently more tuned towards strategic ecological purposes, whereby some of the reserves served as windbreaks and shelterbelts among others (Marfo, 2009). The next section explores the role of the colonial administration in conservation and land use in the then Gold Coast.

5.2 Land Use and Biodiversity Conservation during Colonialism

This section argues that land use in the Gold Coast is linked to the resistances to the gestures to vest lands of the Colony into the British Crown. The section then unravels the history of wildlife conservation and forestry in the then Colony.

5.2.1 Land Issues during Colonialism in the Gold Coast

Colonial conservation in the Gold Coast was to a degree shaped by the Aborigines’ Right Protection Society’s (ARPS) resistance to the colonial administrators’ attempts to control land in the Colony. The British Crown sought to introduce the Crown

Lands Bill in 1884—which was based on the mindset that there were ‘wastelands’ in the Gold Coast that must be vested in the British Crown. This led to the creation of the ARPS in 1897 championed by the Gold Coast intelligentsia which stressed “there was no waste land within the colony, that all lands had owners and that the Crown had no legal authority to appropriate lands, since the Gold Coast protectorate had not been established by conquest or treaty” (Amanor 1999, p.45). The ARPS resistance saw the Crown Lands Bill rescinded in 1895 and replaced in 1897 with the Lands Bill. In this Bill, chiefs were recognized as having rights to their lands and could grant land to other Africans but not Europeans, thus “Africans have only ‘settlers rights’ of occupation, hence permanent heritable rights of occupancy could only be granted by the colonial administrator through a ‘land certificate’, which will give rights to the owner to transmit property according to English Law” (Ibid.). Thus, both the Crown Land Bill and the Lands Bill sought to give ownership rights to the British Crown.

This was met with resistance from Gold Coast and Britain. The Gold Coast intelligentsia had during the early 19th century emerged as national bourgeoisie and played a vital role in the administration of the Gold Coast by serving as lieutenant-governor, colonial secretary, collector of customs and justices of peace (Fage, 1969). The resistance therefore was an attempt to define a role for itself in colonial administration in a period in which its position was being gravely eroded because imperialism was replacing free trade as the ideology of capitalist expansion, thus Gold Coast citizens were removed from high positions of authority. The British capitalist investors in the chambers of commerce of London, Liverpool and Manchester stated that they would incur more royalties, taxes and imposition of regulations, which would make trade in the Gold Coast unprofitable (Ibid.). In addition, the colonialist

policy on the Gold Coast was that in West Africa small peasant production rather than a class of colonists should dominate the agricultural sector, thus a policy for “controlled agricultural land for capitalist development was unnecessary” (Amanor 1999, p.51). The Lands Bill was thus rescinded in 1898 and this was partly due to the resistances from the ARPS. Indeed, efforts by the British Crown on land issues and forestry in the Gold Coast was interlocked (see below).

5.2.2 Forestry during Colonialism in Gold Coast

In 1900 the British Crown came out with the Concession Ordinance, which was supposed to check the activities of the chiefs on land use and timber harvesting. In addition, Governor Bryan, seeking for more direct access to agricultural lands and timber in the Gold Coast, passed the Timber Protection Ordinance in 1907 (Amanor, 2001 and Marfo, 2009). Furthermore, by 1910 the move to vest the Gold Coast lands in the British Crown, was superimposed on the argument of environmentalism, where concerns were raised on the necessity to protect forests against “large scale clearing to maintain the climate of the forest zone and watersheds and the need to protect forest resources against overexploitation” (Amanor 1999, p.51).

Its creation was based on crisis narratives on the environment. For instance, the savanna salients of the Accra plains and the Togo-Dahomey gap were attributed to the shifting cultivation activities practised by the colonials (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam, 1987). In addition, the colonials were represented as destroyers of forest through the wanton mischief of taking more delight in a good blaze (Fairhead and Leach, 1996). Consequently, the Forestry Department was created in 1909 and the TPO was reformulated as the Forest Lands Bill in 1911. The Forest Lands Bill states:

“Ownership of forest reserves was not to change and that the Forestry Department could grant concessions on these forest reserves and two-fifths of any profits made were to go to the owners and the remaining three-fifths were to be retained by the Forestry Department for administrative purposes”. (Amanor 1999, p.51).

However, the resistances of ARPS impeded the implementation of any legislature till 1927 when a Forest Ordinance Caption 157 was enacted. The main objective of the Forest Ordinance CAP 157 was to ensure timber supply, to safeguard water sources, to assist the wellbeing of forests and agricultural crops and to secure the supply of forest produce to the members of the surrounding communities (Marfo, 2009). The Forest Ordinance CAP 157 accorded the Forestry Department to take 1/3 of the revenue from the reserves for administration duties. However, the Forest Ordinance CAP 157 resulted in chiefs amassing wealth through royalties on communal property, a case of their accorded supreme ownership as against their custodianship before colonialism. The Forest Ordinance prohibited community access and withdrawal rights in forest reserves— e.g., Section 22 stated categorically that no person without the written consent of a competent forest authority should enter a forest reserve to:

“(a) fell, uproot, lop, girdle, tap, damage by fire or otherwise damage any tree or timber (b) make/cultivate any farm or erect any building (c) cause any damage by negligence in felling any tree or cutting/removing any timber (d) set fire to any grass or herbage, kindle a fire without taking due precaution to prevent its spread (e) make or light a fire contrary to any order of the Forestry Commission (f) in any way obstruct the channel of any river, streams, canal, or creek (g) hunt, shoot, fish, poison water, or set traps/snares (h) subject any produce to any manufacturing process, collect, convey/remove any forest produce”
(Modified from Marfo 2009, p.9).

Punishment for any person violating this could run into three years imprisonment (Ibid.). The British Crown ‘appeased’ the Gold Coast chiefs by granting them right to grant concessions to work minerals and timber within the reserves as well as maintaining existing farms inside the reserves (Amanor, 2003). However, since land

is a communal property the royalties to chiefs should have belonged to the whole community (Opoku, 2006). Overall, colonial forest reservation ensured protection for the Bia and Nini Suhien forest, Ankasa forest, Shai Hills and Kakum forest. The next section explores colonial wildlife conservation in the Gold Coast.

5.2.3 Wildlife Conservation by the Colonial Administration

The first wildlife law, known as the Game Preservation Ordinance 1901 (Owusu, 2001), was engendered by the 1900 London Convention, which made it obligatory for all colonial governments to ensure that game was not merely exploited but also protected in the African colonies. The first game reserves of Kwahu, Obosum-Sene and Onyim-Sene in the Afram Plains were constituted in 1909 and the Black Volta Game reserve was gazetted in 1928. Furthermore, traditional authorities contributed to wildlife conservation. For example, in subsequent decades the Asanteman Council created Game Sanctuaries to conserve wildlife, as indicated by section 15(1) of the Ashanti Native Authority Ordinance of 1946, whereby “the Kumawuhene enacted rules that governed the creation and the management of the Boumfum Sanctuary with the approval from the then Governor” (Wildlife Division 2000, p.3).

In 1953, the colonial administration transferred wildlife preservation to the Tsetse Control Unit whose policy was to eradicate Tsetse fly--*Glossina morsitans* (vector of trypanosomiasis) through game shooting and habitat clearing along river and stream courses; this exterminated thousands of herbivorous wildlife and livestock (Owusu, 2001). Consequently, the Tsetse Control Unit was abolished after political independence in 1957 and the game section under the Unit transferred to the Forestry Department (Ibid.). Moreover, the Wild Animal Preservation Ordinance of 1953 was

amended and the depleted Kwahu, Obosum-Sene and Onyim-Sene and the Black Volta Reserves were de-gazetted, and new wildlife reserves—Mole, Bui, Adigye, Shai Hills and Owabi, were gazetted in 1971 (Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2006). The next section explores conservation and land use in Ghana.

5.3 Land Use and Wildlife Conservation in Post-Independent Ghana

This section provides illuminations on the Akan's stance to land inheritance, and then proceeds to show the land use trend in post-independent Ghana. The section then delves into wildlife conservation and forestry in the country.

5.3.1 Land Use and Inheritance in Post-Independent Ghana

Control over land in Ghana is down to three main entities namely, stools/skins/ heads of families, the state and individuals. In Ghana, lands in many traditional areas are vested in their stools or skins (Marfo, 2009). These stools/skins are a wooden seat/an animal skin that represent the authority of a chief of an indigenous state or sometimes the head of a family (Ibid.). The occupants of these stools/skins are often thus referred to as landowners (Davidson et al 1997; Amanor, 2003 and Dei, 2008). The state also holds land for the country through the application of two principal statutory laws. First, under the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125) GOG can acquire land compulsorily for a public purpose or in the public interest. Secondly, under the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act, 123) it acquires land that has been vested in the President, holding it in trust for a landholding community. As Marfo (2009) aptly put it:

“For ‘vested’ lands, the title is transferred to the State, whilst the beneficial interests rest with the community; here, the government does not pay any compensation. This customarily right of ownership has been observed by the State since the colonial days when permanent forest reserves were created. The land continues to be the property of the community while government manages it for the collective good of the public”.

(Marfo 2009, p.4)

Though occupants of stools/skins oversee family property, individual members of a clan (*abusua*) have rights to use parts of the family property. Properties that a member creates in his or her lifetime are acknowledged as individual properties. Gifts of property could be made in front of the elders of an *abusua*, the giver of the land pronounces that s/he is making a gift of property to the recipient, the recipient usually provide ‘thank you’ (Akan, *aseda*), which is usually some drink (schnapps) and some money (Amanor, 2001 and Amanor, 2003). However, the Interstate Succession Law (PNDCL 111) 1985 addressed this inheritance problem in Ghana, irrespective of ethnicity, whereby a deceased’s property such as a farm is divided into three-sixteenths to the surviving spouse, nine-sixteenths to the surviving children, one-eighth to the surviving parent and one-eighth to the maternal family (Marfo, 2009).

According to Perrings (2000), land use in Ghana is divided into seven categories namely— forest reserves (26,000 km²), unreserved high forests (5,000 km²), wildlife reserves (12,000 km²), savanna woodlands (71,000 km²), unimproved pasture (36,000 km²), tree crops (17,000 km²), annual crops (12,000 km²) and bush fallow and other uses (6,000 km²). In recent decades there have been changes in both forest and land use owing to changes in agricultural practices, due to both exogenous and endogenous factors. For instance, the bush fallow phase, which was formerly left for a 10 year interval between cultivation, is now reduced to between 1-2 years, partly due to population increase and the commercialisation of lands for export plantations (Stock,

2004). Now farmers rely on artificial fertilizers to boost crop yields rather than a long fallow period. Furthermore, traditional farming systems, used a wide variety of vegetables, rice etc. Although land use practices have changed during the post-independence period: “data are not available to follow the trend of this change” (Perrings 2000, p.190), although some changes are clear. Land use in the high forest zone from 1962-1990 was, for example, mainly for forest reserves, unreserved forests (farmland and private forests) and other uses (comprising mainly cocoa plantations, farms and fallow lands) (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam, 1995). During the period 1962-1978 there was a 1.91 percent rise in the forest reserve in terms of land area as against a 9.27 percent decrease in the unreserved forests (see Table 5. 1).

Table 5.1 Land Use in the Tropical High Forest of Ghana from 1962 to 1990

Land Use	1962		1966-69		1977-78		1984		1990	
Change	km ²	%	km ²	%	km ²	%	km ²	%	km ²	%
Reserve	15185	18.5	15571	18.9	16788	20.41	Same as 1977-78		Same as 1977-78	
Unreserved	9283	11.3	6147	7.5	1674	2.03	606	0.74	308	0.37
Total Forest	24468	29.8	21717	26.4	18462	22.44	17394	21.15	17096	20.78
Other	57791	70.2	60542	73.6	63797	77.56	64865	78.85	65163	79.22
Total	82259	100	82259	100	82259	100	82259	100	82259	100

Source: Perrings (2000, p. 190-191).

Also, the ‘other’ category showed an increase of 9.02 percent from 1962 to 1990, which may be attributed to conversion of unreserved forests to cultivation (Perrings, 2000). The next section explores forestry in contemporary Ghana in more detail.

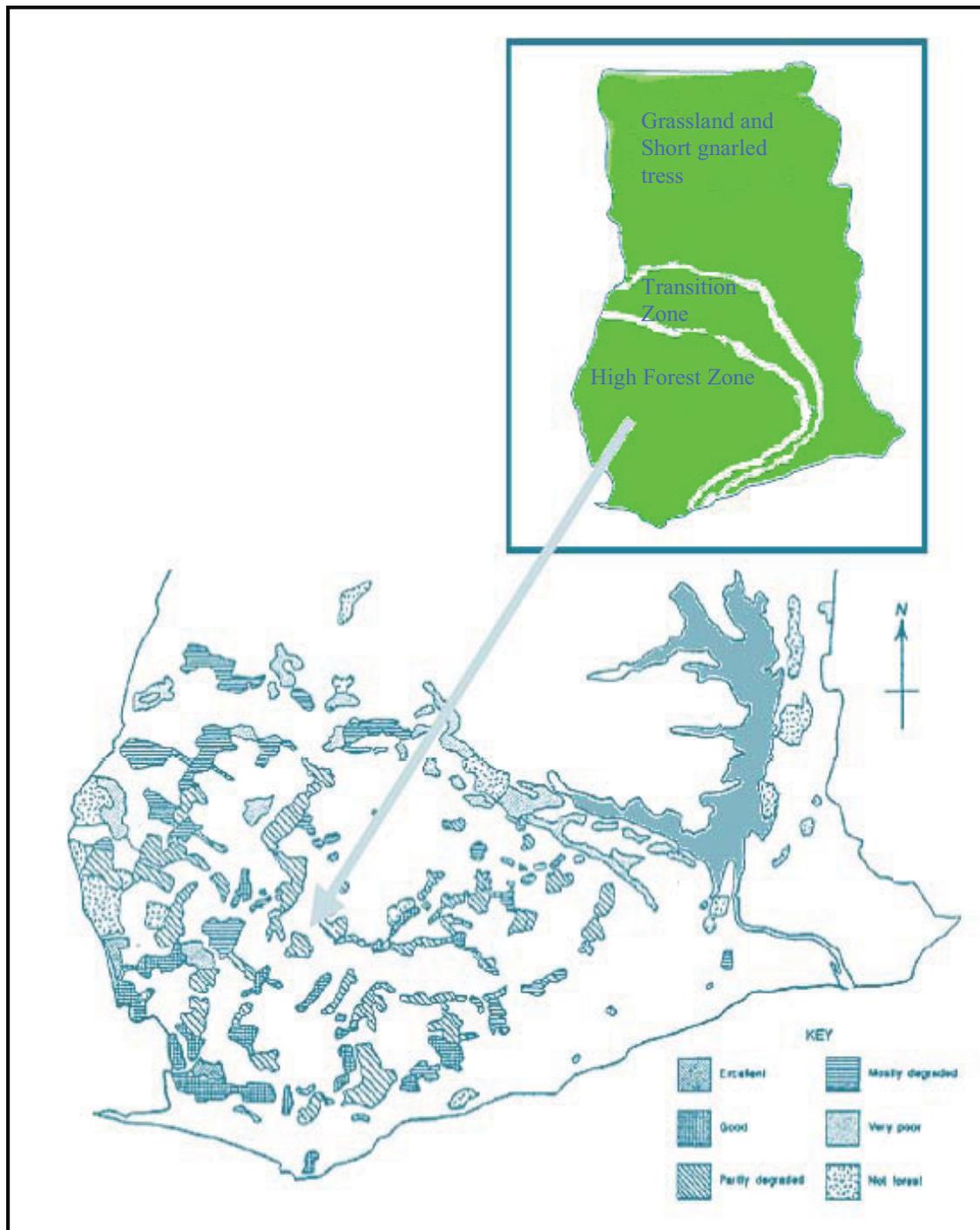
5.3.2 Forestry in Post-independent Ghana

During the 1970s and early 1980s, the timber industry collapsed, although it had been the third largest contributor to GDP behind cocoa and gold respectively. Hawthorne and Abu-Juam (1995) attributed this to the unsupervised logging rights given to timber contractors that continued into the 1980s. The Ghana Selection System, which was employed from 1956 to 1971, had a felling cycle of 15 to 25 years; this was under the pretence of cleaning the forest of over mature, rotting large trees. However, GOG was actually yielding to the timber industry lobby for more gains, at the expense of the vital role that large trees play in forest regeneration (Opoku, 2006).

Thus in 1983, when Ghana signed the SAP, the timber sector was an integral part of the Export Rehabilitation Project. From 1983-1986 the International Development Agency (IDA) and the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) of the UK gave some US\$58 million as soft loans at 1.5 percent interest rates over a 40 year period to rebuild capacity in the forest industry, e.g. for improving the operations of the country's sawmills (Perrings, 2000). This resulted in a small class of timber concessionaires benefiting at the expense of the masses. According to the Financial Times, the debt on transport alone annually was US\$30 million as against the US\$80 million timber export earnings per year (Ibid.). For instance, the Interim Measures to Control Illegal Felling in 1995 by the Forestry Department sought to address the inequity issues. These measures also saw the introduction of the notion of 'annual allowable cut', which was designed to limit harvests of logs to 1 million cubic meters per year (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam, 1995 and Perrings, 2000). However, virtually no harvest limits were enforced which led to the volume of illegal logging in 1999 reaching more than 2.5 times the legal logging limits (Opoku, 2006).

Currently, there are 280 forest reserves in Ghana of which 214 are in the high forest zone and the rest in the savannah zone— most of these forests were reserved during the colonial period (Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2007) (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 The Main Ecological Category of Reserves in Ghana



Source: Modified from Hawthorne and Abu-Juam (2005).

In 1992, Article 269 of the Constitution of Ghana endorsed the establishment of a Forestry Commission responsible for regulation and management of the utilization of natural forest resources. In 1999, the Forestry Department was made into a quasi-autonomous entity- the Forestry Commission –to work in partnership with the private sector, especially on reforestation programs and sustainable development. Currently, there are seven main departments under the Commission namely, Forestry Services Division, Wildlife Division, Timber Industry Development Division, Wood Industry Training Centre, College of Renewable Natural Resources, Resources Management Support Centre and Forestry Commission Secretariat (Opoku, 2006).

From 1948-1992, with the exception of the Concessions Act 1962, there was no major legislation promulgated concerning forestry in Ghana. Currently, forest resources in Ghana are managed according to the Timber Resources Management Act 1997 (Act 547) and the Timber Resources Management Regulations (L.I 1649). These endorse a Timber Utilisation Contract, which permits forest and off-forest reserve logging and commits to Social Responsibility Agreements (SRA). The SRAs demand that 5 percent of the stumpage value be given to communities for felling of timber on forest reserves, farms and fallow lands. The Forestry Commission currently receives 60 percent of revenue from forest reserves and 40 percent from off-reserves. In addition, the Commission selects timber royalties to be shared as follows:

“10 percent of the revenue accruing from stool lands shall be paid to the office of the Administrator of Stool Lands to cover administrative expenses; and the remaining revenue shall be disbursed in the following proportions; 25 percent to the stool through the traditional authority (local chiefs 25 percent) for the maintenance of the stool in keeping with its status, 25 percent to the traditional authority (paramount chiefs 20 percent), and 55 percent to the District Assembly, within the area of authority of which the stool lands are situated”. (Article 267, Section (6) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana).

Currently, the legislation criminalizes the exploitation of timber by farmers or by small-scale chainsaw operators who, unlike logging companies, pay farmers for the timber they exploit on their land. Consequently, with farmers increasingly alienated in a timber industry that expropriates resources and destroys crops without proper compensation, many take precautions and destroy the saplings of timber-rich trees on their farm-plots (Marfo, 2009). Also, farmers are not ‘criminalized’ for felling trees on their farms for cultivation, thus there is the tendency to fell trees for cultivation of hybrid oil palm and cocoa plantations and to grow fast-growing species such as *Ceiba petandra*, *Antiaris toxicaria*, *Terminalia superba* and *Pcynathus angolensis*. As a consequence, the felling of *Ceiba petandra* and *Antiaris toxicaria* accounted for 80 percent of the total volume of log production from 1996 to 2000 (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Log Production in Ghana from 1996 to 2000

Year	On-Reserve	Off-Reserve	Total Volume (Million M ³)
1996	0.285	0.882	1.048
1997	0.364	0.839	1.175
1998	0.443	0.704	1.078
1999	0.629	0.473	0.942
2000	0.514	0.449	0.755

Source: TIDD (1990-2000).

5.3.3 Wildlife Conservation in Post-independent Ghana

The initial piece of post-independence wildlife legislation was the Wild Animals Preservation Act (Act 43) of 1961, which was formulated to secure more firmly representative wildlife assemblages of the varied ecosystems of Ghana (Wildlife Division, 1998). The Game and Wildlife Department was established in 1965 to manage and promote animal diversity (Ibid.). This initial legislation was followed by the Wildlife Reserves Regulations (1971) L.I. 685 with amendments in 1974, 1975

and 1983, and the Wildlife Conservation Regulations (1971) L.I. 710 with amendments in 1983, 1988 and 1989 (Campbell 2005, p.3). Based on these legislative instruments an Initial Wildlife Policy was released in 1974. This recognised the value of wildlife to the present and for posterity, thus it advocated for establishment of representative assemblages of biodiversity in all the major ecological zones of the country (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam, 1987). But although this policy recognised the economic value of wildlife to local communities there was no paradigmatic shift from ‘fortressism’ because the policy failed to include the plural use of bioresources. Conservation in Ghana did, however, take a new turn after the Earth Summit in 1992. Ghana was the 12th country of the 157 countries to sign the CBD and to ratify it on 29th August 1994 (see Box 5.2 for array of Ghana’s endorsements to continental and international conservation-related conventions).

Box 5.2 Ghana’s Signatory to Some Conservation-Related Conventions

- ❑ Convention on the Africa Migratory Locust: 25th May 1962.
- ❑ International Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas: 4th May 1966.
- ❑ Abidjan Convention on the Conservation Nature and Natural Resources: 15th September 1968.
- ❑ Treaty and Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof: 11th January 1971.
- ❑ Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, especially at Waterfowl Habitat: 2nd February 1971.
- ❑ Convention Concerning the Protection: the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: 16th November 1972.
- ❑ Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora: 3rd March 1973.
- ❑ Convention on the Military or Any other Hostile Use of the Environmental Modification Techniques: 10th December 1976.
- ❑ Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals: 23rd June 1979.
- ❑ Convention on Biological Diversity, June 1992.
- ❑ Convention to Combat Drought and Desertification in 1994.

Source: Ministry of Science and Technology (2002, p.27).

The key wildlife policy operating in Ghana at the present time is the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy (FWP), which is based on the sustainable development paradigm espoused by the CBD (see Box 5.3).

Box 5.3 Guiding Principles of the 1994 Forest and Wildlife Policy

- ❑ Manage and enhance Ghana's permanent estate of forest and wildlife resource for the preservation of vital soil and water resources, conservation of biodiversity and the environment and sustainable production of domestic and commercial produce;
- ❑ Promote the development of viable and efficient forest-based industries, particularly in secondary and tertiary processing, so as to fully utilise timber and other products from forest and wildlife resources and satisfy domestic and international demand for competitively priced quality products;
- ❑ Promote public awareness and involvement of rural people in forestry and wildlife conservation so as to maintain life-sustaining systems, preserve scenic areas and enhance the potential of recreation, tourism and income-generating opportunities;
- ❑ Promote research-based and technology-led forestry and wildlife management, utilisation and development to ensure resource sustainability, socio-economic growth and environmental stability;
- ❑ Develop effective capability at national, regional and district levels for sustainable management of forest and wildlife resources.

Source: Wildlife Division (2001, p.18).

The FWP aims at: “conservation and sustainable use of the nation’s forest and wildlife resources for the maintenance of environmental quality and perpetual flow of optimum benefits to all segments of society” (Opoku 2006, p.14). Moreover, the FWP commits to collaborative forestry management, which enhances the role of communities in forestry at policy, managerial and implementation levels. It “commits to ending timberisation and paying more attention to the environmental, cultural, scientific, and social functions of forestry...greater transparency and probity in the management of the sector” (Opoku 2006, p.22). Consequently, the FWP seeks participation of all interested actors in policy development and implementation, as

well as addressing issues to do with the use of Non Timber Forest Products (NTFPs). The need to apply for permits to access NTFPs has, however, led to commercial loggers taking advantage of this policy, since the majority of rural people are illiterate. Also, the binary of timber and NTFPs is problematic, since some timber species such as *Nauclea milicia*, *Terminalia superba* and *Alstonia boonei* are vital in local medicine, but remain preferred species for timber. In response to these issues, in the year 2000, the Wildlife Division proposed a policy of Corroborative Community Based Wildlife Management (CCBWM) which sought community involvement in wildlife management (see Box 5.4). The CCBWM recognises that wildlife use is part of the Ghanaian culture; thus sidelining local communities will only result in the preservation of ecological islands from which people are excluded, as opposed to a more holistic form of resource management.

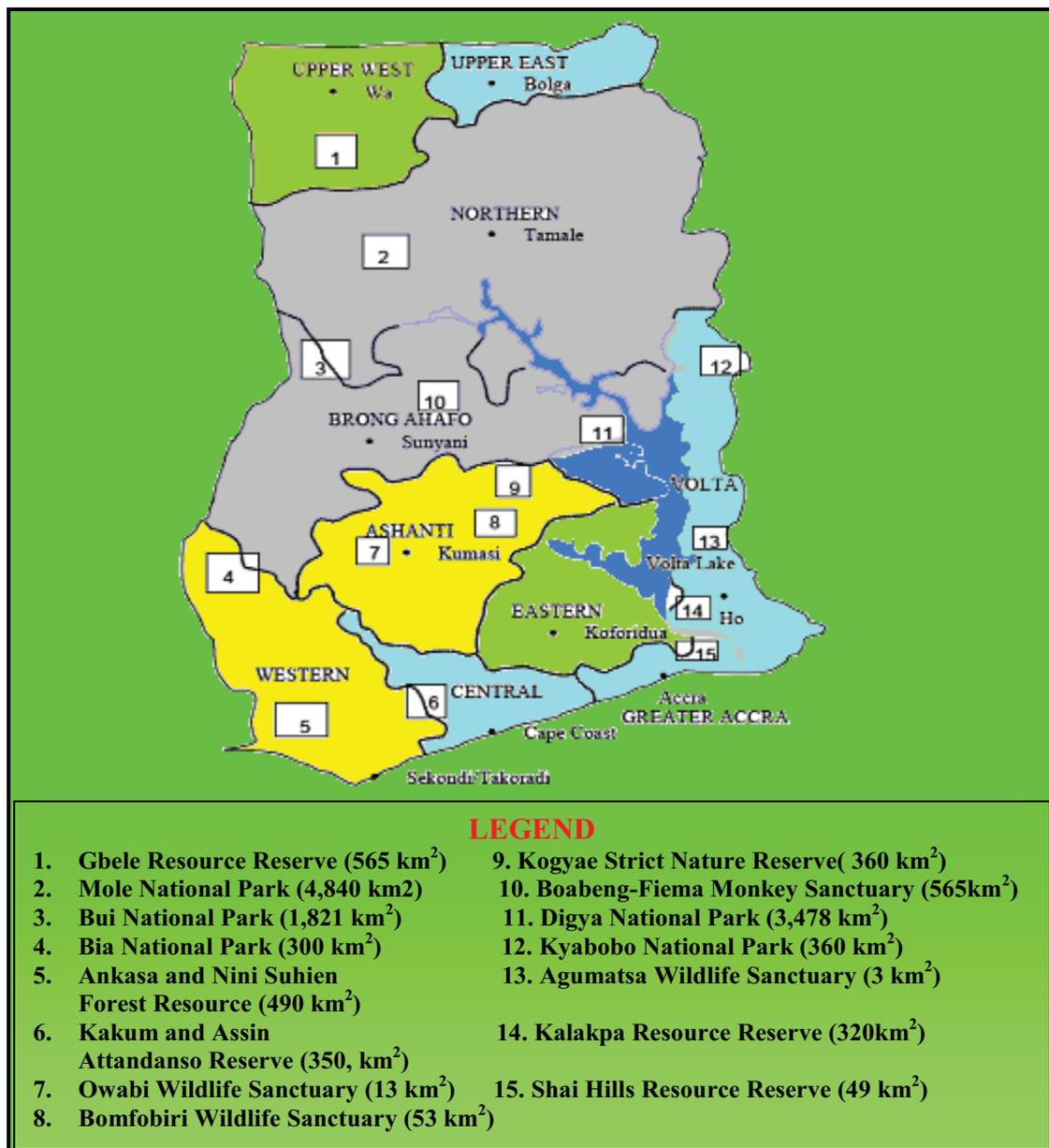
Box 5.4 The Key Principles of the CCBWM

- ❑ Effective management of wildlife is best achieved by giving it focused value for those who live with it.
- ❑ Those who live with and bear the cost of wildlife must be the primary beneficiaries of its management.
- ❑ The control of access and benefit from wildlife must be determined by those who live with these resources.
- ❑ Wildlife is a unique natural resource offering various opportunities for the sustainable rural development and economic utilization.
- ❑ To create the incentive for the sustainable wildlife management at the community level, the authority to manage and benefit from wildlife must be developed to an appropriate community institution.
- ❑ The role of traditional authority, traditional knowledge, and other cultural aspects in wildlife management must be recognised and encouraged.
- ❑ The role of women is central to achieving sustainable wildlife use; they must therefore be integrated into the development and implementation of wildlife management programmes at all levels.
- ❑ The role of the Wildlife Division as the natural authority for wildlife be recognized and accepted that in certain cases it may control cases, control levels or modes of use even where authority is devolved if it is in the national interest to do so.

Source: Wildlife Division (2000, p.5-6).

Both the CCBWM and FWP have led to a homegrown solution called Community Resource Management Areas (CREMAs), particularly aimed at addressing the ‘bushmeat’ issue in Ghana. The CREMA seeks to function through local byelaws, however its implantation and operation has been slow. Currently, there are seven national parks, six resource reserves, one strict nature reserve, three wildlife sanctuaries and six Ramsar sites in Ghana (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 The Protected Areas under Wildlife Division in Ghana



Source: Modified from Donkor and Vlosky (2003, p.19).

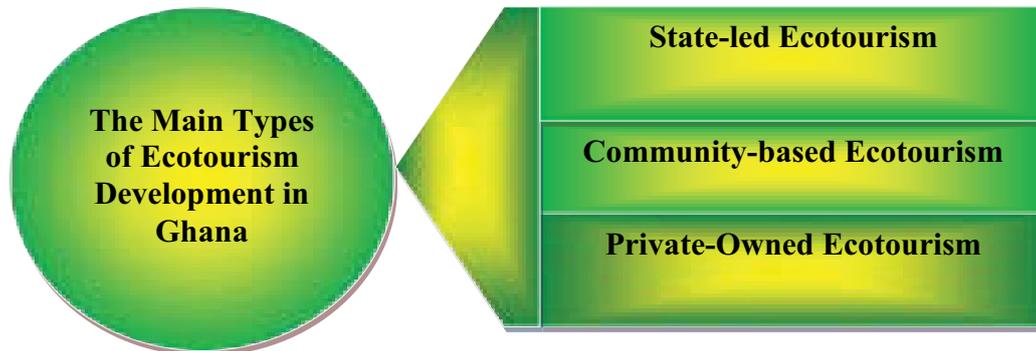
The aim of this Chapter is to trace especially the continuities of colonial forestry and wildlife conservation with the emergence of ecotourism in contemporary Ghana. Against the background information provided in earlier sections on the development of natural resource conservation and management, this chapter now moves on to provide an analysis of the development of Ghana's ecotourism industry.

5.4 The Emergence of Ecotourism in Ghana

National-level stakeholders involved in ecotourism development in Ghana include Ministry of Tourism, GTB, Wildlife Division, NCRC, the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Commission on Culture, Ghana Wildlife Society and tertiary institutions. Most studies on ecotourism in Ghana point to the Wildlife Division, GTB and NCRC as the main actors involved in working with local communities, local NGOs, international and bilateral agencies and donors (e.g. Danida, UNDP and USAID) to promote ecotourism development.

Currently, based on the type of stakeholders involved in management of ecotourism development in Ghana, three types of ecotourism can be identified namely, State-Led Ecotourism (SLE), Community-based ecotourism (CBE) and Private-Owned Ecotourism (POE) (see Figure 5.4). Indeed, the diverse stakeholders involved in ecotourism development in Ghana, makes this categorisation imperative since this will reduce the ambiguities that often surround the management of ecotourism in the country. For example, the categorisation enables stakeholders to refer to the SLEs as ecotourism based on the PAs in the country, which are managed by the Wildlife Division. Furthermore, the categorisation enables stakeholders to think of CBEs as the ecotourism that seeks 100 percent community-control in Ghana.

Figure 5.4 The Main Types of Ecotourism Development in Ghana



Source: Author's Own.

However, state agencies such as Wildlife Division, HOTCATT, GTB and MOT are not only concerned with SLE projects, but the overall development of ecotourism in Ghana. Currently, the POE is only emerging; thus the main focus of the following sections is on how SLEs and CBEs have evolved and how they seek to contribute to the twin objectives of development and conservation in Ghana.

5.4.1 The Emergence of State-Led Ecotourism in Ghana

The development of SLE in Ghana is non-linear and has come about through efforts by diverse stakeholders from international, national, regional and local levels. The stakeholders sometimes work independently and sometimes converge in their efforts towards achieving rural development and biodiversity conservation through ecotourism. Kakum National Park (KNP), in the Central Region, can be seen as the linchpin of SLE development in Ghana. In 1985, GOG and UNDP established the Tourism Development Scheme for Central Region (TODSCER). Ato Austin, the former Central Region Minister, was the most instrumental person in initiating this 'tourism revolution' between 1986 and 1987. The TODSCER, with funding from USAID, UNDP and Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities

(MUCIA), embarked on a multifaceted tourism project, which involved accessing the region's untapped cultural resources such as the Bakatue (is a festival celebrated by the people of Elmina to mark the beginning of a fishing season for the community), the historical monuments such as the slave castles, its forests and beaches. This led to rehabilitating the slave castles and forts, and involved gazettement the then Kakum Forest Reserve as a National Park. This activity occurred under the Phase I of the Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation (NRCHP) Project in 1990. The NRCHP sought to conserve selected natural and cultural resources in the Central Region of Ghana and use them for sustainable economic development; in particular, the protection of KNP attempted to save a portion of the remaining Guinea Tropical Rainforests in West Africa (Teye and Timothy, 2004).

The involvement of the Central Regional Development Commission (CEDEC) underscores the developmental importance of KNP. The development of interpretive services in the castles and at KNP helped in attracting, educating and entertaining visitors and bringing in extra proceeds as an incentive for communities to protect wildlife and wildlife habitat (USAID, 2005). With KNP registering zero visitorship in 1989 and visitor numbers of 75,000 in 2000, the Wildlife Division and the Domestic Tourism Awareness Drive under GTB both encouraged the establishment of Environment and Tourism Sub-communities at the District Assemblies to assess ecotourism potential under their jurisdiction and to exploit those opportunities for conservation and rural development. Through the Protected Area Development Programme and the Wildlife Division Support Project (WDSP) of the Natural Resource Management Programme (NRMP), ecotourism is now receiving attention across all PAs in Ghana. For example, the Dutch Government under the Wildlife

Division Support Project of the NRMP, has funded a number of ecotourism facilities at Mole National Park (see Plate 5.1) valued at 5.8 million euros. These include: “range camps comprising 60-unit 2-bedroom self-contained apartments for field staff, satellite camps and tourist facilities, and the provision of a new entrance gate and information centre” (Daily Graphic August 11, 2008).



Plate 5.1 Elephants at the Mole National Park in Ghana. Credit: GWD.

The Wildlife Division is at the forefront of developing ecotourism based on the National Forest Reservations. By Ghana’s Wildlife Conservation Regulations L.I 685 of 1971, the Wildlife Division can place hunting bans from August 1st to December 1st in the closed season in the country to enable wildlife especially to wean their young, since fauna and their habitats are often touted as the *pièce de résistance* of eco-destinations. SLEs have, however, been restricted notably to wildlife PAs namely Mole National Park (MNP), KNP, Shai Hills Resource Reserve, Ankasa National Park and Agumatsa Wildlife Sanctuary due to the poor access to and absence of

reception facilities at other locations. Data available show that 13,520 tourists visited MNP in 2007 and generated revenue of GH¢41,859,50 whilst in the same period the Bia Conservation Area registered only 17 visitors with a total revenue of GH¢102.9 (MOT, 2008). Although the available data are often incomplete, as indicated by Table 5.3 there seems to be rising numbers of tourists to these PAs along with increasing revenues. In a recent development, the Coastal Wetlands Management Project has sought to construct visitor stops at the six Ramsar sites in Ghana —namely, the lagoons of Keta, Songor, Sakumo, Densu delta, Muni-Pomadze and the Owabi Wildlife Sanctuary which is the only aquatic protected ecosystem in the country.

Table 5.3 Paying Visitors to Wildlife Protected Areas from 1991 to 1997

Eco-Destination	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997*
KNP	93	332	761	17,54	21,581	19,014	22,000
MNP	2,118	2,475	3,137	2,254	2,952	4084	5,840
Shai Hills	432	766	836	N/A	213	591	1,068
AWS	1,522	2,350	2,350	1911	1,816	1,764	1,900

Source: GTB (1998). *Projection

Dei (2008, p.46) has argued that the management of a communal pool resource (e.g. natural resources and locations which can be exploited for ecotourism) demands a greater consciousness to ‘the future by giving a more moral weight to the future—since the community will live on even after an individual has died’. Consequently, the current relative lack of attention given to sharing of the revenues, and the exclusion of local people from SLEs in Ghana remains a challenge. The Oslo Statement on Ecotourism (2007, p.3) states, “local and indigenous communities should not only be involved in the planning and benefits of ecotourism products, but must be recognised and supported as equal stakeholders and business leaders in the continued

development of sustainable development”. The CBE in Ghana thus seeks to include local communities to ensure that at least two-thirds of the revenue from the ecotourism activities accrues to them (Kofifah Pers. Comm., 2007). The next section thus explores the voices of the key stakeholders on the emergence of CBE in Ghana.

5.4.2 The Emergence of Community-Based Ecotourism Development in Ghana

According to the GTB (1996, p.8), Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) “seeks to integrate conservation and rural development by helping to protect valuable natural areas, scenic landscapes, sensitive rural sites and cultural practices”. CBE should achieve the following objectives; “increase awareness of nature and conservation, maximise economic benefits for local people, encourage cultural sensitivity and minimise negative impacts on the environment” (Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2006). Furthermore, the cost of land acquisition, small land sizes (which make them unable to be gazetted as PAs) and the need for conservation to benefit rural people is the push for CBEs in Ghana (GTB, 1996 and Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2006).

CBE in Ghana is nurtured by the Nature Conservation Research Council (NCRC) with support from the GTB, Wildlife Division and other stakeholders (more on this later in the section). As the foregoing exegesis has attempted to capture, the move towards CBEs is aimed at practicing people-oriented conservation and development (cf. KCA, 1997; Hall and Tucker, 2004; Kiss, 2004; USAID, 2005; Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). Accordingly, the emergence of CBE in Ghana is based on the conviction that: “it is only when the forests have a real value to the local people will we (the Wildlife Division) be able to gain their cooperation and energy for forest protection and management. Without that

cooperation, the future of the forests cannot be guaranteed except at the cost of a vast army of forest guards” (cited in Amanor 2003, p.14 Bracketed info. added).

John Mason formed NCRC in December 1995 and in February 1996 it became a fully registered NGO, with the objective of developing CBE in Ghana (Pers. Comm., 2007). The first tourism activity that involved NCRC was at Adafoah, in the Volta Region. A Peace Corps Ghana Volunteer (PCGV) saw the potential of tourism in this coast town and, together with NCRC, they discussed opportunities to develop tourism in the area with the community residents. In 1996, NCRC started working at Tafi Atome, also in the Volta Region, on a project to conserve the Mona monkeys (*Cercopithecus mona mona*). In 1997, UNDP asked NCRC for a proposal for funds to kick-start CBE in Ghana, however the application was unsuccessful. Again, in 1999, NCRC contacted USAID for funds to kick-start CBE projects in Ghana (see Table 5.4). The selection of the sites for the CBEP was down to the sponsors.

Table 5.4 The Emergence of Community-Based Ecotourism in Ghana

1995	The idea for CBE is conceived in 1995 as conservation and rural development strategy in Ghana.
1997	NCRC prepares proposal to UNDP for funding for CBE in Ghana.
2000	USAID releases Funds for CBEP Phase I.
2002	In January the CBEP Phase I commence.
2003	In December the CBEP Phase I ends but 4 months added (to April 2004) to ensure proper logistical transfer into Phase II.
2006	In May CBEP Phase II starts still with sponsorship from USAID.

Source: Mason (Pers. Comm., 2008).

These selected sites included attractions ranging from natural areas (landscapes, lush green vegetation and waterfalls), to hikes through tropical forests, mountain climbing and encounters with monkeys, crocodiles, hippos and elephants, artisan markets and

sacred cultural sites. Consequently, the attributes underpinning the selection of the 14 sites were in tandem with Honey (2008) who states that natural resources, cultural and historic sites are positioned at the core of ecotourism. The 14 sites were spread across three geographical zones, namely the Forest, the Savanna and Volta zones (see Table 5.5). The inclusion of Wassa Domama Sacred Rock in the CBEP shows that the project did not follow strictly Fennell’s (2003) definition of ecotourism.

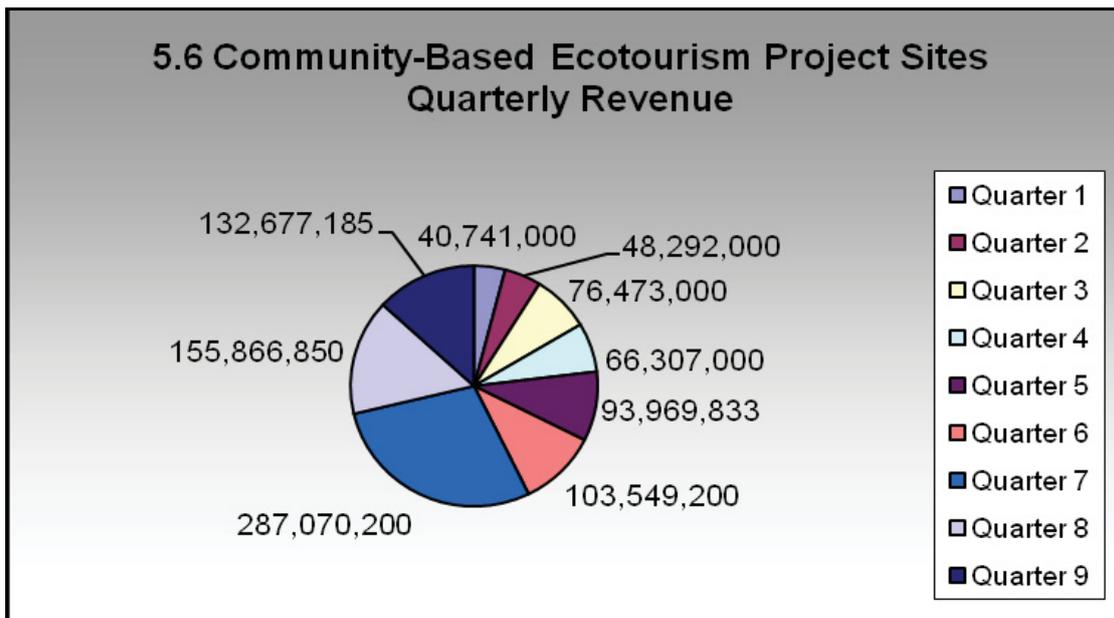
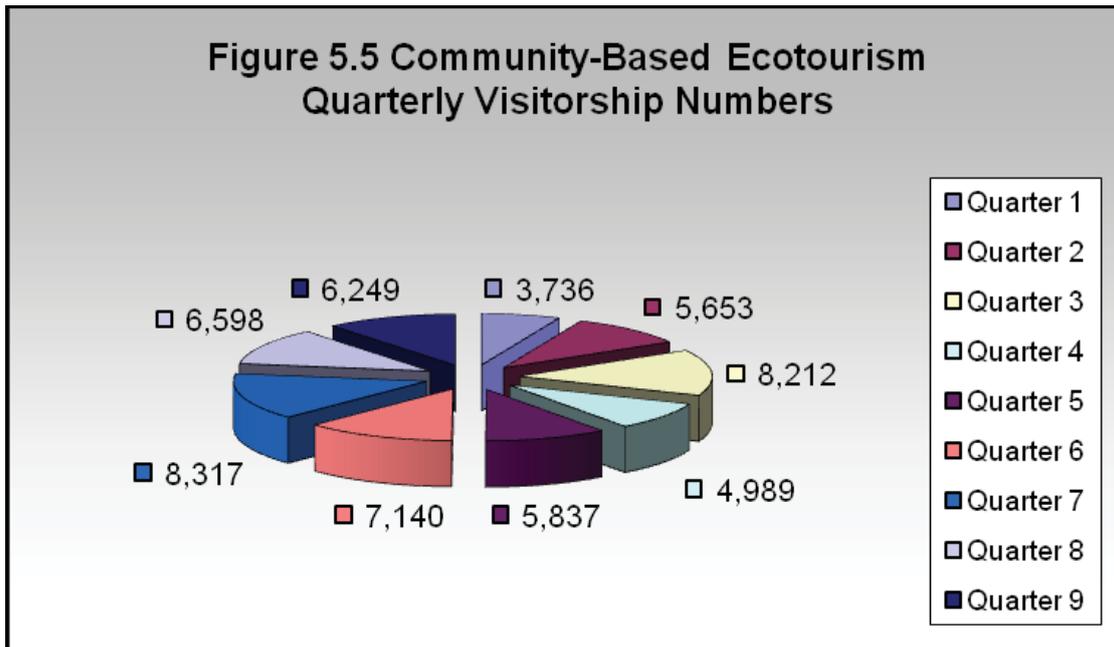
Table 5.5 Sites in the Community-Based Ecotourism Project Phase One

Savanna Zone: Paga Crocodile Pond, Tongo, Sirigu Pottery and Arts, Red Volta River Valley and Wechiau Hippo Sanctuary
Volta Zone: Amezofe, Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary, Liati Wote and Xavi Bird Watching
Forest Zone: BFMS, Bunso Arboretum, Bobiri Forest and Butterfly Sanctuary, Wassa Domama Rock Shrine and Tano Boase Sacred Grove

Source: USAID (2005, p.18).

CBEP in Ghana developed through several phases and quarters; Phase I occurred from January 2002 to April 2004 and had 9 quarters, with Quarter 9 (January to April 2004) ensuring smooth transfer into the Phase II, with no additional financial cost to USAID. Encouragingly, the first year of the CBEP Phase I exceeded the original target of 20,000 visitor-days by reaching 22,190. Subsequently, by Quarter 9, the total visitorship had reached 56,651 with revenue of US\$160,708, exceeding the project goal of US\$140,000 (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6). Out of the total visitorship of 56,651, 42 percent were non-Ghanaians and 58 percent Ghanaians, which is encouraging support for CBE development (USAID, 2005 and Mason Pers. Comm., 2007).

From 1997-2006 there was a 1000 percent rise in revenue at the CBEP sites with 800 employments created (Mason Pers. Comm., 2007). In the year 2006, revenue registered for the CBEP sites was US\$1 million, with a visitorship of 139,000. Based on the revenue registered in the midyear of 2007, revenue was projected to reach US\$1.6 million and visitorship to reach 170,000 by the close of the year (Ibid.).



Sources: USAID (2005) *Revenue based on rate of 1 dollar to GH¢ 7,300. Overall the CBEP Phase I had three main objectives (see Table 5.6).

Overall, the CBEP Phase I had three main objectives (see Table 5.6). Firstly, to improve basic ecotourism facilities and provide technical support at the 14 sites. This was followed by actively marketing the 14 sites to trigger interest in ecotourism and to engender rural development. Thirdly, to improve training on ecotourism and affiliated services and building capacity with the institutional organisation.

The marketing objective was a direct responsibility of the Ecotourism Unit within GTB with technical support from the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). Moreover, the income from the project was to be used to provide amenities such as electricity to the communities, provision of boreholes, toilet facilities, libraries, and promotion of female artisan cooperatives, health facilities and scholarships for students. The monetary gain during the CBEP Phase I prompted some villages appeal to be part of the project, thus the CBEP Phase II, which started in May 2006, involves 31 communities with the principal financial sponsor still being-USAID.

It is estimated that by 2012 the CBEP will bring about 10,000km² of land under conservation and in terms of employment it is estimated that 8,000 jobs will be created (Mason Pers. Comm., 2007). The revenue estimated for the period is US\$2-3 million with visitorship estimates of 500,000 per annum. It is also worth stressing that the seemingly good performance of CBEP in Ghana is leading to the emergence of POE. Before, private investors just provided hospitality services like Hans Cottage near NKP, Marina Hotel at Dodowa a few miles from Shai Hill Resource Reserve and the quasi-privatised Mole Motel (Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2007).

Table 5.6 Inputs of CBEP Phase One to the Ecotourism Sites in Ghana

<p>Improve Ecotourism Facilities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ <i>Installation of Directional Signs:</i> makes easy recognition and location of the attraction sites in addition to marketing the sites. ❑ <i>Improve/Construct Interpretative Centres:</i> new interpretative centres were provided at nine destinations and upgrades were made to existing structures at four destinations. This was to facilitate the organisation of tourist services and exchanges of information, which adds to the overall experience. ❑ <i>Improve nature trails:</i> involved making improvement to the trail leading to Mt. Afadjato’s summit to developing new hiking trails at most of the sites. ❑ <i>Sanitation Facilities:</i> Sanitation improvements at the eco-destinations have resulted in a cleaner natural environment.
<p>Improve Ecotourism Marketing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ <i>Advertisement:</i> ecotourism brochures and two visitor surveys were conducted to monitor visitor satisfaction and review pricing structures for all services at sites. ❑ <i>Uniform Receipt System:</i> to improve transparency and accountability of tourism revenues at the sites. ❑ <i>Web Presence:</i> email connection to six GTB regional offices. Also the official website for ecotourism in Ghana was launched at: www.piwowe.com/ncrc/home.html
<p>Improve Organisational Developmental/ Human Resource Capability:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ <i>Tourism Awareness:</i> this activity championed by GTB, aimed to increase community understanding and awareness about ecotourism. GTB conducted three awareness sessions in each project community and focused on tourism and environmental conservation education. ❑ <i>Financial Management:</i> This focused on streamlining accounting procedures at the project destinations through management and bookkeeping skills. ❑ <i>Publications:</i> included financial management, customer service and guide training manuals, an ecotourism marketing plan and a biological survey report. ❑ <i>Interpretive training and Customer Service Training:</i> the project sites targeted key subalterns that have regular interaction with tourists and offered specialised training in tour guiding and customer service skills.

Source: USAID (2005, p.4-6).

Currently, some Ghanaians are entering into the country's ecotourism market. For instance, on the Hohoe road a palm tree with seven branches is accruing benefits to its owner from visitors, also Sibus Biodiversity Farm at Adu-krom in the Akwapim area is being marketed as an eco-destination and boasts of fruit crops mixed with fauna such as duikers and antelopes. In addition, about 10km north of the Cape Coast is an ostrich farm where gate fees are collected for the viewing the birds. To a degree, POE is mimicry of the CBE concept, i.e. success breeds success. For example, Mason commented that, "a visiting South African expert on ecotourism stressed that the CBE in Ghana is the most successful in the world". With this information in mind, the next section provides a postcolonial analysis of ecotourism development.

5.5 A Postcolonial Overview into Ecotourism Development in Ghana

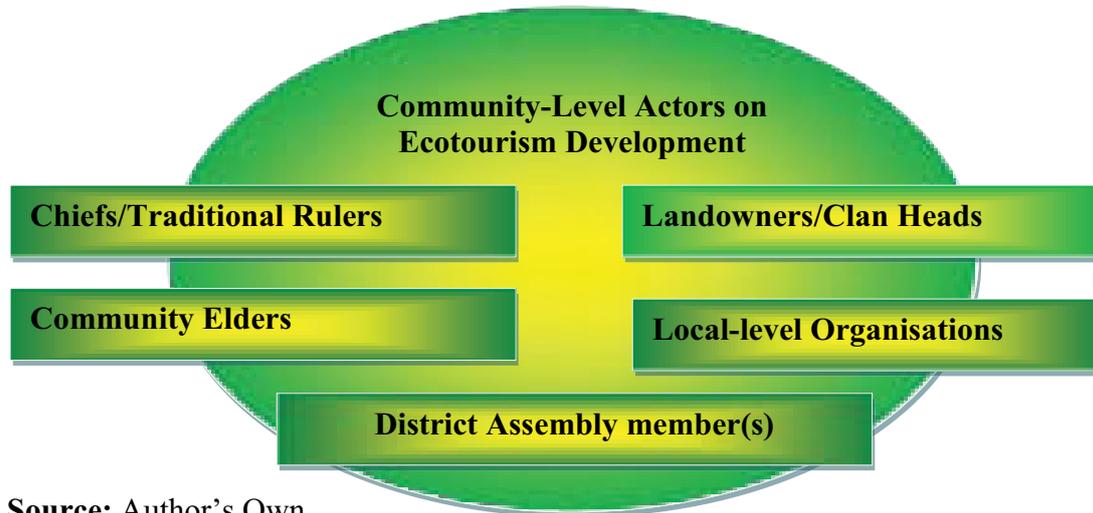
Through the lens of postcolonialism, this section unravels the continuities of colonial forestry and wildlife conservation in the SLEs and CBEs in Ghana. Based on the analysis so far in the Chapter—four main colonial conservation continuities in ecotourism development in Ghana are contested below namely, 'marginalisation of local community', 'neo-crisis narratives on environment and people', 'entrenchment of international forces', and 'marginalisation of local ecological knowledges'.

5.5.1 Contesting Community Participation and Marginalisation in Ecotourism

Upton (2008, p.176) argues that the widespread of donor(s) "reliance on ahistorical, aspatial and asocial blueprints of groups and collective action ultimately confound success". This assertion is in common with postcolonial researchers demand for contesting 'community', especially in ICDPs (cf. Stem, 2001; Lash, 2003; Power, 2003 and Pickerill, 2008). Usually, international and national stakeholders dialogue

with certain ‘local power centres’, on the prospects of initiating ecotourism in their communities, which may marginalize the majority of their residents (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7 Local Power Centres in Communities around Eco-sites in Ghana



Source: Author’s Own.

Chiefs are at the top of indigenous power hierarchies and community elders and queen mothers (they are usually the mothers of ruling chiefs in Ghana) help to check their use of power. Community elders are usually elders of clans, and this group advises a chief on issues concerning a community. Community-level organizations may include religious sects/bodies and local NGOs. For example, at some eco-destinations fetish priests/esses still occupy an inexorable position concerning the wellbeing of bioresources e.g.— at BFMS and Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary. District assembly members are the smallest of GOG’s ancillary of governance—they formulate byelaws and oversee central government’s development and conservation projects among others. Although water, fauna and flora are often seen as a ‘communal pool resource’ the land remains the property of landowners, thus their approval is fundamental for success in eco-destinations (Oduro, 2006; Opoku, 2006 and Marfo,

2009). According to Mason (Pers. Comm., 2007) ‘community’ “is the physical village, recognizes the political parties, the different sections and groups, common pool resource, shrine, women—it includes people as much as possible”. The Rio Summit has advocated for the establishment of participatory mechanisms to involve all interested parties in management of nature-based projects. Nonetheless, ecotourism initiatives, especially those based in the so-called ‘national strategic areas’ in Ghana (i.e. the SLEs)—continue to marginalize local communities (see Box 5.5). These SLEs in Ghana mainly involve local communities around PAs in the provision of labour as against creating ‘equitable platforms’ where the majority of them can bring their interests into ecotourism management (see Appiah et al, 2009).

Box 5.5 Local Communities, Popular Participation and SLEs in Ghana

Ghana’s laws on decentralization through the SAPs in 1980s, embody an alternative framework based on downward accountability to communities to participate in projects that affect them. District assemblies and especially the sub-district area councils are usually mandated to draw up especially development and conservation plans. However, the Concessions Act 1962 still enables GOG to maintain a hegemonic administration over resources in reserves and off-reserves in Ghana, thus local communities’ access to the common pool resources is prohibited. Furthermore, Article 267, Section (6) of the 1992 Constitution of the country states that natural resource royalties are to be shared to local chiefs, paramount chiefs and district assemblies. In addition, various GOG agencies including the Forestry Commission and EPA argue that the high forests in Ghana cannot be decentralized since they are ‘areas of national strategic importance’ (a special motif by GOG to actually continue to maintain a hegemonic stake in the management of wildlife and forestry due to their huge contribution to the country’s GDP). GOG thus prevents popular participation in the PAs and the SLEs in Ghana. Paradoxically, despite Ghana’s splendid record on conservation-related conventions/treaties (e.g. Earth Summit),—in practice most of the national-level agencies on biodiversity conservation and especially the SLEs are embedded in paradigms rooted in the binary of nature and society—which frustrates any move for popular participation in bioresource management. Indeed, the ‘reductive repetition’ still has currency in Africa (now championed by local elites, national compradors and international sponsors/donors), where despite new ways of thinking about the reason for the failure and possibilities for success on the Continent, the allusions to ‘natural weakness’ of especially the African peasantry remain evident in development and conservation discourses and practices (cf. Andreasson, 2005 and Marfo, 2009).

The CBEs in Ghana, thus seek to debunk the romanticisation of ‘natural strategic areas’ by seeking for 100 percent community ownership and management to ensure that the revenues that are generated from the sites engender the support needed for sustainability. Currently, at CBEP sites in Ghana, people are selected from the communities to form Tourism Management Committees (TMCs). The TMCs are involved in every stage of the project, from planning to marketing, in order to ensure community participation. The TMCs in CBEs, however, faces three major challenges.

Firstly, since colonial conservation privileged ‘landowners/chiefs’, there is a tendency to accord them special privileges and also to crave for a ‘hegemonic stake’ in ecotourism development in Ghana. For example, during the development of the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary the landowners demanded that the TMC be made up of only members from their tribe. Furthermore, during the CBEP Phase I, the national-level actors sought mainly the approval of landowners on the introduction of CBEs, however since resources on lands are a ‘communal pool resource’ some of the community members thought ecotourism was a way of depriving them of the sources of their livelihoods. Secondly, the current revenue sharing systems at most CBE sites in Ghana show landowners receiving their personal shares. Thus, a lack of proper accountability to the larger community and also injudicious expenditure of a community’s share of the revenue can create apathy in a community towards CBE. Lastly, there has been a tendency for TMCs to become ‘folk of the province’ and therefore parade a ‘pseudo-communal voice’ that can suppress the meaningful involvement of the majority of rural peasants, particularly in the CBE creation and management. Also, the marginalisations of local communities in ecotourism are partly linked to ‘neo-crisis representations’ in ICDPs (see below for details).

5.5.2 Neo-Crisis Narratives in Conservation and Ecotourism in Ghana

There are myriad neo-crisis narratives in conservation and ecotourism, which are being contested in postcolonialism. The resurgence in crisis narratives, such as the works of Oates (2002), Brandon et al (2004) and Terborgh (2004), position postcolonials as incapable of managing their own resources and thus external solutions must arrive *deus ex machina*. Few (2000 p.36) further states that the conservation 'mission' demonstrates: "how effectively socially constructed ideas reproduced through discourses can take on hegemonic status. Through time, their versions of knowledge become widely accepted as a 'truth', so taken for granted that the values and politics on which they are based become hidden".

In Ghana the statistics for forest loss in general circulations today, "exaggerate deforestation during the twentieth century, partly through assumptions that the bioclimatic forest zone consisted of intact forest around 1900. While many foresters and ecologists know this to be untrue, the persistence of these statistics reveals the power of representation in international circles" (Fairhead and Leach 1998, p.19). For example, Opoku (2006) quotes the timber industry assault on forests in Ghana:

"Is building towards *ecological catastrophe*. The state's failure to capture even a minimal portion of the resource for the public and for the communities that own and depend on these forests for their livelihood has created a *social catastrophe*. The descent of the affected communities into poverty, social decay, conflict and violence threatens a political *security catastrophe* as well". (Opoku 2006, p.5 Italics added).

Quotes like this build on 'the *mistake* of the colonial anthropologists and geographers in labelling Africans as lacking in 'self-governance'. For example, the colonial foresters thought the rich vegetation on farm lands in West Africa was not the product of farmers' strategies to incorporate particular trees into their farming systems and

protect them from fire, but instead these areas were represented as land recently opened for cultivation due to the ever-increasing population (Amanor, 2003). The crisis narratives thus resulted in the colonial administration employing Thompson, an Indian trained forester, to detail Ghana's forests in 1908. Sadly, as the Forestry Department he formed grew, the trained foresters he hired were all expatriates, including Chipp, Gent and Moor who were all trained and served earlier in India or Burma— a chronological indication of the 'native deficiencies' to manage their resources. Currently, just as colonialism justified state control through crisis narratives on the incapacity of the peasantry to manage their bioresources, GOG continues to justify the need for community restriction through the same stance.

Owusu (2001, p.8) has documented, "the population of Ghana increased rapidly over the course of the last century with southern Ghana reporting increases from around 800,000 in 1891 to about 4 million by 1970" with the concomitant depletion of bioresources due to the demand for farm land. Undoubtedly, the issue of populations of Africans and environmental degradation seems to be:

"Reinforced and Africanised in the wake of the environmental movement in the West, as it fits well with its interests, understandings, sentiments and with the deeply rooted Western image of Africa as a spoiled Eden".
(Leach and Mearns 1996, p.196).

Currently, ecotourism development in Ghana replicates these colonial representations that cite local farming practices, bushfires, hunting and population increase as the prime causes of biodiversity loss in the country. Although the bushfires of 1982-83 caused huge biodiversity loss, the role played by over-logging for exports is often downplayed (Fairhead, 1996). For instance, in 1888 the export of timber was small, beginning with about 84,950 cubic metres, however this increased steadily, except

during the WWI and the early 1930s (Amanor, 2003). Since 1956, about 849,500 cubic metres of timber have been exported annually. Hens and Boon (2000) have added that more than 90 percent of the original 822,000km² of natural forest woodlands with a closed canopy have been logged since the 1940s, mainly for timber export. Indeed, “evergreen forest like Cape Three Points, have been exploited for timber and other products over the many centuries, and logs were even taken from areas well inland in the nineteenth century by floatation down rivers” (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam 1995, p.11). Consequently, ‘timber export mainly to the metropolis (including China and India)’, ‘community marginalisation’ and ‘neo-crisis narratives’ demand holistic contestations in any accounts of biodiversity conservation and ecotourism development in Ghana. The next section provides further details on how ‘international forces’ underscore ecotourism development in Ghana.

5.5.3 International Forces in Ecotourism in Post-Independent Ghana

International forces in ecotourism in Ghana are shown in three principal areas, namely aid and donations, overt focus on investment capital and foreign visitors. Currently, a plethora of data indicate that funds from notably USAID, UNDP, Conservation International, Earthwatch, JICA, SNV and a host of anonymous donors, underscore ecotourism development in Ghana. For example, the development of CBE in Ghana was only made possible by funds from USAID (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 USAID Financial Roles in Ecotourism Development in Ghana

Dates	Financial Obligation and Purpose
Fiscal year 2002	US\$1.69 million: Ecotourism and Agroforestry activities
Fiscal year 2003	US\$0.50 million: Community-Based Ecotourism Project
Fiscal year 2004	US\$ 0.2 million: Community-Based Ecotourism Project

Source: USAID (2003- 2005).

According to USAID (2005), the revenue generated in the CBEP I, 36.0 percent was down to donations, with entrance fees showing (30.0 percent), accommodation (18.0 percent), souvenirs (7.0 percent), food and drinks (5.0 percent), guides (2.0 percent) and other (2.0 percent). Consequently, donations from largely international sources in the CBEP revenue indicate again the dependence of the CBEPs on foreign capital in what counts as their ‘success stories’. For example, Mason (Pers. Comm., 2007) could state, “the unsuccessful outcome of the NCRC’s application to UNDP in 1995 left them in the wilderness”. This seemingly innocuous avowal underscores the dependency of Ghana on external funds for its ecotourism. Indeed, the phrase “development partners” by GOG depicts the country’s dependence on foreign funds.

Secondly, although Ghana’s eco/tourism is not foreign dominated, yet the country’s Tourism Development Plans exhibit ‘colonial continuity’— i.e. the sustainability of tourism in the country can only be possible through the infusion of huge foreign capital investments, foreign exchange and foreign visitors (Adu-Febiri, 1994; Teye, 1999 and Koutra Pers. Comm., 2007). For example, Mason (Pers. Comm., 2007) states, “to build medium and high quality accommodation requires over US\$500,000 to erect a unit and if the truth be said most local investors will not go and build in these rural areas”. In addition, MNP, KNP and the Ankasa Resource Areas have been advertised for interested entities to apply for operational licences. Similarly, a private company has won a bid for Shai-Hills Resource Centre tourist facility. Lash (2003) has stated that a public-private partnership endeavour, can present ample opportunities to increase interventions for achieving sustainable development. However, Adu-Febiri (1994) has observed that since the Second Development Plan (1959-1964) in Ghana, the main emphasis on tourism has been the establishment of:

“First class accommodation, although the Plan recognised that demand for first class accommodation will always be small when compared quantitatively with the demand for hotel (motel) and boarding house accommodation at moderate prices, the government invested only in first class hotels and rest houses and encouraged private investors to follow suit”.
(Adu-Febiri 1994, p.157).

Thus stakeholders on tourism in Ghana perpetuate the ‘Guggisberg Structure’, by placing undue focus on foreign exchange at the expense of rural community development and what is plausible for the country in terms of physical and social infrastructure (Koutra Pers. Comm., 2007). Furthermore, the low disposable income in Ghana is often positioned as the reason for the focus on foreign exchange (Akyeampong, 2008). This notwithstanding, Ghanaians form the largest percentage of visitors to the SLEs and CBEs in the country, yet tourism infrastructure is modelled mostly after northern countries requirements (Adu-Febiri, 1994 and Teye, 1999). In addition, Lash and Austin (2003) introduced the term ‘ecological community’, where the physical infrastructure especially- the accommodation types at ecodestinations must exhibit consonance and sensitivity with the eco-sites. Akama (2004) and Fennell (2008) argue that ecotourism is a ‘grassroots and small-scale enterprise’— thus true ecotourism does not demand the huge initial working capital needed for mass tourism development. Consequently, would home-grown solutions to ecotourism development in Ghana help to prevent the huge leakages associated with a lot of eco-destinations in the South? (cf. Lacher and Nepal, 2010). Can the courting of ‘hyperactive capitalism’ into ecotourism in Ghana- lead to taking over of the SLEs and CBEs by multinational conglomerates? (cf. Lindberg et al 1998; Lash, 2003 and Jaakson, 2004).

Thirdly, international forces in ecotourism development in Ghana also show in the dominance of Euro-American paradigms and practices in this niche market.

Currently, literature on ecotourism taught to students in the polytechnics and Universities in Ghana are almost solely Euro-American in orientation, with less attention to teasing out the possibilities for including local references and perspectives. For example, one of the leading tourism books on Ghana- “Tourism in Ghana: a Modern Synthesis” by Akyeampong and Asiedu (2008, p.iv) stressed that, “as an academic discipline tourism in Ghana is marked by dearth of local material on the subject; literature on nearly all aspects of the subjects is by large European or American in content and orientation”. Indeed, although Ghanaian researchers are increasingly contributing to ecotourism literature in the country; however scanty literature exists on how tourism research can contribute to ‘provincialising Euro-American paradigms’ (see Adu-Febiri, 1994; KCA, 1997; Teye, 1999; Owusu, 2001; Asiedu, 2002; Owusu-Minta, 2003; Akyeampong, 2008; Asiedu, 2008 and Segbefia, 2008). As argued in Chapter One and Three, African researchers continue to be oblivious to the noble but the difficult task of renewing the tourism literature from the margins through alternative paradigms and innovations (cf. Appiah, 1991; Chilisa, 2005; Zeleba, 2005; Ahihenbuwa, 2006; Ateljevic et al., 2009 and Noxolo, 2009).

Since H.N. Thompson’s initial formation of a forestry department-in 1908 in the Gold Coast, conservation efforts in the country continue to be dominated by western perspectives/expertise. A cursory observation shows that, often innovations and policies in Ghana’s wildlife conservation and forestry and ecotourism development are often prompted by foreign conferences and conventions among others. For example, the Environmental Protection Council (renamed the Environmental Protection Agency) was formed after the 1972 Stockholm Conference; the Forestry and Wildlife Policy (the dominant policy underpinning conservation in the country-

leading to the CCBWM and CREMA etc) was formulated after the 1992 Convention on Biodiversity in Rio de Janeiro. This subtle dissociation of local references in eco/tourism development in Ghana has resulted in local ecological knowledges being completely marginalised in ecotourism projects in the country (see Sub-section 5.5.4).

5.5.4 Local Knowledges and Ecotourism Development in Ghana

Postcolonialism seeks to create knowledges that are in consonance with the immediate realities of the postcolonials and sub-groups within them. However, ICDP stakeholders largely rely on natural science paradigms to determine parameters of habitat and species health, and territory size for social groups of animals, thereby determining, along with topographic features of the boundaries of a PA (cf. Dobson, 2005). As alluded to earlier, ecotourism development in Ghana like fortress conservation perpetuates the binary between local ecological knowledges and knowledges from natural sciences, instead of finding out about the synergies and challenges in applying them concurrently in ecotourism development.

Natural sciences and LEKs have their own advantages and disadvantages. For instance, at the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary, an expedition by Earthwatch scientists from 2000-2003 documented over 210 species of plants, about 200 species of birds, 16 species of bats, 26 species of rodents, 13 species of snakes as well as 6 species of amphibians (Mason, Pers. Comm., 2006). Also, the expedition showed that, although plant species such as *Heeria isginis* and *Strychnos spinosa* are rare in Ghana, they are common in the Sanctuary, and therefore present an opportunity for ecotourism, since the concept is touted on biodiversity richness and rarity. Whilst these types of scientific expeditions and often involve people from the local

communities as guides and nature trail clearers, their LEKs are often ignored (Plate 5.2). For example, a consortium of researchers at KCA only involved the chiefs of the surrounding villages, who were only invited to the closing ceremony (KCA, 1997).

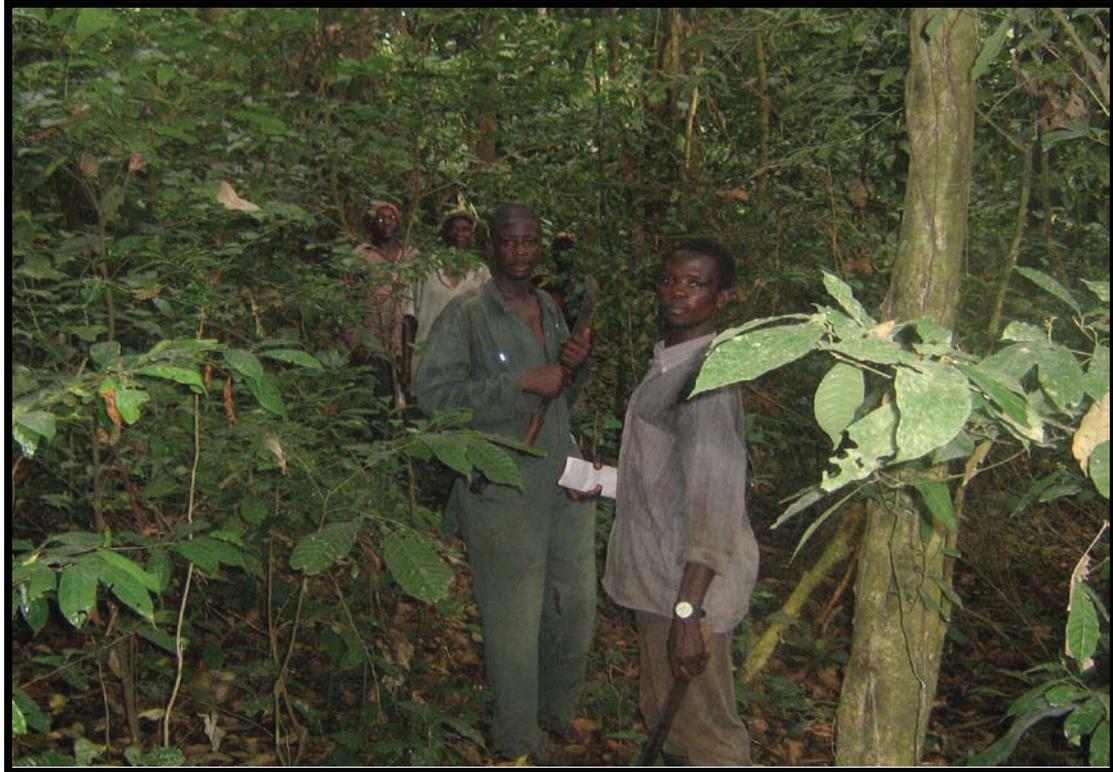
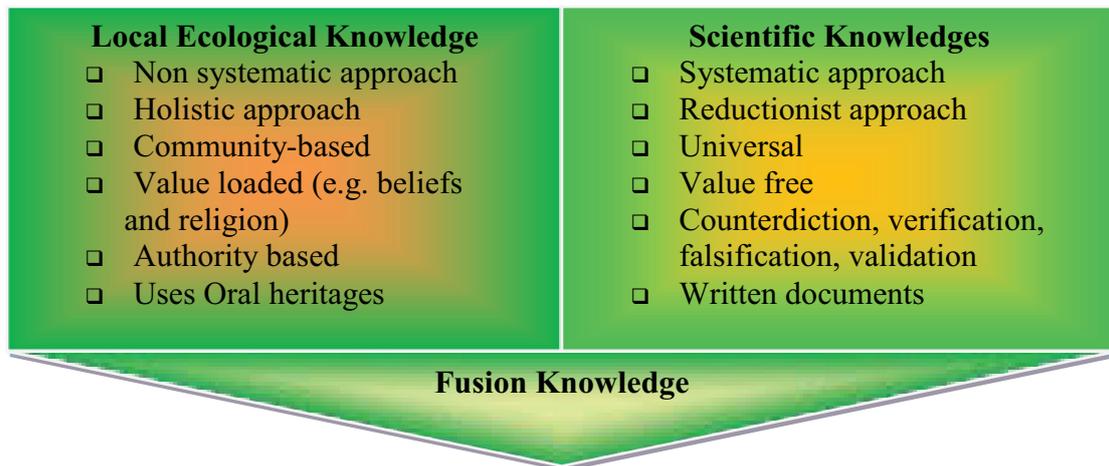


Plate 5.2 Some Residents hired to weed the Nature Trails in BFMS. Credit: Author.

Consequently, international and national compradors determine the meanings and values of biodiversity and their habitats, leading to further erosion of alternative cultural and social values assigned to nature. Western (Pers. Comm., 2007) has argued, however, that the use of LEKs could increase the attractiveness of PAs. For example, tourists to PAs in Kenya used to spend on average 37 seconds on the baboons and more time on what are referred to as Kenya’s ‘Big Five’—rhino, lion, buffalo, leopard and elephant. Yet with the use of LEKs “tourists are learning more on baboons and spending 2-3 hours” (Western Pers. Comm., 2007). Consequently,

through research tools such as rural participatory appraisal and rapid rural appraisal, actors involved in ecotourism can reach for ‘fusion knowledge’ (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8 Towards Fusion Knowledge for Sustainable Eco-destinations



Source: Modified from Hens (2006, p.27).

Fusion knowledge seeks for “deliberation in decision-making where plural values, knowledges and interests of diverse stakeholders are included” (Brown 2003, p.89-90). Fusion knowledge seeks to understand and incorporate indigenous uses of ‘common pool resources’ into the management of eco-sites. Thus, fusion knowledge differs from Chakrabarty’s (2000) ‘Provincialisation of Europe’, since it seeks to achieve a plural knowledge on a *desideratum*. “Even the most marginalised people have the capacity to resist through a number of weapons” Power (2003, p.195)—thus the next section unravels local communities’ resistances in eco-destinations in Ghana.

5.5.5 Issues of Resistance and Ecotourism Development in Ghana

Currently, resistances to ecotourism in Ghana are caused by three factors namely, lack of community participation, the positioning of ecotourism as a panacea to societal problems, and the lack of accountability at some eco-sites in the country.

These local resistances to ecotourism development include direct resistance, poaching and local adaptability (see Chapter Six). For example, at Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary, the apparent lack of accountability structures made some members of the communities suspect the TMC of embezzlement. Eventually, in March 2003, about 20 youths from Tafi Atome stormed the visitor's centre, and sacked the TMC and took control of the whole project (Mason Pers. Comm., 2006). Upton (2008) has argued quite forcefully that trust is important in group formation and their absence ineluctably creates negative ramifications in achieving conservation objectives.

In addition, at KNP on the 6th March 2006, some residents of Abrafo erected a barricade on the road leading to the park. Their grievances were linked to why some of the community residents were arrested for a paltry sum they had embezzled as against the 'huge money' the park was making that was not being accounted for. In addition, although GOG has been less proactive in CBE development, it does seek to receive a share of the revenues through the district assemblies. In 2005, however, a survey involving 2000 households across Ghana showed that 66 percent were dissatisfied with the services provided by their district assemblies. Lastly, although poaching may be a form of resistance by residents of local communities around eco-destinations, however such an activity remains a threat to sustainability of bioresources (see Box 1.1). The next section summarises the Chapter.

5.6 Summary to the Chapter

The Chapter has analysed how pre-colonial and contemporary conservation meshed with ecotourism development in Ghana. The Chapter teased out the resistances of the ARPS to the colonial administration's move to introduce the Crown Lands Bill and

the Lands Bill. The Forest Ordinance CAP 1927 finally led to reservation of 20 percent of Ghana's forest (Hawthorne and Abu-Juam, 1995). These forest reserves were to produce timber and for ecological purposes. However, the focus on timber production was high compared to wildlife protection: this partly explains why the Wildlife Division was established as late as 1965. Currently, the two main wildlife policies the Concessions Act of 1962 and the Initial Wildlife Policy in 1974 show two limitations. Firstly, the sustainability of ecological systems outside of the PAs, which accounted for 80 percent of the forest in the country, was not considered. Secondly, there was a lack of proper inclusiveness of the concerns of local communities (Ibid.).

Overall, the analysis in the Chapter has shown that both the CBEs and SLEs in Ghana like colonial forestry and wildlife conservation are wrought with challenges such as 'marginalisation of community', 'replication of neo-crisis narratives', 'entrenchment of international forces', 'marginalisation of LEKS', and 'local resistances'. Chapter Six now goes on to present the impacts of SLEs and CBEs on conservation and development at two eco-destinations, namely KNP and BFMS in Ghana.

Chapter 6 Biodiversity Conservation and Rural Community Development: A Comparative Study of Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Kakum National Park in Ghana

6.0 Introduction to the Chapter

Chapter Six teases out and compares the voices of residents of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on the rural development and biodiversity conservation impacts of ecotourism based on KNP and BFMS respectively. These eco-destinations are promoted as SLE and CBE respectively. BFMS registered the highest revenue and highest visitor numbers under the CBEP Phase I (USAID, 2005). Currently, KNP continues to register the highest visitorship based on the National Wildlife Reservation System. As a result, the thesis fills the current gap in research by comparing the voices of local communities on how issues of spatiality influence the type and level of impacts local communities face on creation of eco-destinations in Ghana. Some authors have stated that communities with the highest economic gain from ecotourism show the highest proclivity to biodiversity conservation (Stem, 2001 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). Consequently, Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema were selected for the study because they are reported to receive the highest material benefits from KNP and BFMS compared to the other surrounding villages (Eagles et al., 2002 and USAID, 2005).

The data for this comparative study were obtained from interviews, a survey, personal observations and secondary data. This is conterminous with the polymorphous underpinnings to postcolonial epistemology. Gilbert (2007) has stressed that any serious research on ecotourism should factor in pertinent historical data. On BFMS, Fargey (1991) provided an insightful historical account. Towards ‘thick description’ (Few 2000, p.81), on the history of BFMS, primary data were generated through focus

groups that sought to bring forward the voices of many of the residents of Boabeng-Fiema along with the local power centres such as the chief, community elders and fetish priests. Historical data on BFMS and KNP were obtained from interviews with Dassah (Chief Warden, BFMS) and Akyea (Executive Director, GHCT) and data from the offices of Wildlife Division, GHCT and diverse secondary sources.

The survey was conducted in 2006-2007 with the assistance of an Akan graduate. Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema are Akan villages and though some of the respondents are fluent in English language, most of the cases involved translating the questions into Fante. The study involved 200 households with 100 questionnaires distributed in each of the communities. Each questionnaire has 90 main questions giving a total of over 18,000 responses. The Chapter has four main sections. The current section serves as the introduction. Section (6.1) provides the historical elucidations on BFMS and KNP. Section (6.2) presents the comparative study, which comprises the rural development and conservation study. Section (6.3) then provides postcolonial underpinnings on the key findings of the research and gives way for Section (6.4) to sum up the Chapter.

6.1 Historical Account on the Selected Eco-destinations in Ghana

This Section presents historical background to buttress the point that ecotourism cannot be disavowed from history. Consequently, this Section seeks to add meaning to the survey study and the subsequent postcolonial analysis.

6.1.1 History of Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary

The origin of BFMS is linked to the origins of Boabeng and Fiema. The settlement of Boabeng is linked to tribal wars that occurred during the first half of the 19th century

between the western and the eastern Brongs who were the landholders of the Nkoranza region in 1831 (Fargey, 1991). The eastern Brong people are said to have won a crucial battle against the Bandas and the Paramount Chief of Nkoranza (Nkoranzahene) honoured Damoah, his son and chief warrior to choose some land to settle. He travelled north from Nkoranza with his patron god *Daworo* and after several days he came to a dried up river bed, where he saw a piece of white calico guarded by two black and white Colobus monkeys (*Colobus vellerosus*, known as *Efoo*-Plate 6.1) and two Mona monkeys (*Cercopithecus campbelli lowei* known as *Kwakuo*-Plate 6.1).



Plate 6.1 A Black and White Colobus and Mona monkeys at BFMS.

Damoah consulted an oracle on this unusual sight and was informed that the monkeys are kismet to him and his descendants, but only if they care for them. He then established a village and named it Asarekoma. However, the name was to change to Boabeng due to activities of a somewhat senile Nkoranzahene. This Nkoranzahene

ignored the taboo on the monkeys and thus shot some, whenever he passed near the village. Furthermore, he shot and killed people that he mistook for monkeys because they were tapping palm trees for wine etc. The people of Asarekoma revenged by attacking and decapitating the Nkoranzahene (see Plate 6.3). When the people of the nearby villages heard about this ‘action’ taken by the people of Asarekoma, they started calling them—*bo aben* (means brave people), because they have dared to discharge capital judgement on their Paramount Chief.



Plate 6.2 The Burial Ground for the head of the Nkoranzahene at Boabeng (NB: not to be reproduced, without the author’s due permission).

Additionally, the settlement of Fiema is linked to a brother and a sister by name Fobiri and Donsah from the royal family in the Ashanti village of Kokofu. These siblings were accused of incest. These two people were thus sent away from the village and put in the custody of an Nkoranzahene. The Nkoranzahene told them to take the god *Abujo* with them to reside to the north of Boabeng. This god abhors the sight of blood. The people that settled there increased in population and became known as Fiema,

meaning ‘people belonging to the same house’. Both communities see *Daworo* as a female god and *Abujo* as a male god and that they have fallen in love. It is also reckoned that *Daworo* gave the task to *Abujo* to take care of the black and white Colobus and *Daworo* kept the Mona monkeys for herself. Currently, there are more Mona monkeys at Fiema and more black and white Colobus at Boabeng. Since the monkeys are seen as children of the gods, should one die and be spotted, the body is wrapped in white calico and placed in a box and buried in cemetery (see Plate 6.3).



Plate 6.3 Tourists at the Monkey Cemetery at BFMS. Credit: Author's.

Further to the arguments on the origin of the monkeys, the 1970s brought the first shock to the co-existence of the sister villages and the monkeys. Around the early 1970s satellite villages began developing at Boabeng and Fiema. A church by name, the Saviour Church (*Gyideafoo*, means the believers) established itself in these satellites. Some members of the Saviour Church began killing the monkeys to show

that they were no longer constrained by indigenous beliefs. Consequently, Daniel Akowuah of Boabeng wrote to the then Department of Game and Wildlife for support. The Wildlife Division then sent staff to Boabeng and Fiema, and they recommended that a local bylaw be passed to create a Sanctuary, because the forest-size did not permit its inclusion in the National Wildlife Reservation System. Akowuah, then a teacher, changed job to become the first Chief Warden at BFMS.

On the 1st May 1975, on passing of the bylaw, the Saviour Church members discontinued slaughtering the monkeys. In 1990, the Management Committee of the Sanctuary (BFMSMC) was organised. In 1996, the United Nations Global Environmental Fund provided funds to build a guesthouse for night-sleepers, which led to creation of a small ecotourism project based on BFMS (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Major Events in the Evolution of Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary

Years	Events
1831	The Boabeng is established, Fiema is established later. They are given the responsibility to care for the monkeys by the gods <i>Daworo</i> and <i>Abujo</i> .
1970s	The Sanctuary faces attack from members of the Saviour Church, which resulted in killing and eating some of the monkeys.
1971	Akowuah writes to Wildlife Division for support to protect the monkeys.
1975	Wildlife Division called in to protect the monkeys. BFMS formed in May of the year. Hunting in the Sanctuary becomes illegal through the bylaw.
1990	BFMSMC is formed. Two members each from Boabeng and Fiema with a fifth member being an Assembly member of Boabeng-Fiema.
1996	The guesthouse is built for night-sleepers. Before then, the house of Mr Akowuah provided accommodation for night-sleepers.
1997	Wins four tourism awards, including the Visitor Attraction of the year
2000	BFMS restates the roles of the key stakeholders.
2002	Selected as one of the sites of the CBEP Phase I.
2003	The selected site for the celebration of the World Tourism Day in Ghana.
2006	Grasscutter production introduced in the communities.
2008	BFMSMC takes over the keeping of tourism receipts in May. Wildlife Division now concerns only with the protection of the Sanctuary.

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

The Forestry Commission, under which is the Wildlife Division, aims to be self-financing, and thus demanded that its staff at BFMS be paid from revenue from the Sanctuary. Thus, representatives from the Nkoranza District Assembly, BFMSMC and Wildlife Division met on the 31st October 2000 to discuss this matter to discuss the individual roles of the stakeholders (see Table 6.2). Currently, the BFMSMC is made up of the assembly person, the chief warden, and the two fetish priests from Fiema and Boabeng. Their selection of the BFMSMC members were is based on the consensus that resulted from the 31st October 2000 meeting.

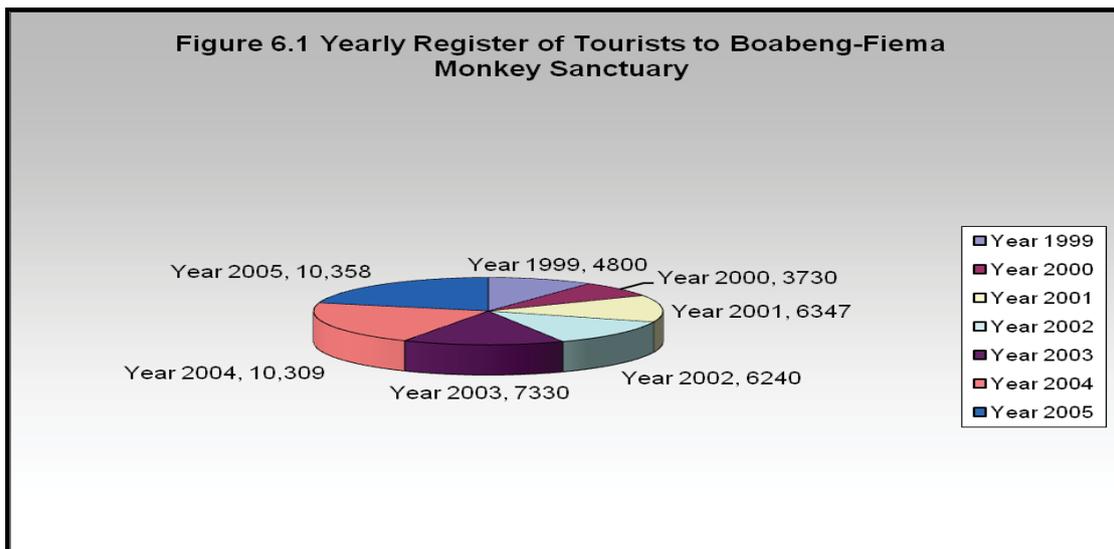
Table 6.2 Roles of key Stakeholders on Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary

<p>The Wildlife Division: Provides technical advice, organise tour guiding of visitors, undertakes law enforcement, clears the internal tourists' trails of the Sanctuary, collects and shares the revenue accruing to BFMS.</p>
<p>The Nkoranza District Assembly: With financial support from the EU, the District Assembly helped to construct and furnish a guesthouse for night-sleepers. Additionally, the Assembly maintains the guesthouse and other facilities within it.</p>
<p>The BFMSMC: Represents the chiefs and people of communities associated with BFMS in matters affecting the management and development of the Sanctuary. It provides a forward and backward linkage and collects communities' share of revenue. Assist in fire prevention and planting of more trees to enrich the forest.</p>

Source: Report BFMS (October 30 November, 2000).

Between 2002 and 2004, BFMS was selected as part of the CBEP Phase I. The CBEP led to the construction of an interpretative room, the provision of furniture, construction of two water closet toilets, two showers and two urinals, provision of benches along the trails, directional signs, first aid kits and safety equipments, and refuse bins (USAID, 2005). BFMS has won several awards including the Visitor Attraction of the year in 1997, GTB Brong Ahafo award of the Tourism Conscious Community, 6th National Tourism tourist attraction of the year in 2003. BFMS registered the highest visitorship with 26.3 percent of the total of 56,731 for all the

CBEP Phase I sites (see Figure 6.1). In terms of revenue, BFMS also emerged as the best performer registering GH¢160,139,200 from 2002 to the first four months of 2004 with percentage growth for the fourth quarter of 2002-2003 of over 300 percent (USAID, 2005). There are three sources of revenue to BFMS; these are entrance fees, and revenues from the guesthouse and research. As at 2007, the entrance fee was GH¢5,000 and GH¢20,000 for Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian visitors respectively and the cost of accommodation overnight was GH¢60,000. The research fees for a 1-3 month period for a Ghanaian are GH¢100,000 and for over 3 months, GH¢200,000. The equivalents for non-Ghanaians are US\$75 and US\$100 respectively.



Source: USAID (2005) and BFMS Office (2006).

The peak period of visitorship is between July and August and the lean period is between September and October. In 2004, the issue of revenue sharing came into place; before this date the entire revenue from BFMS was shared 50 percent each to the sister communities of Boabeng and Fiema. In 2005, the revenue sharing at BFMS was made to include seven other communities namely, Busunya, Bonte, Bomini, Akruwa Panyin, Akruwa Kuma, Konkrompe and Senya. These seven communities

are known as the ‘Allied Communities’ of BFMS because some of the monkeys are found in their forests (Table 6.3). Konkrompe is located 5km to the northwest of the BMFS, whilst Senya is located 4km further north. Currently, Busunya, Bonte, Akruwa Panyin and Kuma, altogether have 100 black and white Colobus monkeys in their forests and Bomini has two Monas.

Table 6.3 The Sharing of Revenue at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary

Beneficiary	Percentage of Revenue Accorded
Wildlife Division	20
District Assembly	20
BFMS Development Fund	10
Nkoranza Traditional Council	5
Allied Communities	5
The remaining 40 percent is converted into 100 percent	
Boabeng Chief and Fetish Priest	10
Fiema Fetish Priest	10
Landowners (Clans)	10
Boabeng Community	35
Fiema Community	35

Source: BFMS Office (2006).

Paradoxically, Nkoranzahene is not to set eyes on Boabeng because of the decapitation of the ex-Nkoranzahene there, it is believed such as act will bring him tragedy. This is the reason why although BFMS was the site for a World Tourism Day celebration in 2003 in Ghana, the celebration was held at its guesthouse to prevent the Chief beholding Boabeng. The next section presents a historical account on KNP.

6.1.2 History of Kakum National Park

The Kakum forest was reserved in 1927 for sustainable timber extraction; however the reserve also served as a source of livelihood for the local communities (KCA,

1997). Four main factors probably contributed to the depletion of bioresources in the Kakum forest. Firstly, the dividing of the forest into southern and northern parts by a railway, which was constructed to transport cocoa, might have decreased elephant numbers in the forest because of reduced genetic viability (Eggert et al., 2003). Secondly, in the early 1970s some raiding elephants were killed by a team of military personnel to help reduce crop raiding around the forest; this also contributed to a reduction in their numbers (Lamarque et al., 2009). Thirdly, the excessive logging by timber companies reduced the Kakum forest into almost half since the 1970s. Consequently, the current density of elephants in the forest, at 0.6/km², remains one of the highest in the forests of West Africa (Ibid.). Fourthly, in the 1970s farmers migrated in large numbers from other regions in Ghana to take advantage of the ideal cocoa-growing conditions at the edge of the forest (Bailey, 1999). This increased the human population and settlements around the forest boundary.

The goal of the establishment of the KNP, as specified in the Medium-Term Tourism Plan of 1993-1995, is to promote tourism as a viable option for rural development and to avert the degradation to the Kakum forest (Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008). The canopy walkway at KNP was opened in 1995 to promote ecotourism as a driving force behind tourism development in Ghana (Narud and Vondolia, 2005). GHCT was inaugurated on the 31st of August 1996 with funds from Conservation International obtained from USAID (Akyea Pers. Comm., 2008). The canopy walkway, which comprises 350m of suspended bridge and six tree platforms reaching a height of 30m above the forest floor, is made of cargo net, aluminum ladders, and wooden planks and offers an unusual opportunity for up-close viewing of many species. GHCT was put in place to consolidate and sustain the gains accruing from the park through

managing the Canopy Walkway. Consequently, the management of KNP is officially down to two main stakeholders, the Wildlife Division and GHCT (Narud and Vondolia, 2005 and Asiedu and Akyeampong, 2008). The Wildlife Division is responsible for the management of KNP. GHCT supports the Wildlife Division and Ghana Museums Monuments Board as well as the maintenance of the three World Heritage Monuments—Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Fort St. Jago. In 1998, visitorship to KNP increased from 20,000 in 1995 to 59,000, whilst the revenue from the Canopy Walkway rose from US\$10,000 to US\$108,000 respectively (Vieta, 1999). KNP was chosen as the ecotourism site of the year by the travel magazine Conde Nast Traveller in 1998 and won the Ecotourism Award in 1998 (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Chronology of the major Events at Kakum National Park

Years	Events
1927	Under the Forest Ordinance 1927, Kakum forest is demarcated as the Kakum Reserve for timber production.
Before 1989	Many wildlife resources depleted and extensive logging of timber in Kakum Forest Reserve.
1989	Kakum Forest Reserve gazetted as a national park.
1994	The park opens to public.
1995	Research Consortium on KCA.
1996	The Canopy Walkway opened to the public. Canopy maintenance to be seen by GHCT.
1998	Wins the Conde Nast Traveller Ecotourism Award.
1999	Wins the British Airways Tourism for Tomorrow Award.
2006	The main road to KNP blocked by residents of Abrafo. Because GHCT sacks some people that are residents of their village.

Source: GHCT and KNP Offices (2006).

In 1999, KNP was awarded the British Airways Tourism for Tomorrow Award. These awards helped promote KNP as a leading eco-destination in Africa. Currently, there are four income-generating activities at KNP namely— canopy walking, trail hiking,

camping and visiting surrounding farms. However, canopy walking is the foremost income generating activity (see Table 6.5). Canopy walking takes about 95 percent of tourist arrivals daily (Narud and Vondolia, 2005).



Plate 6.4 Some Visitors Camping at Kakum National Park. Credit: Grete Howard.

Table 6.5 Yearly Visitor Numbers for the Canopy Walkway from 1998-2003

Year	Ghanaians (Domestic)	Non Ghanaians	Ghanaian Students	Ghanaian Adults
2000	34,350	15,410	14,541	19,809
2001	35,825	19,201	27,126	8,699
2002	54,196	16,953	44,489	9,707
2003	36,874	16,597	28,681	8,193
2004	44,962	17,866	35,816	9,164
Total	206,207	86,027	150,653	55,572

Source: GHCT Office (2006).

At KNP the price that a visitor pays depends on age, nationality and on whether the visitor is a student or not. An adult Ghanaian tourist pays about US\$3 for canopy

walking (see Plate 6.4). A Ghanaian student pays US\$1.76 whilst a Ghanaian school child pays US\$1.18 (Ibid.). However, a non-Ghanaian adult tourist pays US\$10.59; a non-Ghanaian student tourist pays US\$5.88 whilst a non-Ghanaian child pays US\$3.53. Besides the payment for each activity, tourists pay an entrance fee of US\$0.23. The revenue generated from 1998 to 2003 is shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 The Revenue at KNP from 1998-2003

Year	Revenue Generated (¢ Million)	Percentages of Revenue Generated (%)
1998	292,55,500	8%
1999	318,390,000	9%
2000	544,138,350	15%
2001	704,04,500	20%
2002	774,090,000	22%
2003	946,469,700	26%

Source: GHCT Office (2006).

Following the creation of KNP the elephant population increased and caused problems for local farmers. Elephants raided crop fields, especially between May and June, when maize is starting to mature (Barnes et al., 2003). Approximately, 80 to 90 percent of crop raiding around the KNP is attributed to elephants (Lamarque et al., 2009). In 2003, FAO drew over 50 farmers from 10 communities around the KNP and trained them in anti-crop raiding deterrent techniques (Ibid.). The introduced techniques were spread through farmer-to-farmer training and word of mouth; the pilot project resulted in over 70 percent reduction in crop losses around KNP (Ibid.). The next section seeks to bring out the voices of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on the costs and benefits of ecotourism based on BFMS and KNP.

6.2 Comparative Study at the Selected Eco-destinations

The comparative study brings to the fore the rural development and biodiversity conservation impacts of ecotourism based on KNP and BFMS. To prevent repetitions, the section presents mostly the bare results of the study. This allows Section (6.3) to provide further illuminations to ground the key findings. Out of the 200 respondents involved in the comparative study, the number of settlers in Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema are 31 percent and 12 percent respectively. Households at Abrafo comprise 1 to 19 members, whilst the members of the households at Boabeng-Fiema range from 6 to 12. The percentage of males to females at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema involved in the study was 58 percent to 42 percent and 52 percent to 48 percent respectively (see Table 6.7). The main source of drinking water at Abrafo is from boreholes. There are 6 boreholes at Boabeng-Fiema for drinking water. Moreover, the people of Boabeng-Fiema have two springs—*Bentensua* and *Daworo*, which also serve as drinking water sources. Abrafo is on the main road to Cape Coast- the regional capital (see Plate 6.5).



Plate 6.5 A Snapshot of Abrafo with an Arrow showing the main road to Cape Coast and KNP. Credit: Ghana Net.

Table 6.7 Community Characteristics of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

Characteristic	Percent Responses		Comments
	Abrafo (n=100)	Boabeng and Fiema (n=100)	
Household Interval	no: 1-12	no: 6-17	* In this thesis household applies to the number of people who live in a particular house in Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema (excluding those who have migrated.)
Ethnicity			
Akan	79 %	83 %	
Other	21 %	17 %	
Gender			
Male	58 %	52 %	
Female	52 %	48 %	
Age			
15-25	38 %	31 %	
26- 36	20%	14 %	
37-47	13%	29 %	
48-58	21%	17 %	
>58	8 %	9 %	
Religion			*Junior High School, Senior High School and Middle School certificate holders
Christian	74 %	80%	
Traditionalist Islam and Other	9 % 17%	7% 13 %	
Education			The higher settlers number at Abrafo is agriculture-driven
*JHS/SHS/Middle	70%	83%	
None Tertiary	19% 11 %	8 % 9%	
Settlers	31 %	12%	
Occupation			Proportions out of the 200 respondents sampled for the comparative study at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema
Farmers	73%	81%	
Students	9%	7%	
Business/Traders	7%	5%	
Teachers	8%	5%	
Unemployed	3%	2%	

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Currently, there are no dogs at Boabeng-Fiema because of their hostilities to the monkeys. Their housing types also show differences, with Boabeng distinctively having large numbers of brick houses in comparison to the blockhouses at Abrafo. Fiema also has more blockhouses than Boabeng and this is due to some of their residents who have been involved largely in cocoa cultivation in the last century. This afforded them the capital for such construction and also put relatively more of their wards in school. However, the corrugated iron roofing sheets at Boabeng-Fiema are earth-brown due to rusting. Some of the brickhouses have also collapsed through age. The fieldwork revealed that out of the 200 respondents, 8.5 percent own a tape player, 2 percent own a fridge and 3.5 percent a television. Mobile phones are not uncommon in the communities, however at Boabeng reception can only be obtained at some specific locations. At Boabeng-Fiema there is a Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit (a toilet facility), an Information and Communication Technology (ICT) building and a clinic under construction. The ICT building, which is purposefully situated near the guesthouse, is to aid research on BFMS and also offer computer training to the people of Boabeng-Fiema. The University of Maryland is involved with the Abrafo community; occasionally it makes donations and offers scholarships to bright but needy students. Both Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema have electricity; however the electric wires at the latter are insulated to prevent them electrocuting the monkeys.

People at Boabeng-Fiema pay GH¢10,000 per month, whilst members of the nearby communities could pay up to GH¢50,000 per month for electricity used. Furthermore, at Boabeng-Fiema, 35 percent of the respondents showed that they pay less money on developmental projects because of BFMS. Currently, the impacts of ecotourism on local communities are cited to include reduced farming lands, reduced nutritional

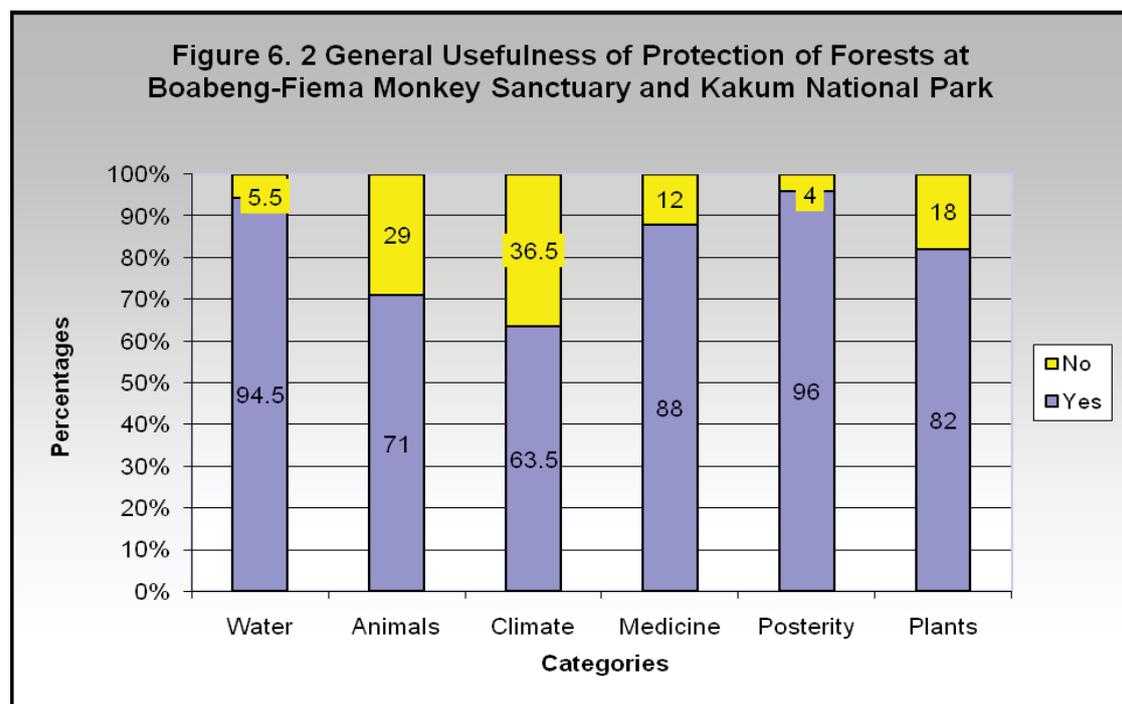
sources, and reduced job opportunities, limited primary health care and socio-cultural impacts (Wallace and Pierce, 1999 and Honey, 2008). These issues are delved into by the rural development study facet of the comparative study (see Section 6.2.2).

6.3 The Rural Development Study at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

The rural development study comprises of an economic and socio-cultural survey. This section compares the voices of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on the impacts of the development facet of ecotourism based on BFMS and KNP.

6.3.1 Conservation Impacts on Farming at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

Out of the 200 respondents who were asked to voice ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to some general benefits that communities derive from protection of forests, 96 percent responded that preserving forest is for posterity, followed by water preservation, herbal medicine, plants in general, animals and climate respectively (see Figure 6.2).



Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

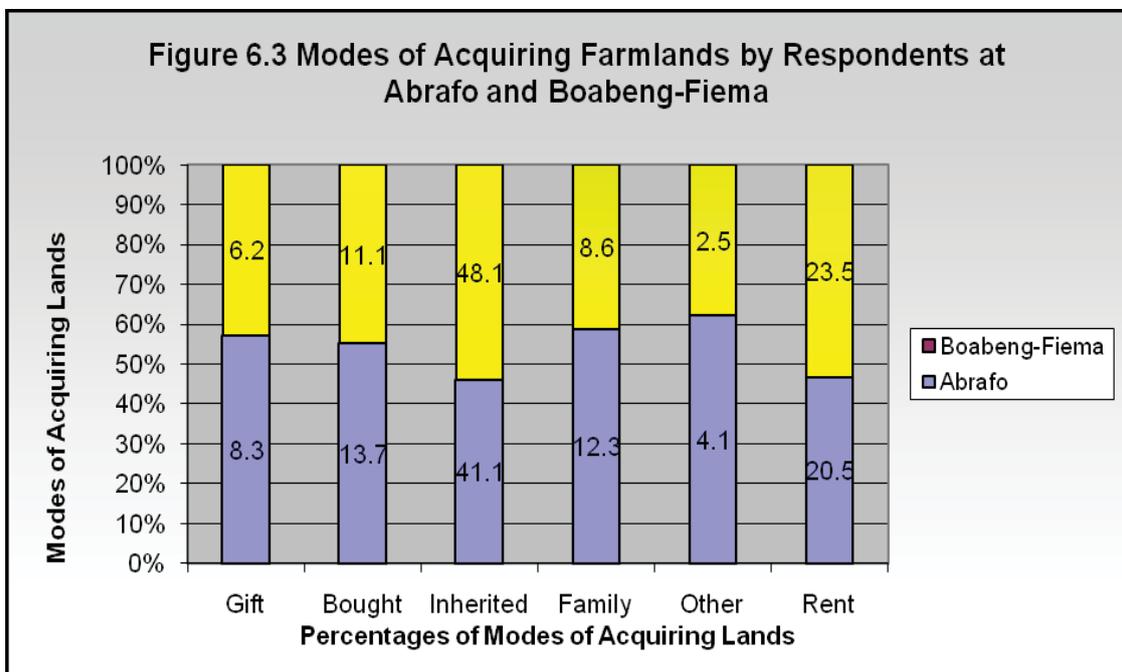
Amankwaa of Abrafo voiced, “the forest helps in bringing rainfall, which feeds our farms”. Currently, agriculture provides 50 percent of the employment in Ghana (GOG, 2005). Consequently, rural residents are hit hardest on introduction of any alternative economic activity since land is a production factor. Out of the 200 respondents, 77 percent are farmers, with 36.5 percent at Abrafo and 40.5 percent at Boabeng-Fiema. Farmers at both Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema cultivate vegetables, cereals and tubers; however farmers at Abrafo are more into cash crops such as cocoa. GOG has encouraged expansion of cocoa cultivation by arranging for land purchase or lease, subsidizing the costs of pesticides, and offering price support to maintain incomes. Therefore at Abrafo GOG assisted development of cocoa plantations around the KCA for export. This resulted in migration into the area, by people keen to take advantage of this agricultural opportunity. Currently, the same yield of crops accords a comparatively higher price at Abrafo than Boabeng-Fiema (see Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Farming activities by Respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

A. Farming activities by Respondents at Abrafo			
Crop Type	Average (Acreage)	Average Yield	Average Sale Price (GH¢)
Cocoa	5	45 sacks	590,000 per sack
Oil Palm	1 ^{1/2}	30 tonnes	500,000 per tonne
Yam	1	200 tubers	10,000 per tuber
Plantain	1/2	200 suckers	35, 000 per sucker
Cassava	1	200 bags	100,000 per sack
B. Farming activities by Respondents at Boabeng-Fiema			
Crop Type	Average (Acreage)	Average Yield	Average Sale Price (GH¢)
Beans	1 ^{1/2}	2 sacks	350,000 per sack
Yam	1	500 tubers	5,000 per tuber
Cassava	1	28 bag	80, 000 per bag
Groundnut	1/2	2 sacks	200,000 per sack
Tobacco	1	2 sacks	110, per sack
Maize	1	4 sacks	170,000 per sack
Pepper	1/4	1 sack	150, 000 per sack

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Southern Ghana traders are noted to travel usually to the central and northern parts of the country carrying with them especially fish to sell and purchasing foodstuffs in return. However there are challenges, e.g. Kwabena of Fiema stressed, “they come with big sacks, than the usual sacks we used for measuring, but because buyers are few we sell to them anyway”. On finding out about creation of the PAs on farming distance, out of the 36.5 percent at Abrafo 69.5 percent stressed that farm distance has increased, whilst 75.5 percent of the 40.5 percent farmers at Boabeng-Fiema voiced they move over a 1km away from BFMS to farm. Asamoah of Fiema voiced, “the problem is land which have been used for farming are now being used for monkeys, so we depend on land which give little yield”. Furthermore, of the 77 percent farmers, the mode of acquiring land showed that inherited lands were the highest with 41.1 percent and 48.1 percent at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema respectively (see Figure 6.3).



Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Farmers were asked whether they have changed the type of crops they grow in the past 5 years. At Abrafo 28.9 percent of the 73 percent farmers voiced in the

affirmative. Out of the 28.9 percent, 57.1 percent cited market forces as the cause of the change, whilst 23.8 percent cited land-related issues as the cause with 19.1 percent unclear on exactly what has caused the change. At Boabeng-Fiema, 43.2 percent out of the 81 farmers voiced that they have changed the type of crops they grow in the last 5 years. Also, the respondents were asked what factors affect the sizes of their farms. Out of the 189 responses from farmers at Abrafo, the factors that determined the sizes of their farms are shown with their percentages: funds constraints (46.6 percent), land availability (33.3 percent), market (9.5 percent), season (4.8 percent) and other (8 percent). Out of the 143 responses from Boabeng-Fiema, lack of credit facilities, lack of market for produce, land tenure and farm distance accounted for 62.2 percent, 20.2 percent, 16.2 percent and 2.4 percent respectively. This lack of market for produce is encouraging some of the farmers at Boabeng-Fiema to cultivate tobacco due to the British-American Tobacco Company-Ghana providing a ready market for the goods. However, not all of the respondents have taken to tobacco cultivation, for instance Aku of Boabeng voiced, “I hate cigarette, I will not grow tobacco”. The next section now links how the eco-sites impact on the nutrition of the respondents.

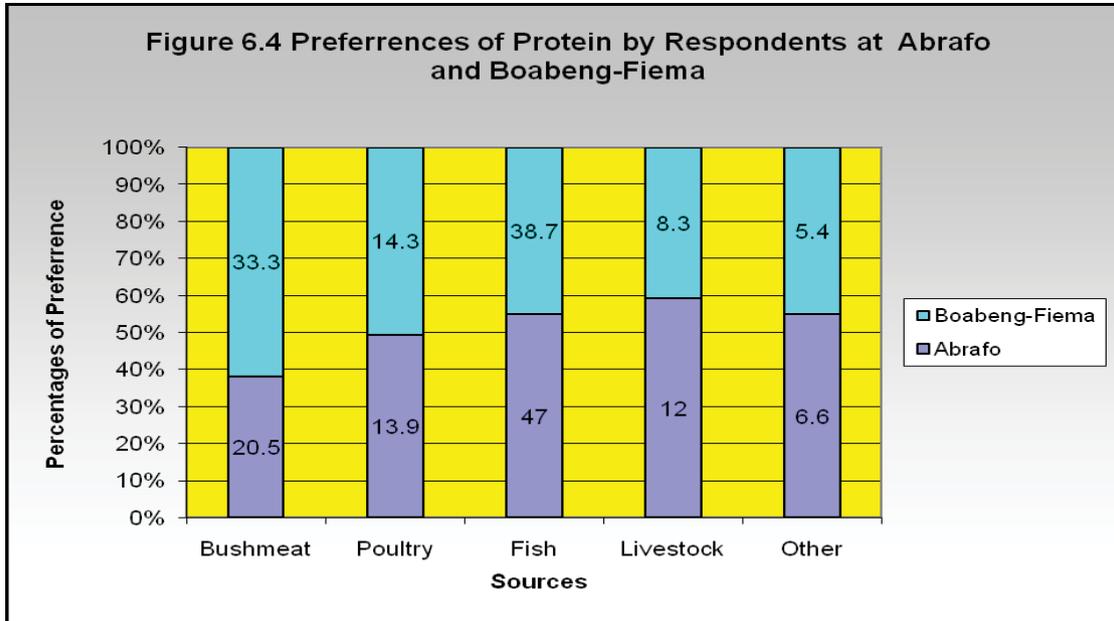
6.3.2 Changes in Animal Nutrition Requirement Sources

Still, at KNP there is a total ban on entry into the forest or retrieval of NTFPs, whilst at BFMS entry is allowed but there is a ban on hunting ban and on the harvesting and collection of flora and fauna (NTFPs) within the Sanctuary. Consequently, the impacts of the restrictions on access to the KNP by Abrafo residents are not overly different from the restrictions on residents at Boabeng-Fiema. Out of the 200 respondents 78.5 percent responded that they have depended on the forest in KNP and BFMS. At Abrafo 69 percent responded that they have depended on the forest in the

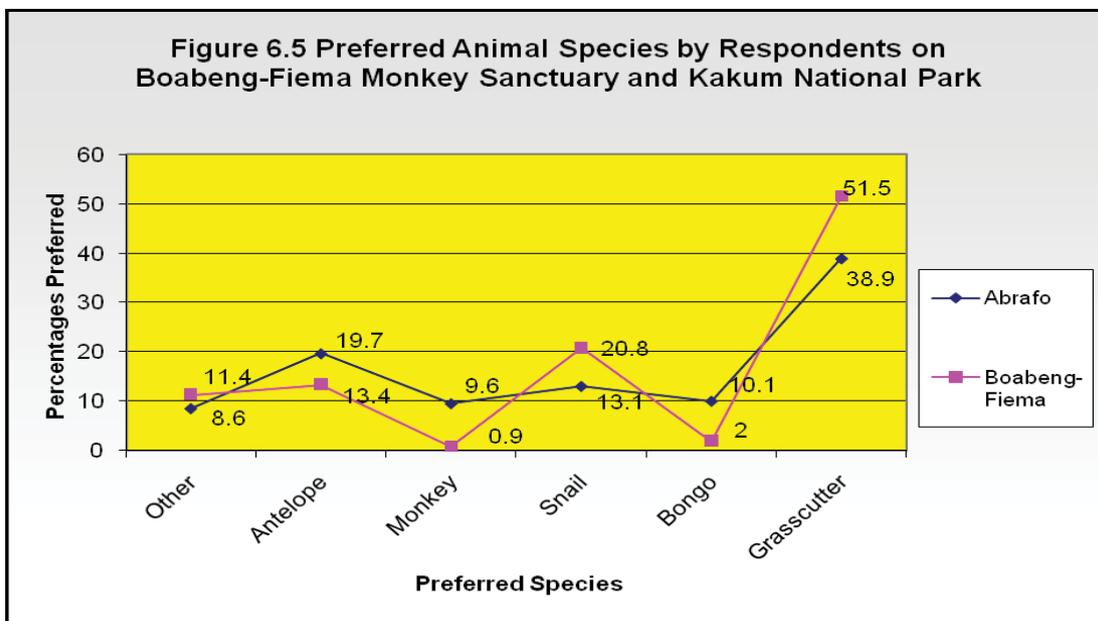
past, whilst 88 percent also responded in the affirmative at Boabeng-Fiema. Before the creation of the PAs youths especially, derived a livelihood from the forests by collecting and selling NTFPs such as snails, raphia (palm) leaves for roofing, pestles and mortars for preparing *fufu* (a staple food in Ghana), chewing sticks (*twapia*) for cleaning teeth, canes for baskets among others, whilst hunting added to income of households (KCA, 1997; Bailey, 1999; Baidu and Ntiamoa, 2002; Lamarque et al, 2009 and Addo-Boadu, 2010). This previous dependence on the forest resurfaced when out of the 200 respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema 83.5 percent responded that should they wake up in the morning to see a grasscutter in their compounds they will kill it for food, thus showing that any edible fauna that veer off to homes or farms is in danger (probably with the exception of the monkeys at BFMS). The respondents were asked to state their current sources of protein. Out of the 183 responses from Abrafo bushmeat accounted for 22.4 percent, poultry 7.7 percent, fish 48.3 percent, livestock 12.0 percent and other 9.2 percent. At Boabeng-Fiema respondents registered 140 responses with bushmeat accounting for 50.7 percent, poultry 8.6 percent, fish 30.0 percents and livestock 10.7 percents. In addition, differences in protein sources preferences surfaced. Out of the 166 responses from Abrafo 47.0 percent voiced fish, whilst 20.5 percent voiced bushmeat. The same question to respondents at Boabeng-Fiema had 168 responses of which 38.7 percent stated fish and 33.3 percent bushmeat (see Figure 6.4).

Out of the 200 respondents, 71 percent showed that they have entered the forest before the restriction on access. Out of the total 198 responses and 202 responses to the question what animals they would have collected and hunted had it not being for the restrictions at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema respectively (see Figure 6.5), the

preference for grasscutter was highest. Indeed, grasscutter is a widespread protein source in Ghana (Dei Pers. Comm., 2006 and Nsiah Pers. Comm., 2007).



Sources: Fieldwork (2006-2007).



However it is worthwhile stating that it is not only forest-fringed communities who are undergoing shifts in protein sources and habits, since it is more widespread social

and economic changes in Africa that are partly to blame for this (Bailey, 1999). In addition, on the question of what types of bushmeat do they normally consume? The responses showed that altogether 56 percent preferred grasscutter. Earlier, Baidu-Ntiamoa (2002) indicated that grasscutter is a major bushmeat in Ghana. Respondents stressed that their fish intake had increased on the creation of BFMS and KNP, with the concomitant increase in the prices for bushmeats (see Tables 6.9 and 6.10).

Table 6.9 Changes in the Prices of Some Bushmeat by Respondents at Abrafo

Resource	Average Old Price	Average New Price	Percentage Change (Positive)	Causes of price Changes
Antelope	65,000	125,000	92.3%	Scarcity Higher Demand
Rat (okusi)	10,000	25,000	150%	Scarcity Higher Demand
Monkey	27,000	68,000	151.8%	Scarcity Higher Demand
Apesea (<i>Atherurus africanus</i>)	55, 000	110,000	100%	Scarcity Higher Demand
Grasscutter	55,000	115,000	109.1%	Scarcity

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

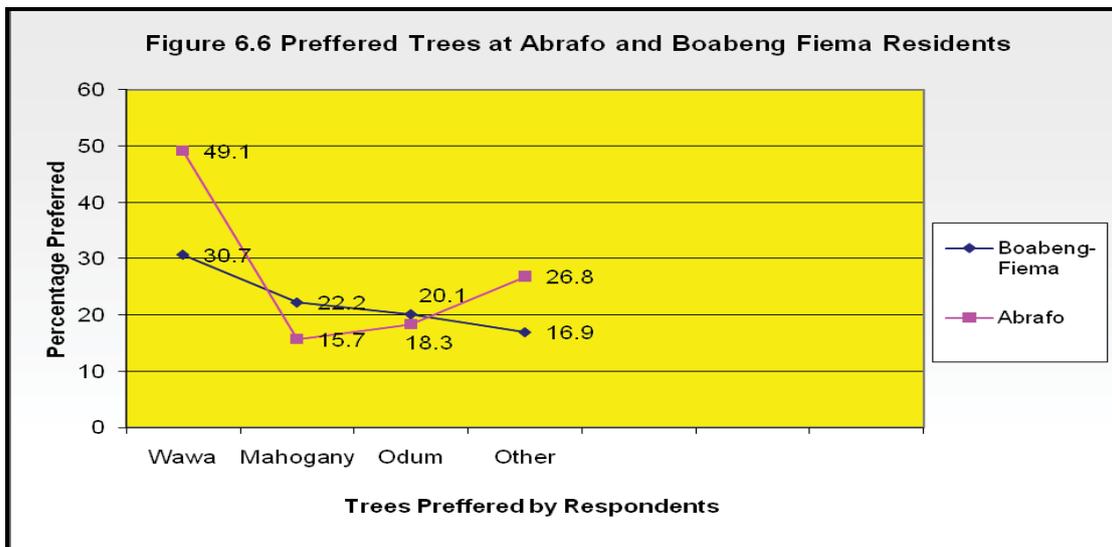
Table 6.10 Changes in Prices in Bushmeat by respondents at Boabeng-Fiema

Resource	Average Old Price	Average New Price	Percentage Change (Positive)	Causes of price Changes
Antelope	45, 000	75,000	66.7%	Higher Demand
Bush Rat	5,000	25,000	400%	Higher Demand
Snail	1,000	4,000	300%	Scarcity
Grasscutter	35,000	55,000	36.4%	Scarcity
Rat	4,500	18,000	150%	Higher Demand

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

On the inception of ecotourism at KNP grasscutter rearing was initiated but this gradually failed over time. This has been attributed to lack of enthusiasm and incentives to involve a lot of community members (Bailey, 1999). Currently, at

BFMS grasscutter rearing is being introduced, but the problem with grasscutter rearing is that the local communities still see ‘bush’ grasscutters as being tastier than the reared ones. The CREMA program in Ghana seeks to address this problem, however it has yet to be initiated around KNP and BFMS. Additionally, respondents were asked if they kept livestock. Out of the 100 respondents at Abrafo 28 people responded in the affirmative with 76 percent voicing that they kept poultry, whilst sheep, goats and other registered 38.1 percent, 17.1 percent, 11.8 percent, and 33.0 percent respectively. At Boabeng-Fiema out of the 26 of the 100 respondents who kept livestock, 41.6 percent responded that they kept poultry, 23.1 percent sheep, 15.4 percent duck and 19.9 percent other. No goats are reared at BFMS because of the monkeys, thus depriving the subalterns of another source of protein and income. Also, since the colonial period, timber has also been a contested natural resource. As a consequence, the respondents were asked which of the main timber trees, namely wawa (*Triplochiton scleroxylon*), mahogany (*Khaya senegalese*), odum (*Milicia excelsa*) and others (such as sapele, *Entandrophragma cylindricum*), they would have felled and sold in the absence of bans on the two eco-sites (see Figure 6.6).



Sources: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Out of the total 339 and 371 responses from Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema to this question, wawa registered the highest preference with 30.7 and 49.1 percent respectively. This timber is highly sought after for its use in house building. These results could somewhat exonerate the creation of the PAs, since without protection, timber resources would be exploited by local people. The next section looks at which species of fauna and flora in the PAs the subalterns think are attractive to visitors. Consequently, the next section explores the preferences of the respondents to the employment opportunities that ecotourism can offer.

6.3.3 Ecotourism and Employment Issues at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

On jobs preferred by respondents, out of the 34 people at Abrafo who would like to work in tourism related jobs, 29.9 percent and 7.9 percent preferred forest guard and driver respectively (see Table 6.11). At Boabeng-Fiema, out of the 31 respondents who want to work in ecotourism, 31.1 percent and 3.5 percent preferred tour guide and driver respectively. The male to female jobs' preference at Abrafo was 2 to 1 for most of the jobs, except for a cleaner and interpreter where the ratio was 1 to 2.

Table 6.11 Preferred Jobs at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Residents

Category of Jobs	Abrafo Percent (%)	Boabeng-Fiema Percent (%)
Tour Guide	22.9%	31.1%
Cleaner	10.9%	14.0%
Fee Collector	3.7%	2.2%
Interpreter	6.2%	7.0%
Forest Guard	11.1%	13.5%
None	37.3%	28.7%
Driver	7.9%	3.5%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

At Boabeng-Fiema, the ratios for most of the employments were also 2 to 1, except for driver and tour guide where all of the respondents were males. Some respondents do not seek employment in ecotourism, for instance Amankwaa of Abrafo voiced, “I am quite comfortable with my job as a teacher”.

6.3.4 Primary Health Care at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

Forest-fringed villages see forest among its other uses as a pharmacy. Consequently, the study compared the voices of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on the ethnobotanical value of the forests. Currently, there is a total ban on forest resources at KNP; however there is somewhat relaxed access in terms of retrieving for example a couple of herbs and barks at BFMS (Fargey, 1991 and KCA, 1997). This has led to respondents bearing extra cost in what they have collected free from the forests for primary health care. Thus, the respondents were asked to name some flora species in the PAs they know that have medicinal value. Out of the 100 respondents at Abrafo, which generated 296 responses 22.6 percent voiced cocoa leaves (*Theobroma cacao*), 10.8 percent voiced mahogany (*Khaya senegalese*), 8.1 percent voiced bamboo (*Bambusa vulgaris*), whilst *mmbofrabodea* (local name), *nyamedua* (*Alstonia boonei*) and other accounted for 6.8, 3.4, 48.3 percents respectively.

Out of the 100 respondents at Boabeng-Fiema, which generated a total of 314 responses to the same question, 29.3 percent voiced *nyamedua* (*Alstonia boonei*), 25.2 percent mahogany (*Khaya senegalese*), 9.2 percent odum (*Milicia excelsa*), 3.2 percent *tuanteni* (local name) with other, registering 33.1 percent. In practice, most of these plant species are prepared with other flora (and fauna) in curing diseases (see Tables 6.12 and 6.13).

Table 6.12 Medicinal Plants Used by residents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

Plant type (Local and Latin name)	Mode of Herbal Treatment	
	Part Used	Comments
Odum (<i>Milicia excelsa</i>)	Bark	Malaria
Cocoa (<i>Theobroma cacao</i>)	Leaves	Malaria
Mmobofrabrodee	Seeds, leaves	Blood tonic
Akyeampong (<i>Chromolena odorata</i>)	Leaves	Jaundice
Ajama (<i>Musanga cecropioides</i>)	Leaves	Blood Tonic
Tuanteni (local name)	Bark	Boils
Wawa (<i>Triplochiton scleroxylon</i>)	Bark	Malaria
Bamboo (<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>)	Leaves	Jaundice
Amajuri (local name)	Fresh	Blood tonic
Shea butter (<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>)	Nut	Boils
Lime (<i>Citrus spp</i>)	Fruits	Boils
Lemon (<i>Citrus spp</i>)	Fruits and leaves	Malaria
Mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i>)	Bark	Jaundice
Coconut (<i>Cocos nucifera</i>)	Bark	Jaundice
Nyamedua (<i>Alstonia boonei</i>)	Bark	Malaria
Mahogany (<i>Khaya senegalese</i>)	Bark	Blood tonic

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Table 6.13 Treatment of some ailments at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema

Sickness/ Boosters	Mode of Herbal Treatment	
	Abrafo	Boabeng-Fiema
Malaria	Decoction from dry cocoa, nyaya leaves and leaves of Ajama	Decoction from bark of nyamedua (<i>Alstonia boonei</i>) plus lemon juices and it leaves
Boils	Confre leaves plus Shea butter (<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>) and placed on boil	Make a paste of Fam Wisa (<i>Aframomum spp</i>) and tuanteni and place on boil
Jaundice	Decoction from bark of mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i>), bamboo (<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>) leaves and bark of coconut (<i>cocos nucifera</i>)	Decoction from Akyeampong leaves (<i>Chromolena odorata</i>), plus bamboo leaves
Jaundice	Decoction from bark of mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i>), bamboo (<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>) leaves and bark of coconut (<i>cocos nucifera</i>)	Decoction from Akyeampong leaves (<i>Chromolena odorata</i>), plus bamboo leaves
Blood Tonic	Boil Amajuri leaves plus glass of milk	Nkontomire (cocoyam leaves) in palm soup (<i>Elaeis guineensis</i>)

Sources: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

It is however worth noticing that local communities rely on the forest and nearby bushes, and grasslands among others as sources of herbal medicines (Amanor, 2003; Cline-Cole and O’Keefe, 2006; Saj and Sicotte, 2006; Marfo, 2009). Consequently, at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, respondents were asked to state their current sources of herbal medicine. Out of the 135 responses from the 100 respondents at Abrafo, 27.4 percent voiced that they obtain their herbal medicines from the market compared with 5.8 percent out of the 139 responses from the 100 respondents from Boabeng-Fiema who said that they used the market (see Table 6.14).

Currently, at Boabeng-Fiema there is no clinic in operation hence the 60.3 percent reliance on herbal medicine. Abrafo is near Cape Coast and could access regional hospitals. Health advancement results to a large extent from the creation and continued increase in coverage under the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), reaching 12 million people by October 2008 (WTO, 2004). However, still the majority of the populace cannot afford to join the scheme along with backing out after sometime on joining the scheme. Thus, reliance on ethnobotany is still very common. Currently, there are four main practitioners connected with ethnobotanical practice in Ghana namely, herbalists, traditional birth midwives, spiritualists or diviners and faith healers. These faith healers are associated with churches such as the Saviour Church at BFMS; these churches combine aspects of herbal medicine with reliance on the Holy Spirit. Indeed, “far from being nurtured by colonial governments, indigenous medicine was seen both as primitive and dangerous” (Stock 2004, p.13). Ghana perpetuates this mistake by privileging biomedicine over ethnomedicine in terms of institutional attention, though the latter provides the bulk of the country’s health care.

Table 6.14 Sources of Herbal Medicine by Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Residents

Current Sources of Herbal Medicine in the local communities	Abrafo Percent (%)	Boabeng-Fiema Percent (%)
Market	27.4%	5.8%
Doctor	13.7%	11.1%
Home	37.8%	60.3%
Friends/ Neighbours	16.3%	20.1%
Other	7.4%	10.1%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

What has also become interesting is that the respondents are now seeing more visitors to their communities than in the 1990s, thus they were asked what cultural resources do they think is attracting visitors to their communities and the eco-destinations. Overall, the rural development study showed that there were notable impacts on the researched as a result of BFMS and KNP demarcations, including reduced income, reduced job opportunities, increased cash needs for buying some items, lack of participation, reduced access to herbal medicines and reduced protein sources. The next section focuses on impact of biodiversity conservation at the local communities.

6.4 The Conservation Study at the two Eco-destinations

This section compares the voices of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema of BFMS and KNP respectively on issues such as Wildlife Division's contribution to biodiversity conservation, community voices in BFMS and KNP management.

6.4.1 Fauna and Flora attracting Tourists to the Eco-destinations

The thesis explored which species of fauna at the eco-destinations were most important in attracting visitors. At BFMS, out of the 100 respondents, 97.0 percent responded that monkeys attracted tourists, 2.0 percent stated birds and 1 percent stated

other (e.g. butterflies). In Abrafo, the respondents indicated that tourists come to the KNP because of elephants, which accounted for 65.0 percent of responses, with birds (29.0 percent), butterflies (4.0 percent) and other species (2.0 percent) less important. However, a question about the most attractive trees for tourists—showed that to most of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, animal species are the *sine qua non* for ecotourism (Fennell, 2008 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). For example, Akowuah (Pers. Comm., 2006) buttressed “my husband was corresponding with White people about monkeys in Boabeng and when they realised that they could come to homes, and we do not harm them, they got surprised and started visiting”. Furthermore, at Abrafo 71.0 percent of the respondents made no response to this question, and of the 29 who did respond 38.0 percent mentioned mahogany, 27.5 percent mentioned odum, with other tree species (e.g. sapele) accounting for 34.5 percent. Out of the 37 respondents to the same question at Boabeng-Fiema, 38.5 percent cited the *Ficus spp* but 61.5 percent said they had no idea. When asked how the respondents felt tourists contributed to the well being of the eco-destinations, 53.0 percent and 45.0 percent of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, respectively, responded that tourists had a negative impact, whilst their contributions to the PAs were confirmed with 47.0 percent and 55.0 percent respectively. Asamoah of Boabeng responded:

“Visitors pay some amount before they visit the forest. Sometimes they buy some stuff from the village such as drinks. I am told some of the money they collect from visitors are used to pay the Wildlife people, to protect the monkeys. The Wildlife people watch over the forest and the monkeys daily”.
(Asamoah Pers. Comm., 2006).

The respondents were thus asked about their feelings towards visitors to the eco-sites. At Abrafo out of the 100 respondents 78.5 percent voiced they are happy to see tourists, 12.0 percent voiced they are very happy, 5.5 percent responded to indifference and 2.0 percent made no response. At Boabeng-Fiema, out of the 100

respondents 89.5 percent responded that they are happy to see tourists, whilst 4.5 percent responded very happy, 4.0 percent responded to indifference and 2 percent made no response. Akua of Boabeng voiced, “some of the visitors purchase from our kiosks and buy produce from around the villages”.

The 100 respondents each at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on being asked whether tourists participate in cultural activities in their communities, 31 percent at Abrafo voiced that tourists participate in cultural activities in their community, whilst 69 percent responded in the negative. The voices at Boabeng-Fiema showed that 18 percent of tourists participate in their cultural activities, whilst 82 percent responded in the negative. When asked what cultural activity do tourists participate in at Abrafo, 89 percent voiced Fetu festival (a festival celebrated by the people of Cape Coast in Ghana, from the last week of July to the first Saturday of September). However, the question was specifically about if there are any festivals celebrated at Abrafo that tourists participate in and not about Cape Coast *per se*. One explanation for the higher percentage for the Fetu Festival by the respondents at Abrafo may be due to the relative proximity of their village to Cape Coast, and the relative higher presence of foreign tourists during this festival. Currently, tourist participation at Boabeng-Fiema is related to researchers from Calgary University in Canada who are involved in anthropological and ecological research on BFMS. However, a personal observation at the festival of *Abujo* the patron god of the black and white Colobus on the 11th of October 2006, was that about 99 percent of the people were Fiema residents, whilst the remaining 1 percent were from Boabeng and probably the other neighbouring villages. There were no foreigners under durbar. However, Nana Tabiri the chief of Boabeng (Pers. Comm., 2006) stressed that “the monkey festival is going to be

packaged to attract more visitors”. This led on to asking respondents to voice their feelings on tourists entering their communities and the PAs. At Abrafo 87 percent of the 100 respondents voiced they are happy to see tourists, 3 percent responded very happy and 10 percent were indifferent. At Boabeng-Fiema 95 percent responded they were happy, with 3 percent very happy and 2 percent indifferent. The next section focuses on contribution of Wildlife Division to BFMS and KNP.

6.4.2 Wildlife Division and Local Communities in Biodiversity Conservation

The brunt borne by communities through conservation is a terrain of discursive and material contestation since community members see the current eco-destinations in Ghana as a form of external suppression, a scenario where the Wildlife Division is imagined as having the cake and the communities seeing themselves as being denied of their fair share. This case of local people seeing ecotourism as benefiting GOG is incongruous to sustainability of eco-destinations in Ghana. Currently, both the SLEs and the CBEs across the country are besieged with this problem. For instance, Felicia of Abrafo voiced, “the money from the forest goes to the Wildlife Division and the office in Cape Coast, these people do not care, in fact even needy students in the surrounding villages are ignored, this forest is God’s gift to us to make use of towards our survival”. Lacher and Nepal (2010) have stated that economic benefits to communities influence their enthusiasm for biodiversity conservation.

At Abrafo, 71 percent responded yes to the question whether it is necessary to protect the forest, which corresponds with 97 percent responding positively at Boabeng-Fiema. Respondents thus were asked to describe how the Wildlife Division has contributed to the PAs. For instance at BFMS, the Wildlife Division has contributed

to providing sufficient protection to the monkeys from human-induced mortality (see Box 6.1). At Abrafo 98 percent out of the 100 respondents indicated that the Wildlife Division is the sole actor protecting KNP, however to an earlier question asked about who should be responsible for the park, 67 percent responded that GOG and community should be responsible, with community and NGO showing 29.0 and 4.0 percents respectively. At Boabeng-Fiema 91 percent responded that both the Wildlife Division and the community are responsible for the BFMS's management.

Box 6.1 Wildlife Division's Contribution to KNP and BFMS

“They serve as security guards to the forest and have deterred people from entering the forest to cut tree or hunt animals” (Nana Amoateng, Abrafo).

“They have helped in law enforcement and that has helped to prevent people from cutting trees from the forest”(Ampofo, Abrafo).

“They guard the forest day in and day out. People are very clever you know, they can go in the night and harvest some trees. The Wildlife Division people know some of these plans’ and they foil them” (Amankwaa, Abrafo).

“They help preserve the forest to attract tourists. They walk in the forest and work with the bushfire prevention people to make sure that the forest stay for the animals” (Achia, Abrafo).

“They guard the forest, especially the monkeys in the forest. Their presence, undoubtedly contributes to the maintenance of the forest. I bet, the trees in the forest will be felled and the monkeys will be killed” (Akowuah, Boabeng).

“The Wildlife Division oversees the construction of nature trails in the sanctuary. They collaborate with the NADMO (National Disaster Management Organisation) to prevent bushfires in the forests” (Amoawea, Boabeng).

“It has helped to protect the monkeys, the forest and avoidance of bushfires. Now the monkeys are many than before and people are coming over to see our community because of the monkeys which are well cared for” (Afia, Fiema).

“Assist in fire prevention and planting of more trees to enrich the forest. The Wildlife Division though sometimes do not act on the things we tell them; they have been instrumental in maintaining the forest to its current good state. Because they are there you are mindful of collecting herbs or even snail” (Owusua, Fiema).

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

In response to the question ‘who should be responsible for managing BFMS’, 83 percent responded that GOG and the community, whilst 15 percent advocated for community and 2 percent for NGOs. The respondents therefore were asked to state how they participate in decisions on the eco-destinations (see Box 6.2).

Box 6.2 How Respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema Voice their Concerns and Participations on issues concerning KNP and BFMS respectively

“It does not happen often, but if I see anybody in the forest cutting a tree for firewood or maltreating a monkey, I inform the fetish priest who is the custodian of the monkeys and forest” (Baffoe, Community Elder, Boabeng-Fiema).

“I call meeting with the chief and elders and discuss how we can protect the forest and monkeys. Traditionally, I am in charge of animal and meet with chiefs and elders on issues affecting the forest”. (Nana Ampong, Fetish Priest, Boabeng).

“Report anybody who cut a tree or hunt animal in the forest to the game master. I only report issues which is not in favour of the forest to those who manage the forest, because I am a native here” (Kwarteng, Fiema).

“Report to the chief about the maltreatment of any monkey. Sometimes when I see the children throwing stones or trying to hit them with sticks. I tell them to stop and when they don’t when I see their parents I tell them about their ward’s misdemeanour” (Serwaa, Fiema).

“Sometimes I express my concerns, by calling my elders and the other chiefs in the nearby villages to discuss how the Wildlife Division is cheating us” (Nana Amoateng, Abrafo).

“Always complain to the chief about how the Wildlife Division people are cheating us, now we are forming KCA forest management unit to fight for and lobby for our share in the forest resources” (Amankwaa, Abrafo).

“Sometimes there is a durbar here at Boabeng. Sometimes it is the community elders who have something to tell us, these durbars though irregular is a useful platform for us to say what we think must be done on the forest to help us. I usually meet the elders and say what I feel if there are issues I need to say. The chief warden is my usual target in matters like this” (Bufuwa, Boabeng)

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Consequently, respondents were asked to list four changes they would bring to the management of BFMS and KNP in order to ensure equitable benefits to community and conservation. They were quick to mention what they will bring on board. For instance, Baffoe of Boabeng responded, “some of the trees have matured enough; they must be felled and sold to develop the community” (Per. Comm., 2006). Kwarteng (Pers. Comm., 2006) of Fiema also added, “the Wildlife People will not allow us to clear a portion of the forest to build houses. They say that the forest demarcation demands that our village continue to be contained in this small size. Can we develop within this small size?” Nana Amoateng of Abrafo stated, “the forest does not help me or the community, this is a very crippling concern for us”. However on the question of how they would ensure their stated changes, 17 percent and 12 percent of the respondents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema respectively, responded they have no idea how to ensure their proposed changes (see Table 6.15).

Table 6.15 Changes by Respondents to the Management of the two Eco-sites

At Abrafo	At Boabeng-Fiema
Allow some of the forest to be cut for community development	Cut and sell some of the trees in the forest to take care of the needy in the community
Establishment of fire volunteers in the community	Increase the entrance fees for foreigners
Access for seasonal harvesting of fauna and flora in the forest	Bringing visitors to the houses and tell them history on the monkeys
Increase the entrance fees for foreign tourists	Build more guesthouses
Employ more of the community members	Allow to clear portion of the forest to make way for houses
Motivate workers through sensitisation and teamwork	Regular consultation with communities

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

This demanded inferring from responses of the respondents on what changes they want to see in management. To great extent, their responses were ‘evolutionary’

rather than 'revolutionary' because the underpinnings to their proposed changes are inclusive of consumptive and non-consumptive approaches. Put differently, the respondents have shown a dependence on the forests, but their inclusion in the management of BFMS and KNP, without building their capacities, could lead to the tragedy of the commons. Fargey (1991) aware of lack of alternative economic activities at BFMS stressed that given the chances; the villagers will farm portions of the forest of BFMS. In addition, out of the 200 respondents there are overt voices that fauna species are increasing, thus it became necessary to find out how the increase in the fauna is having an effect on their farming activities and crop production.

6.4.3 Increase of Fauna and Crop and Foodstuff Raiding

At Abrafo out of 107 responses, 42.1 percent responded that grasscutters had increased, followed by elephants (30.8 percent), whilst 27.1 percent reported an increase in other fauna (antelope, duikers and bongos). At Boabeng-Fiema, out of the 132 responses 68.9 percent said that monkeys had increased since the hunting ban, whilst 9.1 percent indicated that grasscutter numbers had increased and 22.0 percent indicated other species had increased, including bush rat and antelope. The increases in fauna were linked to an increase in damage to farm produce. At BFMS, however, the Mona monkeys not only raid farms but also foodstuffs in homes and thus the residents directly compete with the Mona monkeys for food. The houses nearest the forest are the most affected by the Mona monkeys, thus farmers who cultivate beans, maize or other crops and dry their produce at home face the problem of raiding. Raiding is one of the reasons why backyard gardens are rare in Boabeng-Fiema. When asked how they protect their farms from animal pests, the 73 farmer respondents at Abrafo responded that they used traps (28.8 percent), pesticides (16.4

percent), and scarecrows (11.0 percent), whilst the largest number (56.2 percent) responded that they were unable to bear the extra costs of animal control measures. Out of the 81 farmers at Boabeng-Fiema, 48.1 percent used traps and 12.3 percent used scarecrows, with 39.6 percent just leaving the situation to providence. At Boabeng-Fiema despite land being scarce in the immediate 4.5km² because of BFMS, the long distance to the farmlands prevented monkeys from damaging crops. Kwarteng of Fiema voiced “monkeys used to remove yams from the mounds, so I sought farmland far from the sanctuary”. Akowuah of Boabeng added:

“The Mona monkeys are absolutely nuisance, they run on the roofs, disturbing whilst you want to sleep or you are sleeping. They are lovers of chicken eggs; a group gathered around my chicken, battered her to death so that they can take her eggs. Look at the empty hencoop, if that chicken was left to hatch those eggs; I would have more chicken and could sell more eggs or chickens to buy books for the children...when they need them”.
(Akowuah Pers. Comm., 2006).

The next section pays attention to addressing issues such as raiding, participation, employment and ecological impacts of ecotourism based on KNP and BFMS.

6.5 A Postcolonial Overview into the Key Findings of the Study

This section provides further postcolonial contestations on the three key findings of the Chapter, namely ‘raiding by fauna and adaptation by the residents of communities at KNP and BFMS’, ‘employment generation and community participation’ and ‘fauna increase and the Wildlife Division’s contribution to biodiversity conservation’.

6.5.1 Raiding by Fauna and Adaptations at the Eco-destinations

Postcolonial authors argue that ICDPs, which fit the agendas of dominant groups, can exacerbate the marginalisation of, especially, rural communities (Power, 2009).

Currently, farming activities in Ghana fail to problematise overarching factors such as; lack of credit facilities, the inequalities in neo-liberal globalisation and lack of post-harvest technology. Another contributory factor is the raiding and damage of farms by fauna from PAs. The respondents at Abrafo showed their farms suffered especially from grasscutter damage and elephant raiding. However, elephants top the overall crops damage of farms around KCA. For example, up to 300 households around KCA lose up to 60 percent of their food crops to elephants alone annually, with an estimated cost of US\$ 450 per farmer (Barnes et al., 2003).

Dei (Pers. Comm., 2007) stressed that once an elephant knows where it can have a good meal, it does not forget easily. For the other wildlife causing damage usually traps and pesticides are used, but these cannot be employed against elephants and most respondents were taciturn on how they control the raiding by elephants on their farms. For example, Barnes et al (2003) have cited beating drums, burning tyres and bamboo bombs as elephant deterrent techniques at KCA. Secondly, farming within 1km of the park's boundary should be discouraged to prevent the elephant locating them easily and raiding them (Lamarque et al., 2009). However, lack of available farm lands means that this suggestion may be ignored. The last preventive measure has been to shift cultivation of food crops to cash crops (e.g. ginger and pepper, which are not attractive to elephants) in high-conflict areas. At both Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, the damage by these fauna have resulted in farmers using wire traps, pesticides and scarecrows to control them, however the associated costs mean some of the farmers leave the situation to providence. Nonetheless, the 'crisis narratives on nature' continue to subtly blame locals solely for biodiversity loss in Ghana. This is because historically, forest-fringed communities depended largely on land for their

livelihoods, thus livelihood strategies became more limited following creation of the eco-destinations. The marginalized are not passive to external pressures such as colonialism, conservation and ecotourism, however, and their livelihoods are not static (see Table 6.16). Thus communities do adapt to changes to ensure their survival, although these changes come at a price, such as losing local ecological knowledge and the extra costs of substituting for the lost resources (Bailey, 1999).

Table 6.16 Adaptations to the loss of access to forest products from Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Kakum National Park

Adaptation	Example of Substitutes
Acceptance of loss	Some bushmeat species. For example monkeys at BFMS by the Saviour Church members.
Introduced animal production	Grasscutter, poultry and apiculture.
Buying manufactured substitutes	Plastic ('polyethene') bags instead of wrapping leaves.
Hunting or gathering from other forest patches	Cane for baskets from adjacent forest, fishing in other streams and herbs from nearby forests.
Use of substitute	Livestock or fish instead of bushmeat.
Illegal collection in forests	Medicinal plants, mushroom and snails.
Change in cultivation	Growing crops not eaten by Monkeys at BFMS.

Source: Bailey (1999) and Fieldwork (2006-2007).

As shown in Table 6.17, the impacts from conservation are not similarly felt in all communities. For instance, Abrafo has more access to seafood than Boabeng-Fiema because the latter is geographically nearer to the centre of Ghana (Kintampo). Local communities are also impacted differently in terms of gender (see Binns, 1995 and Cline-Cole, 2000). In Africa, women have triple custodial roles *inter alia* as custodians of fire, water, and earth (Mazrui et al., 1999). The former involve women as the source of domestic energy—firewood. As custodian of water, she ensures water

supply for the household. The role of custodian of earth is linked to her dual fertility status as mother and the fertility of the soil—as cultivator (Ibid.).

Table 6.17 Overview of impacts of Protected Areas on Residents at the Eco-sites

Emerged Themes on Benefits/Advantages	
Similarities between KNP and BFMS	Dissimilarities between KNP and BFMS
Interaction of the local communities with visitors to their communities	Boabeng-Fiema remains the only Akan place where monkeys raid houses
Both villages are becoming more popular because of the eco-destinations	At Boabeng-Fiema residents pay less money for developmental projects such as the electricity project
Protecting the forest for posterity	
These two eco-sites continue to receive more research attention in Ghana	
Both BFMS and KNP act as windbreaks as well as increasing rainfall for cultivation of crops	At BFMS there is a building for Information Communication Technology (ICT) under construction
Both eco-sites generate some employment, although the communities posit the best jobs are often given to people from outside their communities	Some residents of Abrafo are able to arrange foodstuff along the Cape Coast-Abrafo road to sell to tourists to KNP and general users of the road
Emerged Themes on Disadvantages	
Similarities between KNP and BFMS	Dissimilarities between KNP and BFMS
Raiding by fauna on farms. In the case of KNP elephants raiding farms	At Abrafo access to herbal medicines from KNP is banned completely
No access to forest resources. Especially timber and bushmeat cost has increased	At Abrafo the locals feeling towards Wildlife Division is more in the negative, since they see them as contributing less to their welfare
Increased farming distance and reduced land size for farming	Abrafo is near the coast thus has more choice in terms of seafood
Reduction in the household incomes (e.g. from renting farmlands)	The residents at Boabeng-Fiema call on GOG to tar the road to their community
Continuous neglect of local ecological knowledge in ecotourism development based on BFMS and KNP	At Boabeng-Fiema the boundary of BFMS is such that, this twin-community cannot increase their settlement size
Reduced alternative livelihood strategies. For instance, youths used to collect snails, palm fronds etc to support household incomes	At Boabeng-Fiema the damage and raiding from fauna is epitomised by the Mona monkeys collecting eggs and foodstuffs in houses. Indeed, almost every resident of Boabeng-Fiema has an anecdote on this.
Increased reliance on fish due to creation of PAs with extra cost	

Source: Bailey (1999) and Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Still in Ghana women are in the majority in subsistence farming activities, such as growing most of the staple food- maize and cassava. Around KNP and BFMS, the main crops affected in the farms are maize, cassava, cocoa, plantain and yam. Thus, conservation and ecotourism may not only increase the distance women have to walk to collect firewood and fetch water but also negate their position as ensuring minimal livelihoods and subsistence in communities. Friedman (1999, p.12) has stressed, “if development (and conservation) means anything at all, it must mean a clear improvement in the conditions of life and livelihood of ordinary people”. Thus, ecotourism must bring in pro-poor changes to local communities through diversifications such as agroforestry and apiculture. In addition, since women are more willing to pay back their loans than men, with the right micro-credit facilities, women especially could diversify and continue to earn their own incomes, thus empowering them further in their households (Stock, 2004). The next section provides further explanations on employment and participation from the study.

6.5.2 Employment and Community Participation

Employment and community participation in southern societies continue to be contested in postcolonial studies. This comparative study sought to contest the direct employment that ecotourism generates at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema. At KNP, employment provided directly by the Wildlife Division includes 15 full-time jobs and 19 non-office jobs offered by GHTC to the residents of the local communities on a part-time basis (these part-timers received a total amount of GH¢70 million over 3 ½ years). These people are in regular jobs such as taxi drivers, teachers and farmers and are employed mainly as tour guides and drivers (Akyea Pers. Comm., 2006). At BFMS, 6 people are employed directly, namely the guesthouse caretaker, security

man, three forest guards and the chief warden. The caretaker and his wife provide culinary services for visitors to the guesthouse who seek this service. Lacher and Nepal (2010, p.81) have stressed that finding “full-time employment may be particularly difficult to obtain for locals, as tourism is often seasonal in nature; this seasonality frequently leads to employment that is also seasonal”. Though the study has shown a low preference for jobs in ecotourism by the people of Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, this probably was due to some of them already being in the informal sector. Also, at both Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema, but particularly at the former, people stressed their dissatisfaction with the high number of outsiders on the staff of the Wildlife Division and the GHCT. Amankwaa of Abrafo voiced, “the Wildlife Division should employ more of the people from our communities, and this is a community-wide cry”. Moreover, most of the jobs preferred by the indigenous are mainly unskilled or semiskilled (see Figure 6.7). Lacher and Nepal (2010, p.81) argue “many local residents are often not ideally suited for jobs in tourism as they lack the proper education, experience and language skills”. For example, around the Okavango Delta of Botswana, the majority of locals worked as unskilled, while expatriates are typically employed in management positions and earned several times what local entrepreneurs made (Ibid.). Similarly, Akyeampong and Asiedu (2008) have argued about the lack of trained personnel especially around eco-sites in Ghana.

Figure 6.7 Jobs Categories Generated at the Eco-destinations

<p>Jobs occupied by non- locals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Manager of KNP ❑ Manager of GHCT ❑ Chief Warden of BFMS 	<p>Jobs occupied by locals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Driver ❑ Tour guide/interpreter ❑ Forest guard ❑ Fees Collector ❑ Cleaner
---	--

Source: Fieldwork (2006-2007).

Furthermore, it was mostly the youths who showed a preference for jobs in ecotourism (Honey, 1999). Wallace and Pierce (1999) have stressed that jobs generated by tourism fall mainly to the youths of local communities with males dominating. The study has also shown that job preference differed according to gender. However the sex ratio of visible employment is not necessarily a good indicator of female involvement in an industry (Walpole and Goodwin, 2000).

The results of this study show that most members of the local communities feel excluded from decision making. For example, all forms of participation concerning BFMS are given to the management board-BFMSMC, which has become the mouthpiece for the villages: could this limit the voices of the majority of the people regarding BFMS? At KNP, participation by the residents of Abrafo is limited to occasional discussions between the chief and staff of GHCT and Wildlife Division. Indeed, the SLEs in Ghana are managed by international and national compradors, who see themselves as the sole agents for ensuring sustainability. The SLEs thus smack of neocolonial tourism since they are controlled through asymmetrical power dynamics—where greater attention is given to higher foreign exchange and tourist numbers as against the maximisation of benefits to rural communities. Doxey (1975) has argued that residents' reactions to tourism would change through four stages: euphoria, apathy, annoyance and antagonism. Currently, at Boabeng-Fiema the residents' are happy to see visitors to the Sanctuary and their villages and thus are at the euphoria stage. However, at Abrafo the comparatively high figure registered for apathy to the question 'whether they are happy to see tourists' is due to their alienation in the management of KNP rather than to tourists *per se*. This situation could be reverted by getting the locals to be involved in the management of the eco-

site along with increasing their livelihood options. The rural development study thus shows that ecotourism often changes the dynamics on the three main uses of land: the commercial, subsistence and socio-cultural uses of landscapes—by restricting or eliminating livelihood activities such as farming, hunting, collection of wild fruits and medicinal plant, and thus opening the area for further epistemological works. The next section analyses the increases in fauna and the role played by the Wildlife Division.

6.5.3 Fauna Increase and Contribution of Wildlife Division

The study has shown that the numbers of monkeys and elephants in particular have increased following the creation of BFMS and KNP respectively (cf. Fargey, 1991; Bailey, 1999 and Saj and Sicotte, 2006). However, the estimates of elephant numbers at KNP depend to an extent on the methods used in the population census (see Table 6.18). At BFMS, Saj (2000) states that the population of the black and white Colobus and Mona monkeys is between 189-211, with a mean of 200 and a rate of increase of 0.56 from 1990 to 2003 —this high increase is attributed to the hunting ban.

Table 6.18 Estimates of elephant populations at Kakum National Park

Estimates and Method Used	Reference
100-150 (Through accumulative curve)	Dudley et al (1992)
233 (Estimate obtained from merging two dung surveys)	Barnes (2000)
170 (Analysis involving capture/recapture data for 86 unique genotypes at Standard Deviation (SD) of ± 33.2 and confidence interval between 96-270)	Eggert et al (2003)

Source: Modified from Eggert et al (2003, p.1398-1399).

At the moment wildlife conservation and forestry mean almost nothing economically to the Abrafo community, so given the chance they will utilize some of the assets in PAs. Bailey (1999) has argued that although the absence of bans on resource

exploitation could still see PAs standing, anthropological pressures due to population increase would deplete many of the bioresources in them. Consequently, communities especially at the eco-destinations see it as a moral duty to maintain the ambivalence with Wildlife Division, whilst urging GOG to really bring changes that put communities' needs and participation in parallel with conservation.

For instance, “Mr. Akowuah decided to exploit the teaks he has grown around BFMS whilst in his position as chief warden, and it was the Wildlife Division, which restricted his action” (Dassah Pers. Comm., 2006). The contribution of the Wildlife Division was also evident when Boabeng-Fiema was told to wait till insulated cables could be installed (to prevent electrocution of the monkeys) to connect them to the National Electricity Grid. The communities' elders went ahead and felled some teak trees as poles for the electricity project in their community. The Assemblyman is noted to have said “the monkeys can go to hell if they are going to prevent them from getting electricity”. So far three monkeys have been killed on top of the electricity generator, thus confirming that non-insulated cables were a danger to the monkeys. Undeniably, until ecotourism contributes more to the villages' welfare, the absence of Wildlife Division could negate sustainability of the eco-destinations.

6.6 Summary to the Chapter

This comparative study involved rural development and conservation studies. The rural development study encompassed the socio-cultural and economic costs and benefits of ecotourism based on BFMS and KNP. The rural development study showed that there were notable impacts on the researched as a result of PA designation, including reduced income, reduced employment opportunities, increased

cash needs for buying some items, lack of participation, reduced access to herbal medicines and reduced protein sources (cf. Bailey, 1999; Amanor, 2001; Amanor, 2003; Marfo, 2009 and Addo-Boadu, 2010). Before the creation of KNP in 1989, there were decades of logging for timber along with forest clearance for cultivation and expansion of cash crops such as cocoa. The conservation study thus has shown that the enforcement of the hunting ban by the Wildlife Division and local stewardship have ensured an increase in some animal species, especially Mona monkeys and black and white Colobus at BFMS and forest elephants at KNP.

At Boabeng-Fiema damage to crops and foodstuffs in households by the monkeys is escalating. At KNP elephants have become less fearful of venturing beyond the park borders as well as being attracted to new growth in the heavily logged sites near the forest edges with the concomitant damage and raiding of crops (cf. KCA, 1997; Bailey, 1999; Lamarque et al, 2009 and Addo-Boadu, 2010). Overall, the study has shown that ecotourism as a strategy for biodiversity conservation and rural development in Ghana remains largely inchoate. This observation is partly due to the marginalisation of local communities, especially in SLEs in Ghana. Currently, communities around eco-destinations in the country offer virtually nothing in terms of oral culture in ecotourism management strategies. Furthermore, researchers on ecotourism in Ghana have paid less attention to the prospects of using Ghanaian oral cultural legacies in their research. These researchers have also neglected how the deployment of poetry in their research on tourism can complement other research methods towards a more holistic approach to addressing issues that concern sustainable tourism development in Ghana. Against this backdrop, the next Chapter focuses primarily on employing oral poetry in conservation education at BFMS.

Chapter 7 “Uncovering Hidden Voices” in Ecotourism Research: The Pragmatics of Poetry in Conservation Education at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary in Ghana

7.0 Introduction to the Chapter

This Chapter argues that poetry is a postcolonial method *par excellence* by creating research and interpretative poems to ‘speak back with’ the people of Boabeng and Fiema on conservation education through ecotourism based on BFMS in Ghana. Conservation education remains a vital tenet of ecotourism, whilst in Chapter Three it was argued that African orality is significant to understanding and ‘speaking back with’ especially rural communities in Africa. This Chapter thus seeks to ‘uncover hidden voices’ and provide holistic understandings into the lifeworlds of the researched for the purposes of informing culturally competent practices. It seeks to achieve this by contesting the potential of using Ghanaian orality in educating members of local communities on conservation issues through ecotourism. However, by paying attention to local communities’ references of understanding to environment and conservation-related issues, this thesis thus critiques the top-down approaches often adopted by some experts on conservation education. Overall, this Chapter traces the theoretical and practical issues of using poetry and its contribution to producing a spatially sensitive ‘culture of knowledge production’ (Sharp, 2009), as a contribution to decolonising geographical research in Africa.

Currently, the Mesomegor Bamboo Orchestra of Kakum National Park promotes conservation education in local communities around this eco-destination. However, these

cultural groups 'speak to' rather than 'speak with' local communities on biodiversity conservation since they perform choreographies often embedded exclusively in 'formal scientisms'. Although, there exists some literature that argues for responsible writing that seeks to reclaim and decentre an authorial voice in research (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2007). It is a sad reflection, however, that methods that will help the postcolonial project to 'speak back with' the 'marginalised researched' are currently less evident (Raghuram and Madge, 2006). For example, despite Yeboah's (2005) creditable accounts of how postcolonialism can help African geographers to 'write back', he however resorted to the same research cannons that continue to marginalise the voices of the majority of people researched in Africa. Chilisa (2005) has therefore stressed the urgency for African geographical researchers to explore alternative epistemic methods towards 'decolonising the African mind'. This thesis acknowledges that the focus on using poetry in Boabeng-Fiema is not about a romantic non-Western space in Ghana because oral legacies exist also in many other locations. In fact, there are no simplistic Akan/non-Akan, African/non-African, Western/non western and oral/scriptural binaries. Thus, the Chapter's focus on the Akans of Ghana is a case of 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak, 1988), rather than presenting generalising and totalising narratives on African orality.

Consequently, this Chapter explores the potential of using poetry in knowledge creation and dissemination on conservation education at BFMS. The primary data for the Chapter were generated from informal interviews with selected residents of Boabeng and Fiema, focus groups, personal observations and use of plates (see Chapter Three). This Chapter has five main sections. Section (7.1) gives an overview on the positions of national

agencies in Ghana on how the appropriation of the country's oral legacies can contribute to conservation education in the country. Section (7.2) contests the theory and the practice of using poetry in geographical research. Section (7.3) then creates research and interpretative poems for conservation education at BFMS. Section (7.4) addresses issues of translation in using poetry. Section (7.5) then summarises the Chapter.

7.1 Oral Cultural Legacies in Conservation Education in Ghana

This Section reviews how key national agencies such as Ghana Tourism Board (GTB), National Commission on Culture (NCC) and Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) have positioned Ghanaian culture within the country's conservation objectives.

The NCC is the main body in Ghana that oversees cultural policies and the role of culture in the country's visions and aspirations. In 2004, the NCC developed the National Cultural Policy. The Cultural Policy 2004, under the aegis of *Sankofa*, seeks to position the cultures of the over fifty ethnic groups in Ghana toward achieving the country's conservation and development aims among others. For example, the National Cultural Policy 2004 seeks to identify, "sacred forests and other heritage sites of Ghana and collect, collate and store indigenous beliefs and practices associated with them with the aim of conserving the nation's biodiversity and ecosystems and exploring their use as tourist attractions and sustainable sources of rare medicinal plants, animals and minerals" (NCC 2004, p.6). Furthermore, in 2004 GOG authorised the establishment of a Culture Trust Fund to be financed especially with 10 percent from the earnings of the National Lottery and grants from international agencies and organizations. On tourism

development in Ghana, the NCC seeks to collaborate with stakeholders such as the Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Affairs (MOT & DR), EPA, GTB, the Forestry Commission (especially the Wildlife Division) and local communities to take a vigilant stance to neutralize the negative impacts associated with tourism development.

Currently, EPA is the principal agency in Ghana that seeks to raise the awareness of the Ghanaian populace to the importance of protecting and enhancing “their environment to facilitate the transfer of knowledge of what can be done; to gain the commitment of people and institutions to change behaviour and avoid actions which degrade the environment, and to help empower people to take practical action at all levels of society” (EPA 2009, p.8). Moreover, on sustainable development in Ghana, EPA has instituted the Ghana Environmental Resources Management Project towards developing its institutional capacity, strengthening its presence at regional level, training its staff and developing the scope and quality of key environmental databases. Furthermore, the Environmental Education Department under EPA, seeks to work in partnership with the formal and non-formal education establishments in the country, on Ghanaians’ responsibility to the environment and to achieve changes in attitudes of individuals that will result in significant improvements in environmental quality in Ghana.

Indeed, the Article 41(k) of the 1992 Constitution of the 4th Republic of Ghana, enjoins all Ghanaians to protect and safeguard the environment. Nonetheless, public knowledge on sustainable development in Ghana remains almost nonexistent. Moreover, education on environment in the country is largely top down, shown through the use of newspapers

and scholarly media, although 65 percent of Ghanaians are illiterate (Ibid.). Also, since colonialism, GOG has judged clandestinely that conservation issues do not win electoral votes. Thus, national agencies such as the GTB and Wildlife Division are more willing to put structures from international conventions on conservation into policies since they seem to enhance the chances of and processes for receiving international aid. Currently, three main challenges are often cited to frustrate efforts by stakeholders on conservation namely, the presence of overt top-down approaches to sustainable development in Ghana, lack of coordination among relevant stakeholders and lack of funds to really make their efforts grassroots (Porter and Young, 2001). This has resulted in small-scale tree planting by some NGOs, a trend that comes about as a panacea for issues of much larger-scale deforestation in the country. Indeed, small-scale tree planting in Ghana hides the need for addressing sustainable development from holistic perspectives (cf. Marfo, 2009).

Also, the EPA does not make overt reference to the National Cultural Policy 2004 and the Ghanaian culture in sustainable development education in the country. Similarly, the National Cultural Policy 2004 shows preoccupation with how the diverse Ghanaian cultures could be positioned largely for economic gains in globalisation. Furthermore, it is evident that Ghanaian researchers are also letting down the populace by failing to employ appropriate African orality to create knowledges and also disseminate them in ways that show consonance with the majority of the lifeworlds of the people. Since cultural denigration was wrought through colonialism (Osagie and Buzinde, 2011), would it have been more useful for the National Cultural Policy 2004 to position how African oral cultural legacies such as poetry can contribute to the prospects of 'decolonising the

African mind’? (Ngugi, 1986). Cahnmann (2003, p.30) has cautioned, ‘if poetry is to have a greater impact on research, those engaged in poetic practices need to share their processes and products to the entire research community, and the terms of its use must be clearly defined’. Currently, there is no research on ecotourism in Ghana that contests how African orality such as poetry can help bridge this gap in the literature. This thesis thus remains a trailblazer on the possibility of employing poetry in research in Ghana. The next Section therefore takes the pains to present the theory and praxis on how poetry can be employed as an analytical tool in postcolonial geographical research in Ghana.

7.2 The Significance of Poetry in Conservation Education in Ghana

This section focuses on the paradoxical dynamism of poetry to communicate parsimoniously on the lifeworlds of the researched, it therefore precludes the prospects of creating research and interpretative poems for conservation education at BFMS.

The recent moves in the performative social sciences have led to the exploration of poetry for the co-production of knowledge (Doornbos et al., 2008), for exploring the possibility of multiple voices through collective dialogue (Lahman et al., 2010), for more empathetic, flexible and interdisciplinary research strategies (Rapport, 2008) and to chart the intersubjectivity, reflexivity, and positionality of the research process itself (Chawla, 2008). However, although the demand for (African) voices in research is very important: “but if they cannot be heard or understood, or the conditions in which they are received remain unchanged, poems might become little more than ‘getting a bit of the other’” (Madge and Eshun, submitted). Furthermore, this might have the distinct possibility:

“Of reinforcing, rather than dismantling, the kinds of power dynamics, rehearsals of otherness and exclusion and geography’s colonial gaze, that we so hope poems might be able to redress (particularly in the light of our awareness poetry has been part of the instrument in the colonisation of the minds of post/colonial subjects in many places)”.

(Madge and Eshun, submitted).

Nonetheless, there is less research on how poetry can contribute to the postcolonial project of the ‘Empire writing back’ (Ashcroft et al., 1989). Madge and Eshun (submitted) have therefore shown that poetry might be a useful tool for postcolonial geographical research in four principal areas: ‘as a relevant way of relating’, ‘as a means to weave individuality with communality’, ‘to decentre the researcher and respond to multiple voices’ and ‘to convey emotions and reflection’. These are all useful facets for a postcolonial geographical researcher and each is elaborated in turn below.

Firstly, Patke (2006, p.199) has stressed that whether poetry can be useful in the process of creating knowledge is dependent “on how a society or a culture defines knowledge and on the function it ascribes to poetry”. To many rural Ghanaians, poetry is an embodiment of pieces of lifeworlds, incorporating folklore in forms of songs, tales or customs. The use of poetry is a relevant way of relating in Ghana, for it involves a keen sense of observation, an understanding of the social meanings of the observed and the ability to present complex processes in communicable ways (Noy, 2008). This requires the researcher to be sensitive to the specificities of the people and places with whom they are working. Hollinshead (2004, p.32) has argued it is impossible to ‘rediscover an absolute pre-colonial cultural purity’, thus any move of postcolonial geographical research towards ‘pre-colonial African oral purity’ will seem a naïve chimera and atavistic.

Indeed, a researcher's "ability to adopt and adapt oral styles and techniques is far more a significant case of creative continuity" (Anyidoho 2003, p.234). Thus the use of poetry demands "working with and around a Euro-American culture of knowledge production, and...bringing disparate cultures of knowledge production into effective relation with one another" (Jazeel and McFarlane 2007, p.781). Poetry thus is just one tool in the postcolonial researchers' toolkit, albeit one that has received little research attention to date (Yardley, 2008). Secondly, poetry may be a useful means to weave individuality with communality, which is an important feature of rural Ghanaian cosmologies. This is in concinnity with the ubuntu conception of the Bantu people, '*nthu, nthu ne banwe*' (I am because we are). The ubuntu principle emphasises on empathy, harmony and community (Omale, 2006). Accordingly, Kwegyir Aggrey could stated that "in African societies let *us* do' is worth more than a thousand 'you must do's'...in many instances it is more important to work *with* than work *for*" (cited in Smith 1929, Part 1). This observation contrasts with the Cartesian philosophy of '*cogito ergo sum*' (I think therefore I am), with its overt preponderance to individuality. This communality is also found in Native American poetry making (Hussain, 2000). For instance, Rose (1992, p.411-412) has stressed that Native American poetics are politically engaged and differ from the Euro-American poetics, which is always already the privilege and prerogative:

“Of a special élité' who are non-utilitarian, self-expressive, solitary, ego-identified, self-validating while poetry...in the Native American traditions must be communally-oriented...must be useful, beautiful and functional at the same time”. (Rose 1992, p.412).

Madge and Eshun (submitted), therefore have stressed that poetry may be useful in capturing a community voice on a specific issue, but at the same time, may also be a tool

to incorporate the differing perceptions of different community members into that voice. Thirdly, poetry may also therefore be useful in decentring the researcher and responding to multiple voices, a key tenet of postcolonial research. Thus according to Langer and Furman (2006), use of poetry in the social sciences arose in part from the so-called crisis of representation, when some social scientists began to resist the authoritative voice of realist ethnography, experimenting at times with alternative epistemic approaches in order to achieve a more multivocal and reflexive understanding of respondents' realities. Consequently, poetry has been used as a tool of knowledge acquisition and dissemination by researchers from various disciplines towards ensuring that research representations are not homogenised and not moved towards essentialist and totalising narratives (Cahnmann, 2003). Poetry thus helps to 'establish better social relations and a projective technique that stimulates value-laden discourse among the people we are interested in' (Friedrich 1996, p.30-40). The deployment of poetry thus can lead to research that is:

“Emergent, and non-linear and provide the opportunity for researchers and practitioners to collaborate, move along with the research as it unfolds and take changes in the environment and in people as an integral element of the research”.
(Doornbos et al., 2008 abstract).

This inherent flexibility is a means to capture the multi-vocality of a locality and to reposition the researched from the margins to the centre of the knowledge creation process. Finally, poetry can also be an important means by which the emotive nature of research topics can be brought alive and a means through which a researcher might reflect on their research project, important given the 'enlivening pain' (Sharp, 2009), of many postcolonial agendas. Indeed, researchers who utilize the arts seek to abrogate the notion of omniscient observer and value the richness and complexity of artistically

generated data, which may be obscured by more quantitative approaches (Brearley, 2000). As a result, Lahman et al (2010, p.46) have argued that social scientists must continue to ask themselves why “the field has privileged prose, and a very certain type of scripted prose, over other forms of representation and what knowledge this privilege has lost or obscured in relation to new research understandings”. Indeed if reality is:

“Imagined as a layering of seeings, or tastings or touchings or hearings or smellings— or intersensory reverberations, then the practice of poetry engenders a means by which to experience and make sense of the world that cannot be articulated through traditional research cannons”.
(Sherry and Schoulten 2003, p.15).

According to Abarry (1994) some of the principal techniques common to Akan orature, for instance application of rhyme, repetition and alliteration, create pleasure and thus contribute to concretising emotions, feelings and moods. Mock (1998) suggests that one advantage in deploying poetry in social research is that it can show multidisciplinary attributes because it is about ideas, emotions and knowledge. Indeed, researchers who employ poetry concur that there is no separation of writing from research and that poetry in research accords a distinctive writing that is engaging, therapeutic and emotionally honest. Consequently, poetry can ‘show’ another person how it is to feel or experience something that is beyond their direct experience: hence Frost has asserted that poetry provides the shortest possible emotional distance between people about their experiences (Mock, 1998). For example, its ability to convey stark emotions is vital to the postcolonial researcher, to reveal the complexities of power relations between people in different places at a variety of scales and to reveal the often veiled connections and discontinuities between such people and places. The next Section presents the detail of how the thesis uses poetry in postcolonial geographical research.

7.2.1 The Pragmatics of Poetry in Postcolonial Geographical Research

This study builds on the works of Richardson (2000), Sherry and Schoulten (2002), Cahnmann (2003) and Furman et al (2010). In particular it builds on Langer and Furman's (2004) use of 'research' and 'interpretative' poems in research analysis. Furman et al (2006) have drawn out the differences between literary and research-interpretative poems. For example, whereas research and interpretative poems might borrow 'techniques' from literary poems, they are created to strongly express the purpose of presenting data that remain faithful to the essence of the text, experience, or the phenomena being researched. The Chapter therefore uses poetry specifically to analyse data generated through in-depth qualitative interviews, personal observations and focus groups. To create research poems, firstly an in-depth interview is conducted and the text is transcribed. Secondly, important phrases from respondent(s) voice are used to create a research poem. A research poem is a condensed version of the respondent(s) responses; it presents therefore the 'voice' of the researched as the primary transmitter of data (Langer and Furman, 2004). With their attention to the perspectives of the researched, research poems tackle the vice of Eurocentrism by privileging multiple ways of knowing over hegemonic conceptions of reality. However, this adherence to presenting the researched voice limits a researcher's 'additions' or interpretations of an event or situation.

Consequently, an interpretative poem may be created, although this is not limited to the words and perspectives collected through an in-depth interview: it can also incorporate a much larger scope of analysis, including various perspectives on a theme (e.g. a researcher's subjectivities, politics, emotions, ethics, global institutions, local power

centres, secondary data, observations etc. along with the interview data). Thus, with the interpretive poem the researcher can present themselves in the research to overtly 'speak back with' the community with whom they are working. Also, interpretative poems have a generative form rather than a compressed form and are more dialogic than the research poem, which allows for interpretation and analysis of a situation from multiple fronts (Langer and Furman, 2004). However, both research and interpretative poems may be employed in different types of study, or in the same study to confer different advantages.

Poetry involves two distinct activities—inspiration and craft, and they work in an iterative manner (Sherry and Schouten, 2002). When these two aspects are in their perfect fraternity a poem captures what Cahnmann (2003, p.30) probably meant by saying “poets give language to the unsayable”. Indeed, “the greatest advances in man’s understanding of the universe are made by intuitive leaps at the frontiers of knowledge, not by intellectual walks along well-travelled paths” (Weil quoted in Lash 2003, p.277). Thus the inspiration aspect of the creative process gives good poetry its authenticity and the freshness of language and perspective contains within itself the seeds of perpetual renewal. Epistemologically, craft involves intimacy and distance with the data. The intimacy yields understanding of the phenomenon and the analytical distance allow the researcher to place the phenomenon into a broader conceptual perspective. The craft considers three main areas namely the message, medium and the context in the creative process. The message covers the theme and the subject matter of a poem (research aim). The medium involves the style, manner, language (diction), form and performance. The context refers to a poet-researcher’s positionality, his or her worldviews; the era in which

s/he lives among others that affect the poetic work (Owusu-Ansah, 2003). Thus, the context helps to appreciate the full meaning and the politics of a poem/s. Indeed, with African postcolonial researchers, the appropriations of poetry in their research should reflect the politics associated with poetry making in Africa. For example, the earlier poetry in Africa is poetry of protest against racial discrimination, of agitation for political independence, of nostalgic evocation of Africa's past and visions of its future. Although poets in this phase sought for Africa's betterment, there are noted differences in their poetic works. For example, the so-called Francophone Africans were more experimental with appropriating their traditional poetry making legacies in their poetry as against their so-called Anglophone counterparts who just mimicked the Edwardian and Georgian forms of regular metre, rhyme schemes and hymnal rhythms. The literature of this period became known as *negritude*, with Leopold Senghor credited as the father. Contemporary African poetry is, however, underpinned by appropriating Africa's spiritual heritage in a way that African customs have become the spearheading force. Contemporary politics of African poetry thus should not only be about disregard for regular metres, rhyme schemes and inclusion of pieces of other African orality in poetry, but rather the urgency to embed African poetry in the Continent's quotidian aims (Ojaide, 1995).

Furthermore, Singh (1990) has cautioned against 'induced inspiration' where the result is often a composition that relies on literary artifice, which injures the unique voice of a poem. Also, the use of poetry must not be conceived of as 'writing up' of research (i.e. a mechanistic format akin to a plot summary) but as a creative production of research, an open strategy of discovery enacted through an intrceptive intuition that does not cease

on data generation and leads to production of a holistic work cohering at multiple levels of meaning (Richardson 2000). In this sense, poems are not used as objective or generalizable data, but as in-depth data in exploring complex relationships (Langer and Furman, 2010) but if a poem shows some truth with its readership that poem is transferable by its own merit (Sherry and Schouten, 2002). This concurs with the assertion of ‘metaphoric generalizability’ (Furman et al 2006, p.2), which is about the degree to which poetry penetrates the essence of human experience and reveals itself fully to an engaged audience. Indeed, poetry can make ‘the interior life of one individual available to others...in symbolism and imagery that is differently accessible’ (Dove 1994, p.25). Chapter Three incisively showed how the use of African orality such as poetry in geographical research could help to ‘uncover hidden voices’ that mainstream research methods often marginalize. Fairhead and Leach (2000) argue that in Africa the voices of the majority of the people on conservation still remain marginalised. However, Pickerill (2008, abstract) has argued that conservation stakeholders need to move “beyond the colonial paternal sense of responsibility, to a dynamic and engaged mutuality of concern, including local communities”. The sections below thus present the results of the primary research at Boabeng and Fiema on the use of poetry in conservation education at BFMS which aims towards ‘speaking back with’ the marginalized researched on conservation.

7.3 Conservation Education at Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary

The United Nations has declared 2005 to 2014 ‘the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development’, the overall goal being to utilise education as a means of integrating the principles of sustainable development with human values and perspectives in order to

create a sustainable society (UNESCO, 2005). Currently, environmental conservation and its subsidiary—conservation education are often being given a mono-dimensional stance; where ‘experts’ are supposed to teach or train local communities on conservation biology, and alternative livelihood strategies such as apiculture, agroforestry, snail and grasscutter rearing (Stem, 2001; Lash, 2003 and Tapela et al., 2007). However, Brechin et al (2002) have argued that voices of local communities could shape understandings on bioresources and thus help fashion educational programmes that contribute to achieving a sustainable relationship between them and PAs. At Boabeng and Fiema, there is no formal conservation education initiated on BFMS. Furthermore, the voices of the residents of Boabeng and Fiema on conservation at BFMS are sidelined (see Chapter Five). Currently, visual presence of local voices on the forest is limited to forest guides, plates bearing the Akan names alongside the Latin names on some of the flagship trees (see Plate 7.1), and boards bearing Akan names on the nature trails.



Plate 7.1 A Board bearing an Akan name on a *Cola gigantea* at BFMS. Credit: Author.

Encouragingly, the guesthouse of the Sanctuary generates its own electricity through solar energy (see Plate 7.2). Most of the visitors to BFMS are day-trippers, whilst the long-staying visitors are often researchers. At the guesthouse visitors are provided with gas cooker. The bathrooms are very basic, so buckets are provided where a visitor fills it from a borehole about 10m from the guesthouse.



Plate 7.2 Solar Energy Apparatus for Generating Electricity at BFMS. Credit: GWD.

Saj and Sicotte (2006) have stated some environmental concerns at BFMS to include garbage in the forest, more pit latrines, destruction of the undergrowth and seedlings by domestic animals. Furthermore, the population increase at Boabeng and Fiema has contributed to higher demand for farmland, firewood and timber, which may threaten the sustainability of BFMS. Currently, humans and domestic animals defecate in the Sanctuary, though at a relatively low level which may enhance soil quality. At a higher level, however, this will affect the quality of the forest and tourism (Ibid.).

Through the CBEP Phase I, NCRC has provided refuse bins at vantage points in the Sanctuary (see Plate 7.3). During the focus groups and through personal observations at Boabeng and Fiema it was gathered that the residents of the communities learnt about the monkeys in BFMS principally through family members, Sanctuary officers, NGOs and fetish priests. Earlier, the SPMET argued that geographers should avoid privileging the voice of the ‘folk of the province’ (which in this case may include especially the chief and fetish priests). The research and interpretative poems created in the sections below were thus based on data from across the villages and from people who differ in terms of power level, gender, religion, education, occupation and age.



Plate 7.3 A Refuse Bin provided through the CBEP Phase I. Credit: Author.

Additionally, Airhienuwa (2006) has argued for research in Africa to really explore ways that can communicate their usefulness to their targeted potential beneficiaries, especially the local communities. Briggs and Sharpe (2004) have stressed that most

research experiences of the researched are used in the West, but without opening up the process to their knowledges and explanations. Thus, the use of poetry can contribute to opening up new vistas to express the marginalised experiences towards ‘radical textual practice of difference’ (Spivak 1999, p.27). Friedrich (1996, p.30-40) has therefore stressed that poetry offers “a way to establish better social relations and...stimulate value-laden discourse among the people we are interested in”. Put differently, the deployment of poetry in postcolonial geographical research can help towards engendering ‘genuine dialogue across identity and difference with living, breathing people’ (Noxolo 2008, p.32). Consequently, the next section employs research and interpretative poems toward conservation education at BFMS.

7.3.1 Implication of the Oracle Message on Conservation at the Sanctuary

There are various competing community beliefs on the conservation of the monkeys. For example, Nana Boateng— the fetish priest of *Abujo* holds it beyond an article of faith that it was the settlement of his forebears Fobiri and Donsah that ensured that the monkeys were not killed, since the god abhors sights of blood, and thus ensured that the monkeys are not killed. However, to most of the residents of Boabeng and Fiema, the monkeys are children of *Daworo* and *Abujo*, and these gods forbid their killing. Such beliefs have filtered through to the present day and the monkeys are still held in very high esteem, even to the extent that they are buried in a graveyard if their bodies are found. Indeed, they are an integral part of the villages, and there is a widespread belief that should the villagers settle at another place, the monkeys will follow suit. As detailed in Chapter Six, the beliefs on the monkeys have waned. However, to capture the

competing community beliefs about the monkeys, informal in-depth interviews were conducted with the current fetish priest of Boabeng, the son of the late fetish priest of Boabeng, and the Chief and his elders at Boabeng and through an informal meeting with the fetish priest of *Abujo*. It is well known that such authority figures as chiefs, community elders and fetish priests are ‘living libraries’ in rural Ghanaian communities and they hold vast repertoires of local oral histories. For instance, before a chief is enthroned, a preparation period involves him learning a detailed chronology of the place under his authority. A fetish priest is also seen as the traditional overseer of the welfare of the biodiversity (and in BFMS’s case especially the monkeys), which places him in an inexorable position to possess in-depth information about these animals that ordinary members of the community might not have. Consequently, these interviewees brought in different views on the relationship between the monkeys and the community and contributed to a non-linear piece, which lacked a singular authorial voice.

In the interview, the son of the late fetish priest kept saying, ‘I remember my father telling me...’ this became a useful repetition in the research poem created. Contemporary African poetry-making still employs parallelism and repetition to help to emphasise on salient, emotional and the evocative themes. The oracle message holds that if the communities look after the monkeys well, then they will get White visitors visiting them in numbers. Consequently, in the research poem, White visitors to BFMS are positioned to show how ‘foreigners’ may visit the Sanctuary if the locals maintained good stewardship toward the monkeys. However, in the corresponding interpretative poem the voices of residents of Boabeng and Fiema on the monkeys are meshed with the research.

Research Poem: The Oracle Message

And I remember my father telling me
About Damoah who beheld a piece of white calico
Guarded by two black and white Colobus
And two Mona monkeys
And that the monkeys are a kismet

And I remember my father telling me
About a Nkoranzahene
Who conspued the taboo on killing of the monkeys
Who combed through Asarekoma shooting monkeys—
Shooting people he mistook for monkeys
Because they 're on trees picking fruits...
And how that forced our iron to stop a bloody Royal

And I remember my father telling me
About our siblings in the northward settlement—
About Fobiri and Donsah royals of Kokofu
About their close blood portion
That put them under custody of Nkoranzahene
That the Nkoranzahene gifted them Abujo

And I remember my father telling me
That our siblings at Fiema concur
The monkeys came into the forests
On their settlement Because Abujo abhors blood

And I remember my father telling me
That Daworo and Abujo are the gods of the monkeys
That Daworo is a female god and Abujo male god
That they've fallen in love
That on a full stop to breathing of a monkey
Ceremonial burial must be bestowed—

And I remember the early 1970s
The emergence of Satellites communities
And how the members of the Saviour Church
Scoffed at the furry taboo and killed monkeys—
And how the elders of Boabeng summoned my father
They said he has given ancestral land to monkeys

And I remember my father Gesturing at a White visitor and telling me,
Son, when White people visit in numbers
Then know we've cared well for the children of the gods: the Oracle Message.

Although voices on the origin of BFMS are varied, they endeavoured to represent their individual or group voices like a “simulacrum of the zeitgeist of a yesterday”, which resists adulterations in representations “from aberrant clouds”. Unlike the research poem, the interpretative poem argues that community members are no longer restrained *in toto* by the traditional taboos that forbid killing of the monkeys. This is principally due to the spread of Christianity and Islam and cultural globalisation (cf. Chilisa, 2005). Thus the lines: “the arcane fontomfrom of the conjugal deities stays out// Of pari passu with the stentorian tomtom of the Gethsemane Way”. Encouragingly, since 1975 the Wildlife Division has ensured that less numbers of monkeys are killed. Thus, BFMS can blow its “appellations through pathways of trumpets” because it possesses a commendable record that “soars fivefold over lustrum” of protecting the monkeys from onslaught.

Interpretative Poem: A Trumpet through the Oracle Message

We weave our tongues with yarns of voices distant and near—
 Our voices like simulacrum of the zeitgeist of a yesterday
 Standing sanguinely like a termitarium in a landscape of grass
 That weathers the downpours from aberrant clouds in our skies
 And our sisterhood rippling with fusillade of Nilotic longevity—

But the arcane fontomfrom of the conjugal deities stays out
 Of pari passu with the stentorian tomtom of the Gethsemane Way—
 The byelaw producing police to the fur flagship out of necessity;
 Trenchantly our epitome of a record soars fivefold over lustrum—

So we blow our appellations through pathways of trumpets
 The calabashfuls of anecdotes of eulogies poured onto our name
 On our inheritance through the hearts of our present-future tones
 The vigoroso for sake of actualising the acme of hill of our hope—

Oh our handshakes of welcome rummaging through seasons
 Yet pristine like photographs of physiognomies of Dipo pilgrims
 On our inheritance through the hearts of our present-future tones
 Our inexorable throb to hasten our feet on our steps of Maslow
 And our suns resplendent far beyond bouquet of White roses

We weave our tongues with yarns of voices distant and near—
 Our voices like simulacrum of the zeitgeist of a yesterday
 Standing sanguinely like a termitarium in a landscape of grass

Also, the interpretative poem argues that the desire for large visitorship numbers of White people to BFMS as a yardstick of their stewardship to the monkeys smacks of ‘colonial present’ (Gregory, 2004). Currently, Ghanaians form the largest percentage of visitorship to the Sanctuary, consequently positioning foreigners as ‘overseers’ on sustainability of the Sanctuary would seem naïve and dysergic. Ultimately, for the monkeys to be a ‘kismet’ (fortune to the residents), there is the need to address inequalities from globalisation. The research poem therefore, projects individual (or joined) voices, whilst the interpretative poem seeks the same aim along with a ‘dialogue confluence’. The next section argues that perspectives of local communities on conservation-related changes in eco-destinations may differ from those of ‘formal scientisms’ (Owusu, 2001).

7.3.2 Voices at Boabeng and Fiema on the Sinking of Daworo Etifi

Another conservation-related issue that seems very nostalgic to most of the respondents in the Boabeng and Fiema is the ‘sinking’ of the spring called *Daworo Etifi* over 15 years ago (see Plate 7.4). Because of its proximity to Boabeng and Fiema it served as a drinking water-source and bathing place. Though the *Daworo Etifi* has dried up, the villagers concur the spring has ‘sunk’ (*amem*) as against ‘dried up’ (*awewe*). The choice of words here needs special consideration— to the villagers the spring has ‘sunk’, however according to ‘experts’ the drying up is probably due to sedimentation. Most ecotourism experts are gradually awakening to the realisation that the differentials in the understanding of local communities and ‘experts’ on the same issue on the environment is the ditch toppling even well-intentioned projects on the environment (cf. Fennell, 2008). Consequently, there is a dire urgency for researchers on the environment to seek

synergy in local voices in knowledge creation, legitimisation and dissemination (Leach and Fairhead, 1996). It is also easy to lump together the ‘marginalised researched’ as being homogenous, a view which Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* trenchantly criticised.



Plate 7.4 The Dried up location of Daworo Etifi. Credit: Author.

As a consequence, the researcher was careful to seek the convergences and divergences in the voices of respondents on selected themes. Thus, the research teased out the voice of the male and female youths at Boabeng on the ‘sinking’ of the spring *Daworo Etifi*. Kwabena who led the researcher to where *Daworo Etifi* was located, on his way fetched some rainwater gathered in between two branches of a tree near the spring and washed his face with it, depicting his respect to god *Daworo*. Based on the dialogue with Kwabena, personal observations and the focus groups an interpretative poem #1 was created. In most African societies, things do not just occur, thus the Akan saying that ‘the palm frond does not bend to the ground unless the ground has a message for it’ (see line

10). The respondent thus evoked this proverb to show that there are causes for the drying of the spring. For example, in line 12 some of the males in Boabeng and Fiema blamed women on their period, for washing in the spring and their refusal to abstain from such an act although they had been told several times that the god *Daworo* abhors such acts. Also, intriguing is that the males in the communities do not see the shrubs, which have colonised the spot where the spring *Daworo Etifi* was located as helping to prevent erosion but rather as “weeds swarming what was a...bonhomie pool”.

Interpretative Poem #1: Repetitive Ramification

Actually beyond these marks of clay
The arms of *Daworo* stretched wider and wider
The afternoons when they came riding on the sun: beyond these marks
Of clay we flaunted our flair of fish. Beyond these marks
Of clay we felt the belly of *Daworo* cool with fullness of grace
We splashing at our comrades our watery games of ping-pong
Now look these mad weeds’ swarming what was a brimming bonhomie pool.

*

Actually beyond these marks of clay
The arms of *Daworo* stretched wider and wider
But a palm frond bends touching the ground—
On the regular pushing of periodic cycles to her banks...
Amidst the regular reminders reverberating from her motherly gong
Now look these mad
Weeds’ swarming what was a brimming bonhomie pool.

*

Actually beyond these marks of clay
The arms of *Daworo* stretched wider and wider. Beyond these marks
Of clay we flaunted our common instincts with fish. Beyond these marks
Of clay we felt the belly of *Daworo* cool with fullness of grace
Oh before these clay-marks...
Now look these
Mad weeds’ swarming what was a brimming bonhomie pool.

The researcher interviewed a woman by name Esi of Boabeng, to gain insight into the female voice on the cause of the drying up of *Daworo Etifi*. Esi mentioned the large

numbers of black cobras and *sukakagyam* (type of reptile) and how she and her friends could wrap the *sukakagyam* around their wrists. “*Daworo* served as a drinking water for us and was very handy during funeral ceremonies because of its proximity to us; it also served as a bathing place” (Akos Pers. Comm., 2007). During the focus groups, most of the females revealed that the sinking was due to them washing cooking pots in or near the spring, taking of pepper to the spring and women bathing in the spring on their periods. The male respondents did not mention pepper and cooking utensils, this thus subtly positioned women as being culpable for the ‘sinking’ of *Daworo Etifi* (see Poem #2).

Interpretative Poem #1: A Biting Nostalgia

The *sukakagyam* we wrapped them around our wrists
The *tumtumbra* zigzagged from our presence graciously—
The throbbing art of conviviality pumped our cheeks with glee
Not Once. Not Twice. Uncountable times—
These were the animals of the spring *Daworo*
 They bit when they had a judgement of fairness on mind
 Why make a bed for fear if your heart is clear?

The *sukakagyam*. The *tumtumbra*. Charm of *Daworo*—

But imagine the washing of the show of monthly natural flow...
But imagine the spraying of pepper on lens of motherly glow
But imagine the cleaning of sooty utensils in potable affections
 Now somewhere in the apartments of our hearts
The reverberations of the communal serpentine camaraderie

Bite at our Disregard. We stare the Sky. We stare at Hope—

Poems number #1 and #2 are in cahoots with the well-known taboo of gods on rivers, springs, seas etc. that forbids females not to bathe in them during menstrual periods. However, according to Nana Tabiri (chief of Boabeng) and his elders the cause of the

sinking of *Daworo Etifi* is due to his predecessor (who reigned from 1985-1992), who occupied the Boabeng Stool, although he was not the rightful heir. According to Nana Tabiri the ex-chief performed some rituals, which included burying an unused machete at the bank of the spring. Though the ex-chief no longer resides at Boabeng due to personal circumstances, the researcher chanced on him and engaged him in dialogue. However, he played possum by refusing to respond to questions directly connected with the drying of the spring. Thus, based on the dialogue with Nana Tabiri, the Chief of Boabeng and his elders an interpretative poem was created (see poem #3). In lines 8-9, the ex-chief sought to hold on to power by bribing some elders of Boabeng to back him. However, the crux of the poem lies in the god *Daworo*'s anger on the ex-chief's rituals to hold on to power.

Interpretative Poem #3: Machete of Aggrandisement

Truth when it fully awakes makes the sharpest of machetes
 Of Machiavelli appear blunt. A seed
 Of Daworo has stuck to the bosom of earth to shoot a verse
 Of truth and sharpest of aggrandizement for an ancestral Stool
 The mouth of Daworo courts osculations of suns
 But machete lay buried in skins of the motherly lips
 The bloodied lips eating at the head like Cape St Paul's Wilt—

Oh the flaunting of thirty pieces of silver to gain sword
 To a Stool of a stoolroom guided by wonderland Guards?
 But truth when it fully awakes makes the sharpest
 Of machetes of Machiavelli appear blunt—
 The bloodied motherly lips the implosion of its verdant head—
 A Discontentment of Daworo with the power struggle over
 Truth and sharpest of aggrandizement for an ancestral Stool

It is worth noting that in Akan societies, several causes of an event are a possibility. Thus, as Dobson (2005) and Tapela et al (2007) have argued, it is imperative that the

environmental movement and indigenous peoples work out the common ground between them, understand where they are both coming from and create forums and networks to work together. On reflection, these three poems show that different voices can exist in one location on a theme, and thus show heteroglossia in a practical form. In addition, since children are the environmental custodians of the future (Honey, 2008), the study explored further the position of children in conservation education at BFMS.

7.3.3 Getting Children on Board in Conservation Education

At BFMS almost all the children believed that the monkeys are the children of the gods *Daworo* and *Abujo* and are held in great respect by them. Observations revealed that the positive attitudes toward the monkeys are closely linked to ‘rebukes’ on actions against the monkeys, such as throwing stones or kicking them. Also stories of karmic retributions of people who maltreat or kill the monkeys served as a deterrent to the children. Despite these deep-seated beliefs, it is also apparent at BFMS that the children are left out in formal programmes to protect other bioresources in the Sanctuary. Thus an in-depth informal interview was conducted with Akosua, the widow of the first chief-warden of BMFS. During the interview, she stressed that it was her husband and six other people from the sister communities who attempted to create boundaries for the Sanctuary with teak trees (*Tectona grandis*). She further expressed how during the creation of the boundary of BFMS some children at Fiema uprooted some of the teak trees used for the boundary-marking and replanted them in their parents’ backyards. This shows the lack of conservation education for children, which resulted in them mimicking the tree planters without understanding the importance of the trees in the demarcation of the Sanctuary.

The research poem is based on Akosua's responses. Next an interpretative poem was created that broadened the perspective on children's role in conservation education. The interpretative poem critiques the general observation in Ghana that local communities are left out of conservation projects. For example, the last stanza of the interpretative poem draws on a wider analytical frame to support the view that if "we do not inherit the Earth from our forefathers, but borrow it from our children" (Murphy and Price 2004, p.169), then children must be involved in conservation efforts at eco-sites in Ghana.

Research poem: Mr. Akowuah and his crew

Mr. Akowuah and his crew
Marshalled teak trees through Fiema...
To demarcate the boundaries of the Sanctuary—
But before the trees could order their roots down
Some children of Fiema uprooted some of the trees
Then planted them in backyards of their parents:
Mr. Akowuah and his crew sought for explanations—
The children threw back:
We found it fascinating to see you and others planting trees in lines”
Mr. Akowuah and his crew learnt the children are
Unaware of the importance of planting of the trees...

Interpretative Poem: The streets of their walks

It was as if the children were seeing
Their dads playing with young trees
They've perhaps seen their dads grow a lot of beans
But not young trees on streets of their walks...
It's more than children just being children
Behold the undercurrents beaconing attentions
If young trees could play fence on old trees
Could the young trees play in backyards of their parents?

It was more than children just being children
As Akowuah and his crew harvested into their green baskets
Children love to play inside of the car
On momentum they are heirs

Indeed, the continuous biodiversity loss demands especially the youth of the world in the fight against biodiversity loss (see UNEP, 2010). Certainly, both poems offer a penetrative voice on the need to involve children in conservation education. This is even more significant given that the visitorship of school children to eco-destinations in Ghana is at the core of the domestic market for eco-businesses (Akyeampong and Asiedu, 2008). Honey (1999, p.22) adds, 'ecotourism as a niche is touted to help educate members of the surrounding communities, schoolchildren, and the broader public in the host communities'. Consequently, one of the prime attributes of ecotourism is to contribute to ecotourists learning about places and the people they visit, making these tourists more sensitive to the potential impacts of their behaviours on the environment.

The significance of school children as eco-tourists is explored in the example below. On a stroll by the researcher through the streets of Fiema, a bus carrying school children on an excursion to BFMS bent onto the main street of the village, and one of the pupils threw an empty can of Coca Cola onto the street. Kofi, a youth of Fiema became furious and shouted at the fast moving bus. The researcher conducted an informal interview with him about his views on the behaviour of school children visiting BFMS. From the interview a research poem was created. In the poem it is noted that the interviewee knows that visitors to the Sanctuary bring some benefits to the villages, however the interviewee also maintains that there are challenges that result from the behaviour of the visitors. Although most of the residents of Boabeng and Fiema know that the presence of BFMS is beneficial to them, some of the members of the communities are realising that some of the tourists are a problem hence the line: "some of the activities of the // School people

produce bare questions”. In the interpretative poem below which was constructed to broaden out the interpretation of the young man, the emotion displayed by the youth was also conveyed in the poem through gestures of outrage and questioning.

Research Poem: You are my witness

Whereas I love to see buses bringing
School people to the Sanctuary: but
Some of the activities of the
School people produce bare questions than answers—
The School people sometimes say things to stretch
The catapult of your patience to shoot—
Sometimes rubbish is thrown into the streets...

You are my witness.

So whereas I love to see buses bringing...
But some of the activities they bring leave us with
Biting questions than answers—

Interpretative Poem: Coca Cola Can in our Street

How dare you throw out an empty
Can of Coca Cola in our clean street of clay—
What do you think?
This clean street of clay is a bola?
You sit in a bus on a school excursion
Your lips flaunting flowers of our lingua franca
But you’ve just shown your dire need
For joining us under an odwen tree

I’ve seen school people hurling used clothes of brands around several times
I’ve seen school people tossing eyes of schadenfruede around several times

And maybe even his hometown
There are no bulbs of electricity gracing the streets...
How dare you throw that Coca Cola can in our clean street of clay—?

Several Akan words are used to create a poem that has relevance to the research community—e.g. the *odwen* is a tree and it is often planted in the centres of Akan villages, where they eventually provide shade for gathering of the elders and is also a site for knowledge production and exchange, hence the ‘need for joining us under an odwen tree’ to learn some good behaviour towards BFMS. Also, the villagers are not amused about visitors throwing rubbish about as if the place was a refuse dump (*bola*, Akan). Rural dwellers in Ghana interpret such actions by visitors as acts of ‘schadenfreude’, where visitors who are often from urban areas act in condescending ways toward their rural counterparts. Rural dwellers are not, however, passive receivers of such behaviours hence the line ‘maybe even his hometown//there are no bulbs of electricity’, suggesting that most urban dwellers hail from places, which may also lack in the facilities available at Fiema-Boabeng. Moreover, the Akan words and concepts in the interpretative poem are both an act of ‘writing back’ but also a means to unpick the complexity of diverse views on ecotourism at BFMS. Also, Bufuwah of Boabeng said she witnessed a gaggle of schoolchildren ‘mocking the village’ through the way they treated some kids from the BFMS community. These students threw toffees to the ground for the kids to pick. When they were cautioned about their conduct they joked, “the kids look like the monkeys”.

Indeed, as conservation studies are treated *en passant* in courses like integrated science and social studies in senior high schools, these students do not get to understand and appreciate the enormous burden borne by the rural dwellers in conserving the unique natural bequeaths of the country as well as addressing the tendency of them being looked down upon by urban counterparts. Conservation education is meant to lead all concerned

stakeholders into positive transformation in behaviours and practices at eco-destinations, this is clearly not always the case in practice, as the two poems above highlight. Furthermore, these poems above give a flavour of how the research and interpretative poem might be used as a postcolonial research tool, which is ethically and politically positioned regarding burdens borne by rural dwellers on ecotourism. The next section gives another example of how poems may be used in conservation advocacy.

7.3.4 Bearing the Burden of the Commons

The communities of Boabeng-Fiema have doubled in size between 1968 and 1990, both in terms of the area they occupy and the number of households, with Fiema's size in hectares increased by 75 percent, along with an annual population increase of 3.1 percent (Saj et al., 2006). This is often presented as a serious threat to the forest in BFMS. Also, the Sanctuary is represented as the sole source of food for one of its charismatic species—the Mona monkeys, but especially during the dry season local households provide alternative sources of nutrition for them. Consequently, besides damage to crops, the Mona monkeys also eat foodstuffs in households and raid almost everything in gardens thus adding cost to the residents' livelihood (see Plates 7.5). These pestilences mean that farmers cannot cultivate certain crops, especially plantain, pepper and banana in the immediate environs of the Sanctuary, since these crops face huge damage from the monkeys. Akua (Pers. Comm., 2006) of Fiema states, “without us the Monas will die, they drink our water—when they are hungry, they come to the houses to look for food like *konkonte* (dried pieces of cassava), maize and groundnuts”. The black and white Colobus only come to the houses in Boabeng to lick clay off the buildings and urine in

the soils around the village. Thus, an interpretative poem was composed based on responses from interviews but also wider observations made by the researcher.



Plate 7.5 Beans dried in the compound at the mercy of the Monas. Credit: GWD.

Theobald (1998) has argued that tourism impacts on local communities are often lessened in literature, to maintain the market appeal for the eco-destinations. The poem thus contests the sole representations of human population increase at Boabeng-Fiema as a burden to the forest, and thus opens up perspectives that allow the residents of the communities to have a voice which uncovers that an increase in the population of the Mona monkeys is tantamount to more raiding of farms and foodstuff from their houses. For example, the Monas can “force hens in kung fu for untrammelled access to eggs” (line 17). Afia, a respondent at Fiema, compared the raiding by the Mona monkeys to

someone taking the crocodiles in the Paga Pond for granted by placing fingers in their mouths (see Line 24). The Paga Pond is an attraction site in Ghana; the pond is a habitat for friendly crocodiles. The respondent's example thus portrays how the Mona monkeys may come across as a 'pest' to some of the residents at the twin-village.

Interpretative Poem: Our Common Future

I

Now let me share this with you—
A harvest from the fields of our management
A harvest kind of exonerating magisterial furs...
That they scarcely ever come to the houses without invitation
That they scarcely harass you for possessing a garden of vegetables
That they never temper with the paintings on walls of houses
Or do they host athletic competitions on rooftops
The pandemonium asphyxiating sleep caught
To freshen up souls for another labour day...

II

Now let me share this with you—
A harvest from the fields of our management
A harvest kind of exonerating magisterial furs...
That they never engage in mischief just for the fun of it
That they never practice acrobatics on wires to birth cost of fixing
That they never bring colleagues to dinners they are not invited
That they never swarm chickens for sessions of happy slapping
Or force hens in kung fu for untrammelled access to eggs
And with the eggs being gormandised
Sounds of chicken houses of tomorrow portray meltdowns

III

Now let me share this with you—
A harvest from the fields of our management
A harvest kind of exonerating magisterial furs...
That they never bully little children to take their meals
Like putting fingers in jaws of Paga crocodiles to stretch their hospitality
“Weep not child! Weep not child!”—
Now these cute lovers of naughtiness
Are poised to multiply right into the castles of our reveries...
And oh how funny And oh how funny
Multitudes will expect us to be spectators to our own muffled flame

It can be argued from the voices in the poem that unless the economic benefits of ecotourism based on the Sanctuary are more equitably seen in the communities, there are chances that some of the villagers will eventually go beyond the ‘muffled flame’ (see line 29) to open confrontation. Consequently, the three stanzas of the poem show the major hardships that the residents face due to the increased population of the Mona monkeys. The poem thus refutes the sole representations of local population increase as antithetical to the sustainability of BFMS. Indeed, with these monkeys having a lifespan well over 20 years, this demands a holistic approach to tackling the burdens of ecotourism that the villages face and how this contributes to long-time sustainability of the Sanctuary. The analysis so far has been on the natural environment, the next section provides an example about the built environment at BFMS by arguing that the poems created so far are interconnected toward achieving the *desideratum* of the residents at BFMS. For example, a key issue that kept resurfacing in the research was the importance the residents of Boabeng-Fiema placed on the need for a coal-tar road. Consequently, the researcher composed research and interpretative poems to capture this communal voice.

7.3.5 The Road to Boabeng-Fiema and its Implications

Conservation education cannot disavow its built environment facet (Honey, 2008 and Lohmann and Duval, 2011). In fact, excessive delay of constructing the road from Nkoranza to BFMS, poses concern especially during raining seasons when the road becomes muddy and dangerous (see Plate 7.6). This inextricably affects the visitorship numbers, the overall attractiveness of the Sanctuary and also further marginalises the livelihood strategies of the residents of Boabeng and Fiema. For example, the current

state of the road at BFMS affects the residents in sending their wares and farm produce to the Nkoranza market and may contribute to worsening their economic security. Furthermore, the absence of a proper road means that the residents of the villages sometimes have to wait for buyers to come to the village, thus reducing their bargaining powers and encouraging the continued raiding of their produce by the Mona monkeys. Thus, biodiversity conservation should not be oblivious to the built environment facet of ecotourism as it is ineluctably interlinked with the sustainability of eco-destinations. The research poem was based on personal communication with Owusua at Fiema. She stressed that she was happy because it had not rained on the said day, and if the *trotro* (passengers' car) come early she would be able to get to the Nkoranza market early and sell her beans and return home in healthy time. The poem thus reiterates the dual importance of the road to the sustainability of BFMS and the wellbeing of the villagers. In the interpretative poem, the voice of Owusua is teased out with the wider observation of the marginalisation of rural areas in Ghana.



Plate 7.6 A Typical Scene on the Road to BFMS on a Raining Day. Credit: GWD.

For example, in line 11 the common observation of toads croaking in stagnant drainage systems, especially during raining seasons is evoked to contest the marginalisations of rural areas in Ghana. The interpretative poem was also very overt about the annoyance on the delay of making the road a second-class.

Research Poem: Dry

We shout another hallelujah
This Day.
Look at the Sky!

I may be at Nkoranza on time
Let the trotro drivers come
Regular.

We shout another hallelujah
Look at the Sky...
Dry!

Interpretative Poem: Delayed Flags

Discern the rustles of the canopies.

Let the trotro trot through
And we will metamorphose into early bird
And catch worms from heaps of haggling—
But the ballfire of meteorology of our geographies
Would in its season take holidays behind cavalcade of liberal clouds—

And Daworo would slurp from opulence
And Dance with panache of slithering elegance—

Behold the feculent nakedness of the lines on maps to our treasures!

Yet some tilapias of parliaments of our hopes
Hobnobbing with monotonous knot in our run-away waters
Would parade assortments of scales of Houdinism....
Oh beware trumpeters of transient lullabies into insomianic canals
The dancers find no joy in fontomfroms of fairy temperatures!

Discern the rustles of the canopies.

The interpretative poem argues that rural community development in Ghana should be given more of ‘action-input’ rather than lip service. For the poems to stay ‘with’ the voice of the researched, the researcher embarked on ‘analytical pruning’, which involved performing the poems again to the researched community as presented in Section 7.4.

7.4 Issues of Translation and Voice on Using Poetry in Research

This section critiques issues of translation in postcolonial geographical research, by opening up the need to address issues of voice in wider contestations that show propinquity to the realities of the ‘marginalised researched’ at BFMS.

In May 2008, the researcher re-visited Ghana to work on translation from English language into Fante so that the majority of the people in the communities who are not literate in English language could enjoy the poems and the prospects of their later use in conservation education at BFMS. Since the *raison d’être* of the Chapter is about ‘uncovering hidden voices’ on their biodiversity for conservation education at BFMS, the researcher endeavoured to ensure that the poems maintained their original voices. The poems were performed both in English language and Fante at the village centre at Boabeng. Dassah, the Chief Warden of BFMS expressed that “the deployment of poetry in Boabeng and Fiema communities can go a lot way of renewing their interests in conservation issues concerning BFMS” (Pers. Comm., 2008). This was based on the way that poetry performances help in bringing out discussions that prose may seem inadequate. For example, Boatemaa (Pers. Comm., 2008) who has listened to the poetry performance expressed, “I really found the way that you speak the things on the monkey

very educative, interesting and entertaining, I kept nodding and nodding”. The final versions of the poems involved delving into each poem and getting the feedback from the community members in attendance at the performance. In addition, the researcher performed the poems to key respondents (e.g. the fetish priest of Boabeng, the Chief of Boabeng, the Chief Warden, Madam Akowuah and the queen mother of Boabeng and the fetish priest of Abrafo). These individuals hold repertoire of knowledge on the origins of the monkeys and BFMS. The researcher then pushed the poems towards dialogue confluence—i.e. plurality in voice. This practice is at core of seeking to decentre the authorial voice where the final voice of a poem is multiply projected. Consequently, using poetry in research can help in ‘writing back’. Under the SPMET this thesis maintains that ‘giving back’ is different from ‘writing back’. ‘Giving back’ is what Ahluwalia (2001) meant by making postcolonial research to address the quotidian or material needs of the ‘researched’ (see Section 8.2.2 for further details). However, the concept of ‘writing back’ is about postcolonial research seeking to carry the voices of the ‘researched marginalised’ in a way that help them to speak from their own references, often referred to in postcolonialism as the ‘Empire Writes Back’ (Ashcroft et al., 1989).

Poetry is just a method among the myriad methods in the postcolonial toolkit; albeit one that has received less attention in geography research up to date (Madge and Eshun, submitted). It is also worth to add that poetry could be incorporated with other research methods (e.g. participatory rural appraisal) to achieve more informed research. For example, a researcher can create a poem on a research aim based on literature review, and then recite it to respondents; the ability of poetry to provoke emotions can lead to

respondents to give their own views on a research aim. It is however worth noticing that, during the translation of the research poems (*nhwehwem awensem*, Akan) and the interpretative poems (*dodoano awensem*, Akan), differences in the creative process became more overt. Earlier, it was argued that interpretative poems permit a researcher's idiosyncratic additions as well as being relatively higher on imagination than research poems. For example, the translation of the research poem—'the oracle message' to Fante was quite straightforward in conforming to the style in the English version. It therefore follows that since the interpretative poems in the English language differed from the research poems in content and context, the translations of the English versions of the interpretative poems were borne to be even more different in their Fante versions. For instance, the translation of the interpretative poem—"A Trumpet through the Oracle Message", to Fante "*Atsentsenben wɔ Akoramɔ*" changed quite noticeably in content and context in comparison to the English version. In fact, the imagery used in the English version in the lines 6-7: "the arcane fontomfoms of conjugal deities stays out// Of pari passu with the stentorian tomtom of the Gethsemane Way"—changed notably in the Fante version, though the meaning remained the same.

Consequently, with an interpretative poem a researcher becomes more aware of sometimes the inadequacy of the English language to 'carry' some of the nuances in Fante. However, it does not matter whether a translation is from a language in the South to another language in the South, or language in the North to another in the North or from Northern language to Southern language—because every language has its own 'historic significance and features', 'cultural meanings' and 'modes and styles of expression'.

Nhwehwem awensem: Akoramu Asem (Fante Version)

Nna me papa kã kyere me de,
Damo a hun ndwira sen a
Afoa ebien na kwakuo ebien rebɔ ho ban
Na ndow no ye adzepa ma hen daakye

Nna me papa kã kyere me de,
Nkoranza omanhen bi
Atormuadze a ɔbɔ ndow no hũ ban
Na se ɔko ha wɔ Asarekoma a, oku mbowa no bi—
omanhene no kum nyimpa a
Odwen de wɔ ye ndow
Asarekomafo no kum Omanhen no

Nna me papa kã kyere me de,
Hen nuanom a wɔwɔ etifino—
Ye Fobiri na Donsah adehye
Hun nananom dzii mogyafra
Onam do ma wɔdze hun hyee Nkoransahen nsa
Nkoransahen no hyee hon Abujo
Hon mu trewee maa wɔ fre hon Fiema

Nna me papa kã kyere me de,
Hen nuanom a wɔwɔ Fiema
Gyidzide de ndow no toru no mu
Osan hon bosom Abujo ntsi

Nna me papa kã kyere me de,
Dawuro na Abujo ye mboa no abosom
Na Daworo na Abujo awar
Bio se ndow no bi wu a, wɔnkura hon yie—

Me kae afi duakorun edusoun nhyiasi no
Nkuro nkakrababi beda yaano
Asor mba a ofi Agyenkwa Asor no
Kumkumbi ndow no bi—
Afieso mpanyimfo a wɔwɔ Boabeng fre me papa
De ɔdze abusua asase ama ndow
Sanso me papa dze ne nsa kyere Aborɔfo bi do de,
Babanyin, se Aborɔfo ba kuroyi mu pii a
Nna hwɛpa yɛdze hwɛ mboa no ntsi a: Akoramu Asem.

Dodooano awenseɛm: Atsentsenben (Fante Version)

Yɛ dze hɛn tekyerema ka hɔn a wɔfi ha na amonano
Yɛ predɛ hɛn ndze begyegyɛ dɛ ma yetii fii nananom anum
Ma hɛn ndze egyena potii de ntsetsea dan —
Yenkofa a ɔda hɛn nuanomntsinamu tre de esutsen Nile:
Na tsetsekaasomu no a, ɔbo mbowa no ho ban no
Siesieradze fahodzi a ɔwɔ Christo mu ama naa hɔndzen akɔfomu
ɔnam dem ntsi ɔama abanbofo forfor aba kuro nye mu—
Afe eduonum na nyeboree na hɛn ndwumapa daadzi
Ntsi yɛbɔ yɛnho nsabran fa totonbentomu
Dze retwɛn hɛn siesiera na daadze tsenapamu
Yɛbɔ hɛn nsabran dɛ ɔbodu akyerakyer
Hɛn ahokyer retwɛn ndzɛpa: ntsi yaayɛ kɔmm dɛ Dipo mbaabun
Dze retwɛn hɛn siesiera na daadze tsenapamu
Na hɛn awerehyemu sen ananaben ahyehyensamu
Yɛ dze hɛn tekyerema ka hɔn a wɔfi ha na amonano
Yɛ predɛ hɛn ndze begyegyɛ dɛ ma yetii fii nananom anum
Ma hɛn ndze egyena potii de ntsetsea dan —

Translation therefore affects the materiality of the text so transcribed by bringing in the cultural, political and historical viewpoints of the translator. Furthermore, oral poetry performances may make them more dynamic to resist their containment in hegemonic channels— thus their translation into text or other languages may result in loss of add-on qualities, such as gesticulations and audience participation that accompany their performances. The onus is thus on a researcher to carry the voices of the ‘researched’ as much as it is possible in a translated poem, rather than seeking for the translated versions to be in the same form and style as their English versions. Although, “good translations are in themselves creative works”, however, translators cannot deny the overt and the subtle politics associated with language usage in postcolonial research, because: “languages like classes and nations exist in a hierarchy: as does translation itself,

traditionally thought of in terms of an original and inferior copy” (Young 2003, p.138). Translation thus is not a neutral activity, because it is underpinned by power differentials. Young (2003, p.138) adds that translation “becomes part of the process of domination, of achieving control, a violence carried out on the language, culture, and people being translated”. For example, Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1985) has argued that English language contributed to ‘colonising the African mind’ and thus there should be a return to the use of native tongues in African literature. Some African authors such as—Ngugi and Kofi Awoonor have opted for composing their literary works in their native Gikuyu and Ewe respectively as a form of resistance (Young, 2001). However, since most of the authors from Africa are already established in their inherited metropolitan languages—for most of them to learn to write in their native languages is often an off-putting assignment. Furthermore, authors’ who work in their native tongues still have their works translated into metropolitan languages (Ashcroft et al, 1995; Ojaide, 1995 and Anyidoho, 2003).

For example, Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s initial works in English language gave him the international audience that he now enjoys (see Young, 2001). Currently, variances of English language abound: Caribbean English, American English and Canadian English (Ashcroft et al, 1995 and Lamming, 1995). For example, in a poem titled “The Worthiness of Argument”, published in the UK, the researcher mimicked this by replacing ‘th’ with ‘d’ to create a semblance with the pidgin rhetoric and conformity:

“Widout women, //Dere would be no men. //Widout men, //Dere would be no women. //Widout women and men, //Dere would be no argument. //And widout de spice of argument, //De world would be seasonless and full of zombies”.
(Eshun 2005, p.70).

Chinua Achebe has argued that ‘the English language now occupies an unassailable position in African literature—because it shows the potentials of being able to bear the weight of African experience’ (Ashcroft et al 1999, p.286). In addition, although subjecting the metropolitan languages to serve African experiences is an uneasy assignment—authors have however gained their authentic voice through continued writing and performance. Consequently, playing printed poems/oral poems and poems in native languages/poems in metropolitan languages against each other may seem a counterproductive addition rather than an innovative addition to the postcolonial project of ‘provincialisation of Euro-Americanism’ (Chakrabarty, 2000). Currently, English language remains the highest language spoken by people from different countries and races as well as being the “lingua franca of globalization and global capitalism, and in this capacity it is also the international language of tourism” (Noy 2008, p.146). The *raison d’être* of this Section thus is not about the ‘politics of translation and which language/s for Africa *per se*’, but rather about subjecting the metropolitan languages to the traditions of African orature to address some of its big and urgent priorities—e.g. the escalating rates of biodiversity loss, migration issues, vulnerability to world market, economic poverty and paludism. The next Section provides a summary of the Chapter.

7.5 Summary to the Chapter

Chapter Seven has explored theoretically and pragmatically the use of poetry in conservation education through ecotourism based on BFMS in Ghana. It has been argued in the Chapter that poems might be a means by which academic geographers can be responsible to its ‘public’ in Ghana and through which complex expressions of voice

might be explored and contested (cf. Chakrabarty, 2000 and Noxolo, 2009). The Chapter quite exhaustively showed how the two main types of poems—research and interpretative poems were created for conservation education at BFMS. These poems sought the voices of the people of Boabeng and Fiema, their beliefs and worldviews towards ensuring their wellbeing and the sustainability of BFMS.

Indeed, although poetry is a method that is finely attuned to rural communities in Ghana (because orality is still trenchant in these spaces), there is the need to recognise that poems might be useful for many other researches in many other geographical contexts too. Five main conservation-related themes were explored in the Chapter, namely how the origin of the monkeys in BFMS underpins how the people of Boabeng and Fiema relate to the Sanctuary, layers of voices on the sinking of the spring *Daworo Etifi*, marginalisation of children in conservation education projects, the burden borne by the community residents due to the raiding of the Monas and the implications of the lack of a good road to BFMS. To avoid privileging the ‘folk of the province’ (Hollinshead, 2004), the data were generated from different groups of respondents in both Boabeng and Fiema communities. The created poems were performed and any suggestions from the researched communities’ were fittingly incorporated for conservation education at BFMS. Overall, the Chapter concludes that the deployment of poetry is ‘to cast a spell to move stakeholders who will use the research outputs, rather than just simply informing them’ (Cahnmann 2002, p.231). The next Chapter provides the major academic contributions of thesis along with recommendations based on the thesis.

Chapter 8 Ecotourism Development in Post-independent Ghana: The Key Findings and Contributions and Recommendations of the Thesis

8.0 Introduction to the Chapter

This Chapter provides a summary of the main findings from the historical, comparative and methodological aims of the thesis. The analyses in the Chapters Five, Six and Seven have elaborated comprehensively and respectively on the tripartite aims of the thesis. Section (8.1) therefore highlights the key findings and contributions of the thesis. Section (8.2) recommends an interdisciplinary approach to ecotourism development research in Ghana, along with the need to ‘give back to’ local communities in the country (cf. Noxolo, 2009). Section (8.3) then provides the ultimate conclusion to the thesis.

8.1 The Key Findings and Contributions of the Thesis

The thesis analysed ecotourism development in Ghana through the lens of postcolonialism: the thesis makes original contributions to the body of knowledge on ecotourism, through the use of historical, comparative and methodological studies.

The foremost contribution of the thesis to the corpus of knowledge on ecotourism and postcolonial geography is its prospects of ‘provincialising Euro-Americanism’ through the proposed SPMET and the use of poetry in research in Africa. In Chapter Three, the thesis argues that oral cultural legacies in Africa such as proverbs, storytelling and poems can be used in ways that help to ensure that knowledges that are created in Africa are

congruous with the ‘lived experiences’ of the majority of Africans (Anyidoho, 2003). The thesis contributes to the sparse literature in Africa on how poetry can be employed to analyse the potential of ecotourism to contribute to conservation education on the Continent. The thesis employed poetry because of its ability to communicate issues with ‘weaved-words’ that demand reflections that go beyond proverbs and folktales (see Chapter Seven). Two types of poetry were introduced and critiqued in this thesis: research and interpretative poems. The research poems sought to carry the voices of the ‘researched’, however, with the interpretative poems the politics, visions and concerns of the researcher are fused into the voices of the ‘researched marginalised’, in a move towards heteroglossia in practice (Langer and Furman, 2004 and Furman et al, 2010).

Based on research at Boabeng-Fiema of BFMS, primary data were generated to create research and interpretative poems. Seeking for ‘polyvolcality’ in the research, the respondents for this study differed in power levels, age, gender, educational background and occupation. Five main themes were analysed namely: ‘implication of origin of the monkeys on conservation at BFMS’, ‘the sinking of the spring Daworo *Etifi*’, ‘Children and conservation education’, ‘Bearing the raiding by the Mona monkeys’ and ‘the implications of the untarred road to BFMS’ (see Chapter Seven for details). The thesis concludes that both research and interpretative poems critique the objectivity of quantitative and qualitative research canons such as realist ethnography (see Chapters Three and Seven). The thesis also maintains that, although the English language may not be able to convey some of the socio-cultural nuances embedded in Fante, nonetheless the

English language is part of Ghana's post-independent reality and can be made to serve the country's visions and aspirations (cf. Achebe, 1995 and Lamming, 1995).

Secondly, the thesis has argued that ecotourism development in Ghana shows continuity with colonial wildlife conservation, forestry and land use. This is shown in four major areas namely, 'marginalisation of local community', 'neo-crisis representations on nature and people', 'entrenchment of international forces' and 'marginalisation of local ecological knowledges' (see Chapter Five for details). Currently, the concept of community is still not articulated in ecotourism development in Ghana. Even in the Community-Based Ecotourism in the country, 'community' is taken as selecting some few people as representatives who often see themselves as accountable to themselves or to the chiefs and elders of their communities as against accountability to all of the stakeholders with interests in the eco-destinations. This oversight has resulted in majority of the people of the local communities seeing themselves as detached from ecotourism in their domains, a situation that can lead to apathy and even antagonism if it remains unaddressed (cf. Marfo, 2009). As a result, it is now not an uncommon observation to see that local communities offer resistances to eco-site development and their management as a way of seeking for their voices to be heard (cf. Osagie and Buzinde, 2011).

Colonial wildlife conservation and forestry misrepresented local communities as threat to the sustainability of biodiversity (Amanor, 2003 and Cline-Cole and O'Keefe, 2006). Ecotourism development in Ghana generally appropriates colonial mindsets as its major stakeholders wish. In Chapter Five, details were presented on how colonial wildlife and

forestry still show some continuity in ecotourism development in Ghana. Quite remarkably, contemporary Ghana still position its environment and development realities in universal programmes, which often are targeted at satisfying the few powerful nations (and currently, with the palpable addition of China). Ghana can make ecotourism become a tool for conservation and development only through making the concept reflect the realities of the country. For example, some actors of ecotourism in Ghana still disavow livelihood mandates from biodiversity conservation issues—a dangerous dichotomy that still bedevils the sustainability of eco-destinations in the country. However, UNEP (2010) has advised all actors involved in biodiversity conservation to take the necessary steps to understand the competing values placed on biodiversity and what steps they can take to protect them. As a consequence, the onus is on managers of eco-destinations in Africa to consider the conservation aim of eco-destinations and the welfare of especially the local communities (see Amanor, 2003; Cline-Cole and O’Keefe, 2006 and Lacher and Nepal, 2010). This is essential if issues of sustainability are to be brought from the arena of rhetoric into practice (cf. Marfo, 2009). For example, Page et al (2009) have stressed that to sustain the peatlands in Indonesia there is the need to introduce sustainable livelihood strategies to the local communities to effectively achieve conservation aims and poverty alleviation. However, achieving both poverty alleviation and conservation is never a straightforward or an easy task (Adams et al, 2004 and Upton, 2008).

Thirdly, the thesis remains a pioneer research in Ghana that explores the governance of a SLE and a CBE and their contributions to conservation and development (see Chapter Six). There was the need for a comparative study to fill the lacuna in literature on local

voices on the impacts of SLE and CBE development in Ghana. The thesis therefore sought to compare the voices of the residents at Abrafo and Boabeng-Fiema on KNP and BFMS. BFMS and KNP are the leading CBE and SLE in Ghana respectively. The thesis showed that ecotourism on BFMS and KNP has brought untoward hardships to the people in these communities and that these impacts have their dis/similarities among the sub-groups within them. The comparative study shows the impacts on the locals to include reduced sources of income and jobs, increased cash needs for buying some items, lack of participation, reduced access to local medicine, reduced protein sources and increase in schism between staff of the eco-sites and members of the local villages (cf. Bailey, 1999). At Boabeng-Fiema, because of the partial participation of its people through BFMSMC, their voices on BFMS are not 'resentment-filled' compared to the people at Abrafo. However, members of local communities have competing interests on natural resources in eco-sites (including the lands), which may not always be in line with issues of sustainability. Thus, the removal of bans for access to resources in BFMS and KNP could result in their long time sustainability being sacrificed for short time activities such as hunting (including endangered species), logging and unbridled agriculture.

The thesis thus concurs with Lash (2003) that there is great requirement for sustained introduction of a non export-oriented range of economic activities and facilities in these communities. These could include agro-forestry, grasscutter rearing, mushroom cultivation, snail rearing, apiculture and micro-finance in order to lessen the dependence of local communities on the resources in eco-destinations (Swarbrooke, 1999; Fennell, 2008 and Honey, 2008). There is also the need to build the capacities of local people

around eco-destinations (i.e. bookkeeping) along with other training in tourism to ensure that they have the requisite knowledge and skills to take some of the upgrade jobs in ecotourism as well as to maintain the economic viability of those in the informal sector.

8.2 Recommendations based on the Thesis

This Section presents recommendations based on the thesis. It particularly stresses on the need for interdisciplinary approaches to ecotourism development research in Ghana (and Africa) alongside the dire need to ‘give back’ to the researched communities.

8.2.1 Partnership for Sustainable Ecotourism Development in Ghana

The United Nations Environmental Programme, which declared 2010 as the International Year of Biodiversity—stressed that there is the urgent need for strategic planning between biodiversity conservation and development (UNEP, 2010). In addition, it was argued under the SPMET, that research in Africa needs to emphasize its political and ethical obligations to the emancipatory objectives of the Continent (see Chapter Three). Thus, the overt functionalist approach to research in the academe in Africa (instead of teasing out the synergies and dysergies in their collaborations) seems problematic. For example, a review of research conducted so far on ecotourism by Ghanaian researchers shows an overt ‘departmental consuetude’, where principally their geography and natural resource departments champion issues on ecotourism development in Ghana.

This observation demands probing how the other departments (e.g. humanities and engineering) can help in the vision of achieving sustainable ecotourism development in

Ghana. Milazi (1996, p.45) has stated that Africa's research on sustainable development should be: 'guided by what is necessary and what is possible and what it will cost in financial terms, in institutional terms, and in terms of shared social responsibility towards achieving biodiversity conservation and rural community development'. More specifically, research on ecotourism development in Africa should include more interdisciplinary and interdepartmental collaborations, which is essential to any social action, and especially the sustainability of Africa's diverse ecosystems and peoples (Ibid.). Earlier, Kwame Nkrumah (1964, p.2) has advised that it is only through: "the practical union of theory and action that the life of man (people) can attain the highest material, cultural, moral and spiritual fulfilment in the service of his (her) fellow men (people)—this ultimately is the justification for the pursuit of knowledge".

Furthermore, there is also a 'culture of islandism' between the tourism educational institutions in Ghana and other tourism-related professional establishments such as GTB, Forestry Commission, NCC, NCRC, EPA and Tourism Operators Union of Ghana-TOUGHHA. To overcome this problem, this thesis recommends for the establishment of a Ghana Tourism Sustainability Centre (GTSC)—as an autonomous umbrella institution for knowledge creation and dissemination on tourism in Ghana. The GTSC should seek to create platforms for independent researchers on tourism, departments of both public and private institutions (such as University of Cape Coast, GIMPA, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University of Ghana and University of Development Studies) and the professionals in tourism-related businesses in Ghana to be involved in dialogue, actions and research towards sustainable eco/tourism development

in Ghana. In addition, the SPMET argues that postcolonial research is laden with ‘textual criticisms’ at the expense of addressing the quotidian realities in especially Africa. The next Section therefore recommends for ‘giving back’ to ‘researched communities’.

8.2.2 Giving Back to Researched Communities in Ghana

The thesis recommends that research in Africa needs to address the issues of ‘giving back’ to the ‘researched communities’ and discusses the difference this ‘giving back’ might make in terms of acting out postcoloniality. This recommendation falls under the tutelage of responsible research, which seeks to expose the political contestations and the pain and the absences that underpin ‘global relationships touched by histories of exploitation and inequality’ (Raghuram et al 2008, p.3). The ‘giving back’ motif is thus concerned with the objectives of our research, what is done with our research, what difference it makes in the lives of the researched (see Raghuram and Madge, 2006 and Noxolo, 2009). In the preceding Section, the thesis proposes for the establishment of GTSC. The link of the GTSC with the issue of ‘giving back’ can suggest to prospective researchers on tourism in Ghana to take on board some of the identified gaps in the tourism sector in the country. This demands GTSC and its diverse partners (e.g. the GTB, NCRC, MOT&DR, EPA, Ghana Tourism Federation-GHATOF). Forestry Commission, National Commission on Culture, HOTCATT, Ghanaian Universities and Polytechnics) to coordinate efforts in identifying the significant gaps in tourism research in the country. The gaps identified by GTSC should be embedded in the material struggle of the country. Consequently, when prospective researchers take on board some of the research needs identified by GTSC, researchers may be contributing concurrently to the visions of

Ghana for sustainable tourism development in the country. Put differently, although a research may be about satisfying an academic requirement or purpose, GTSC can help tourism research in Ghana to be embedded within the issues of exploring the uneven commoditisation of society and nature in the pursuit of developmental and environmental aims within the ambit of neo-liberal globalisation (cf. Cline-Cole and O’Keefe, 2006).

Under the SPMET it was argued that many respondents especially in Africa continue to lament the culture of researchers only concerned with sending bound copies of their works to local institutions since the majority of members of local communities especially in Africa are often illiterate in most of the northern languages (Cloke et al, 2004). For example, at Boabeng the brother of Boatema, whom the author was interviewing, asked:

“[Please] I have seen my sister answering questions for over an hour now. I feel her responses are going to appear in books or be used to make ‘something’ but what will she gain for her time and responses? Our community has seen many Ghanaians and foreigners come here for ‘something’ connected with the monkeys, but when they leave we never see them again or what they did with our responses?”.
(Fieldwork, 2006-2007).

To this end, the author has registered an NGO, Sankofa Ecotourism International (SEI) in Ghana with three objectives namely, conservation education, micro-financing and ecotourism marketing in Ghana. However, the thesis is in no way using the notion of ‘giving back’ as a ‘quick fix’ to the myriad of problems at researched communities. Surely, giving back is a complex process of working in small, everyday ways with various community members (with differing agenda and power), institutional organisations and national policy-making bodies. Is this where the most responsible versions of postcolonial research may lie? Furthermore, ‘giving back’ demands asking:

“Can the subalterns ever speak or be heard, even through postcolonial research and its performance? What efforts must go in beyond the academe for this to occur (e.g. involving the G8, WB, IMF, UN and WTO)? Will there always be a sense of ‘contamination’, which makes it impossible to reject a system of unequal power relations whilst one continues to benefit materially from it?”
(Madge and Eshun, Submitted).

As a result, ‘giving back’ specifically through poetry in local languages is a way of making the research outcomes useable by the ‘researched communities’ because they have access to it on their terms of reference. Thus at least, Fante poetry can act as a translating ‘bridge’ between local cultures and well-meaning but often culturally insensitive ‘development’ organizations (Chikezie, 2004; Airhihenbuwa, 2006; Power, 2009 and Sharp, 2009). The next Section provides a succinct conclusion to the thesis.

8.3 Conclusion to the Thesis

The thesis is interconnected through the historical, comparative and methodological studies. Throughout the thesis, it has been demonstrated that colonialism and neo-colonialism in Ghana (and Africa) permeate the very core of the country’s environmental, psycho-social, educational and politico-economic systems. Under the five areas of the SPMET—access, socio-cultural issues, external pressures, ethics and epistemic tool—the thesis maintains that research in Africa must be embedded within the aspirations of Africans. As a result, the proposed SPMET is about emancipatory research in Africa, where issues of material struggles of the postcolonials are given overt precedence in the research objectives (cf. Chilisa, 2005 and Noxolo, 2009). Indeed, the SPMET offers methodological underpinnings to geographical research in Africa, particularly in the area of calling researchers attention to the need of making research in Africa ‘speak back’ on

the Continent's quotidian realities (Ahluwalia, 2001). The SPMET therefore is an engaging methodology because it questions the whole research enterprise towards the prospects of alternative world picturing (Sidaway, 2001), and the problematisation of the disavowal of colonial history and neo-colonial ramifications in the present realities of the postcolonials (cf. Osagie and Buzinde, 2011). Jack and Westwood (2005) argue that researchers must realise that research is not a neutral activity, and that there are issues of power and privileges embedded in its execution and dialectics. As a consequence, some African policy makers, academicians and development practitioners are arguing that research on Africa must speak with the Continent's 'shibboleths' (Appiah, 1991; Eze, 1997; Zeleza, 2002; Anyidoho, 2003; Chikezie, 2004; Chilisa, 2005 and Yeboah, 2006).

Currently, the researcher realising that current literature on ecotourism has been silent on colonial wildlife and forestry was very careful not to only 'chronicle linear time', but rather to unearth the subtleties of 'mutations of colonialism' at the core of ecotourism development in post-independent Ghana. It has been argued throughout the thesis that despite the differences in 'developmental geopolitics and environmental biopolitics' they are both born from the intellectual ambitions of Northern countries (Kiss, 2004). Currently, ecotourism to a large degree commoditises nature and culture in a system of production for material profit, while local people who bear most of its direct and indirect costs, actually receive minimal benefits in return (Gilbert, 2007). Nonetheless, almost all countries in the South have embarked on the ecotourism bandwagon, often without contesting how ecotourism can fortify colonial marginalisations and breed new ones (Hall and Tucker, 2004). In Africa, ecotourism development is often built on fortress

conservation, for example, the relocation of the Ik People from Kidepo National Park in Uganda caused the virtual extinction of the tribe through famine. Consequently, although success stories of ecotourism abound in the South, there is the danger that it can become the new sugar plantation economy if issues of equity are not given pragmatic attention.

Overall, the thesis argues that ecotourism development—i.e. both the SLEs and CBEs in Ghana like colonial forestry and wildlife conservation continue to marginalise local communities in the country. Although, the residents of the local communities are not passive to externally generated projects, often the national compradors and their international collaborators who initiate ecotourism projects, possess the wherewithal that may win over special ‘powers centres’ (e.g. the Chiefs and Assembly members) in local communities. This may further marginalize the majority of the residents. Against this backdrop, the thesis calls for responsible, ethical and politically-charged research on ecotourism development in Ghana. Furthermore, the thesis maintains it is never productive for actors concerned with Africa and its betterment to use the rather excruciating ramifications of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and neo/colonialism as façade for the Continent’s post-independent oversights. Consequently, the resistances of Africa in the 21st century to sever dependency on the North and curb the neglects of post-independent governance will erupt from proactive and pragmatic approaches embedded in the visions of true emancipation. More specifically, the real challenge for researchers, development practitioners and policy makers in Ghana is not whether or not the country should promote ecotourism enterprises, but rather what kind of ‘ecotourism’ should be encouraged and how this should be developed with the urgency of responsibility.

Bibliography and Appendices

Bibliography

- Abarry, A., 1984. A Traditional Poetry of the Ga of Ghana. *Journal of Black Studies*. 14(4): 493-506.
- Abdullah, S., 1999. *Creating a World that Works for All*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.
- Abu-Juam, M., Gyakari, J.N. and Ekpe, P.K. 1996. *Boabeng-Fiema monkey sanctuary floral inventory*. Report prepared for the BFMS Management Committee.
- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. and Robinson, J. 2005 Institutions as the Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth. In *Handbook of Economic Growth*. Ed Aghion, P and Durlauf, S.
- Ackah, C. G., Aryeetey B-D, E. and Ernest, A., 2009. Global Financial Crisis Discussion Series Paper 5: Ghana.
- Adams, W.A.M, Aveling, R., Dan Brockington, D., Dickson, B., Elliott, J Hutton, J., Roe, D., Bhaskar Vira and Wolmer, W. 2004. Biodiversity Conservation and the Eradication of Poverty *Science* 306(5699): 1146-1149.
- Addo-Boadu, A. M., 2010. *Human-Wildlife Conflict Management around Kakum Conservation Area, Ghana*. Central European University, Budapest: Hungary.
- Adu-Boahen, A., 1987. *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Agbodeka, F., 1972. *Ghana in the Twentieth Century*. Ghana: Universities Press.
- Agbodza, G.K. and Agbo, R. O., 1986. *Visitor Attractions in Ghana: Monuments and Historical Landmarks along the Coast*. Cape Coast: Nyakod Press.
- Ahluwalia, P., 2001. *Politics and postcolonial theory: Africa inflections*. London: Routledge.
- Akama, J.S., 2004. Neocolonialism, Dependency and External control of Africa's Tourism Industry: a Case Study of Wildlife Safari Tourism Kenya. In Hall, C.M. and Tucker, H., (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp. 140–151.
- Akyeampong, E., 2000. Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora in Africa. *African Affairs* 99:183–215.
- Akyeampong, E., 2001. History, Memory Slave Trade and Slavery in Anlo. *Slavery and Abolition*. 22 (3) 1-24.

Akyeampong, O., 2008. Ecotourism Planning and Development in Ghana. In Akyeampong, O. and Asiedu, A.B., (eds.) *Tourism in Ghana: A Modern Synthesis* Accra: Assemblies of God Literature Centre. pp.1-23.

Airhihenbuwa, C.O., 2006. On Being Comfortable With Being Uncomfortable: Centring an Africanist Vision in Our Gateway to Global Health. *Health Education and Behaviour* **20**(10): 1-12.

Amanor, K.S., 1999. *Global restructuring and land rights in Ghana: Forest food chains, timber and rural livelihoods*. Report No. 108 Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Amanor K.S., 2001. *Land, Labour and the Family in Southern Ghana A Critique of Land Policy under Neo-Liberalisation Research*. Report No. 116 Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Andreasson, S., 2005. Orientalism and African development studies: The reductive repetition motif in theories of African underdevelopment. *Third World Quarterly* **26** (6): 971–86.

Anyidoho, K., 1993. *A Harvest of Our Dreams with the Elegy for the Revolution*. Accra, Ghana: Woeli Publishing Services.

Anyidoho, K., 2003. The back without which there is no front. *Africa Today* **50** (2):3-18.

Appiah, A.K., 1967. *The Development of the Monetary and Financial System of Ghana*. PhD Thesis: Leeds University.

Appiah, K.A., 1991. Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial? *Critical Inquiry* **17**(2): 336-357.

Appiah K., Boakye, K. and Tetteh, V.A. 2005. Ghana's Destination Lifecycle Experience. In C. Koutra., (ed.). *Cultural Heritage, Destination Competitiveness Model and LDCs: from theory to action*. A case of Ghana. UNWTO report.

Appiah, Mark., Blay, D., Damnyag, L., Dwomoh, F. K., Pappinen, A., Luukkanen, O., 2009. Dependence on forest resources and tropical deforestation in Ghana. *Environment Development Sustainability*. 11:471–487.

Arogundade, B., 2000. *Black Beauty*. London: Pavilion Books.

Aryeetey, E. and Fosu A. K., 2003. *Economic Growth in Ghana 1960-2000*. ISSER: Ghana.

Aryeetey, E. and Kanbur, R., 2004. *Macroeconomic Stability, Growth and Poverty Reduction in Ghana* ISSER. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.

- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffin, H. (eds.) 1989. *The Empires Write Back: Theory and Practice in Postcolonial Literatures*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffin, H. (eds.)1995. *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Ashley, C., 2000. *The Impacts of Tourism on Rural Livelihoods: Namibia's Experience*. Working Paper 128. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Asiedu, A. B., 2002 Making Ecotourism more Supportive of Rural Development in Ghana *West African Journal of Applied Ecology* 3:1-18
- Asiedu, A. B., 2008. Tourism Planning in Ghana. In Akyeampong, O. and Asiedu, A.B., (eds.) *Tourism in Ghana: A Modern Synthesis*. Accra: Assemblies of God Literature Centre.
- Asirifi, D., 2008. *History of Ghana: Prez Nkrumah to Prez Kofour*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Ateljevic I., Keith Hollinshead, K., and Ali, N. 2009. Special Issue Endnote: Tourism and Worldmaking - Where Do We Go From Here? *Tourism Geographies* 11: (4) 546 — 552.
- Atkinson, P., 1999. Representations of Conflict in the Western Media: The manufacture of a barbaric periphery. In Skelton, T. and Allen, T., (eds.) *Culture and Global Change*. London: Routledge. pp.103-108.
- Baidu-Ntiamoa, Y., 2002. Indigenous versus introduced Biodiversity Conservation Strategies: The case of protected Area Systems in Ghana. In Weber, W., et al (eds.) *African Rainforest Ecology and Conservation*. Yale University Press. pp. 385-396.
- Bailey, B., 1999. *Social and Economic Impacts of Harvested Products*. West Virginia University: PhD Thesis.
- Banerjee, S. B., 2003. Who sustains whose development? Sustainable development and the reinvention of nature. *Organization Studies* 24(1): 143–180.
- Barkin, D., 1999. *Ecotourism: A tool for sustainable development in an Era of International Integration?* Yale F and E.S Bulletin.
- Barnes, R.F.W., 1997. A proposed solution to the Kakum elephant problem. In *Facing the Storm: Five Years of Research in and around Kakum National Park, Ghana. Proceedings of Kakum Conservation Area Research Colloquium*. Conservation International, Washington DC. pp.15–18.
- Barnes, R.F.W., Boafo, Y., Nandjui, A., Farouk, U.D., Hema, E.M., Danquah, E. and Manford, M. 2003. *An Overview of Crop-Raiding by Elephants around Kakum Conservation Area*. Elephant Biology and Management Project. Africa Program, Conservation International.

- Beaumont, N., 1998. The Meaning of ecotourism to is there now consensus for denying this natural phenomenon? An Australian Perspective. *Pacific Tourism Review* 2 (3/4): 239-250.
- Bhabha, H.K., (2nd Ed.) 2004. *Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Binns, T., 1995. *People and Environment in Africa*. Wiley: London.
- Blunt, A., and McEwan, C., 2002. *Postcolonial Geographies*. London: Guildford.
- Bonnett, M., 1997. Environmental Education and Beyond. *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 18: 249-266.
- Bonsu, S.K., 2009. Colonial images in global times: consumer interpretations of Africa and Africans in advertising. *Consumption Markets and Culture* 12(1):1–25.
- Booth, D., Crook R., Gyimah-Boadi, E., Killick, T., Luckham, R and Boateng, N. 2005. *What are the Drivers of Change in Ghana?* Policy Brief No. 1. London: ODI
- Brandon, K. E., and Wells, M., 1992. Planning for people and parks: Design dilemmas. *World development* 20(4): 557-570.
- Brandon, K., Redford, K. and Sanderson, S. (eds.) 1998 *Parks in Peril: People, Politics and Protected Areas*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Brearley L., 2000. Exploring the creative voice in an academic context. *The Qualitative Report* 5(3):4. (<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR5-3/brearley.html>, Accessed/07/06/08).
- Brechin, S. R., Wilshusen, P. R., Fortwangler C. L. and West, P. C., 2002. Beyond the Square: toward a more comprehensive understanding of Biodiversity Conservation as Social and Political process. *Society and Natural Resource* 15:41-64.
- Breisinger, C., Diao, X., and Thurlow, J., 2009. Modelling growth options and structural change to reach middle income country status: The case of Ghana. *Economic Modelling*. 26:514–525.
- Briggs, J., and Sharp, J., 2004. Indigenous knowledges and development: a postcolonial caution. *Third World Quarterly* 25(4): 661-676.
- Brown, K., 2003. Three Challenges for a Real People-centred Conservation. *Global Ecology and Biogeography* 12:89-92.
- Bruner, E.M., 1996. Tourism in Ghana: the representation of slavery and the return of the black Diaspora. *American Anthropologist* 98:291.
- Buckley, R., 2009. Evaluating the net effects of ecotourism on the environment: a framework, first assessment and future research. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 17 (6): 643-672.

Burley, F. W., 1988. Monitoring Biological Diversity for Setting Priorities in Conservation. In E.O.Wilson., (ed.) *Biodiversity*. Washington, D.C. National Academy Press. p.227-230.

Cahnmann, M., 2003. The Craft, Practice, and Possibility of Poetry in Educational Research. *Educational Researcher* **32**(3):29-36.

Campbell, L.M., 1999. Ecotourism in rural Developing Communities. *Annals of Tourism Research* **26**(3): 534-553.

Campbell, M.O., 2004. Traditional forest protection and woodlots in the coastal savannah of Ghana. *Environmental Conservation* **31**(3): 225-232.

Carter, E. and Lowman, G., 1994. *Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option?* Chichester: Wiley.

Cater, E., 2006. Ecotourism as a Western Construct. *Journal of Ecotourism* **5**(1):23-39.

Ceballos-Lascurain, H., 1996. *Tourism and Protected Areas: The State of Nature Based Tourism around the World and Guidelines for its Development*. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland.

Chabota, M. and Gérard, D., 1998. Land-use planning and participation the case of Inuit public housing. *Habitat International* **22**(4): 429-447.

Chakrabarty, D., 2000. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chambers, R., 1983. *Rural Development: Putting the first last*. London: Longman

Chawla, D., 2008. Poetic arrivals and departures: bodying the ethnographic field in verse. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* **9**(2). (<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/38/Accessed/07/09/08>).

Chikezie, C-E., 2004. *The Commission for Africa: Who is framing Who?*
<http://www.bond.org.uk/networker/2004/april04/opinion.htm/Accessed/22/10/05>.

Chilisa, B., 2005. Educational research within postcolonial Africa: a critique of HIV/AIDS research in Botswana. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* **18**(6): 659-684.

Cline-Cole, R., 1995. Livelihoods, sustainable development and indigenous forestry in dryland Nigeria. In Binns, T., (ed.) *People and Environment in Africa*. Chichester: Wiley. pp. 171–185.

Cline-Cole, R., 1997. Promoting (Anti-) Social Forestry in Northern? *Review of African Political Economy* **24**(74): 515-536.

Cline-Cole, R. and Madge, C., (eds.) 2000. *Contesting Forestry in West Africa*. London: Ashgate Press.

- Cline-Cole, R. and O'Keefe, P. 2006. Mainstreaming the Environment in Development? *Review of African Political Economy* **33**(109):377-390
- Cloke, P., et al 2004. *Practising Human Geography*. London: Sage.
- Coast, E., 2002. Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A cross-Broader Comparison. *Human Ecology* 30:(1). pp.79-105.
- Colby, M.E., 1990. The evolution of Paradigms, Environmental Management in Development. *The World Bank*, Washington, D.C. USA.
- Coles, T. and Timorthy, D.J., 2004. *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*. Routledge: London.
- Corbey, R., 1989. *Wildheid en beschaving. De Europese verbeelding van Afrika (translation: Savagery and civilisation. The European image of Africa)*. Baarn: Ambo.
- Coupe, L., 2000. *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism*. London: Routledge.
- Crang, M., 1997. *Analysing Qualitative Materials*. Harlow: Longman.
- Crick, M., 1989. Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: Sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 307-44.
- Cronin, L., 1990. A strategy for Tourism and Sustainable Development. *World Leisure and Recreation* **32**(3): 12-17.
- Cruz, R.E.H., Baltazar, E.B., Gomez, G.M. and Lugo, E.I.J.E., 2005. Social Adaptation: Ecotourism in the Lacandon Forest. *Annals of Tourism* **32**(3):610-627.
- Cukier, J., Norris, J., and Wall, G., 1996. The involvement of Women in the Tourism Industry in Bali, Indonesia. *Journal of Development Studies* 33:248-270.
- Curry, P., 2000. Redefining Community: Towards an Ecological Republicanism. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 9: 1059-1071.
- Daniels, J. and Radebaugh, L. H., 2001. *International Business: Environments and Operations*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Davidson, B., Buah, F.K., and Ayayi, J.A. 1967. *The Growth of African Civilisation a History of West Africa 1000-1800*. London: Longman.
- Dei L. A., 2000. Community Participation in Tourism in Africa. In Dieke, P.U.C., (eds.) *Political Economy of Tourism in Africa*. NY: Cognizant Corporation.
- Dei, L. A., 2008. Ecotourism Planning and Development. In Ghana Akyeampong, O. and Asiedu, A.B., (eds.) *Tourism in Ghana: A Modern Synthesis*. Accra: Assemblies of God Literature Centre. pp. 41-53.

- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Desbiens, C. and Ruddick, S., 2006. Speaking of geography: language, power, and the spaces of Anglo-Saxon hegemony. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **24**(1): 1–8.
- Dey, I., 1993. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*. London: Routledge.
- Dobson, A., 2005. Monitoring global rates of biodiversity change: challenges that arise in meeting the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) 2010 goals. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. B* **2**(360): 229-241.
- Domfeh, K.A., 2004. Managing the environment in a decade of administrative reforms in Ghana. *The International Journal of Public Sector Management* **17**(7): 606-620.
- Donkor, B. N. and Vlosky, R. P., 2003. *A Review of the Forestry Sector in Ghana*. Louisiana Forest Products Development Center Working Paper No. 61.
- Doornbos, A., van Rooij, M., Smit, M., and Verdonshot, S., 2008. From fairytales to spherecards: towards a new research methodology for improving knowledge productivity. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* **9**(2). (<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/386/accessed/07/6/2008>).
- Doxey, G.V., 1975. *A Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritants: Methodology and Research Inferences: The Impact of Tourism*. Proceedings of the 6th Travel Research Association, Salt Lake City. pp 195-198.
- Dove, R., 1994. *What Does Poetry Do for Us?* (University of Virginia Alumni News), January/February. pp. 22–27.
- Dreze J., 2002. On research and action. *Economic and Political Weekly* **37**(9): 817.
- Dunn, K.C., 2004. Fear of a black planet: anarchy anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa. *Third World Quarterly* **25** (3): 483-499.
- Dzingirai, V., 2003 CAMPFIRE Is Not for Ndebele Migrants: The Impact of Excluding Outsiders from CAMPFIRE in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies* **29** (2): 445-459.
- Eagles, P.J.F., and McCool., S., 2002. *Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas Guidelines for Planning and Management*. Best Practice Protected Areas Guidelines Series No. 8.
- Echtner, C. M., and Prasad, P. 2003. The context of Third World tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research*. **30**(3):660–682.

- Eggert, L.S., et al 2003. Estimating population sizes for elusive animals: the forest elephants of Kakum National Park, Ghana. *Molecular Ecology* 12:1389-1402.
- Eisner, T., 1992. Chemical Prospecting: A Proposal for Action. In Bormann, F.H. and Kellert, S.R., (eds.) *Ecology, Economics, and Ethics: The Broken Circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press. pp.196-202.
- Elliott, J., and Mwangi, M.M., 1997. *Making Wildlife pay in Laikipia, Kenya*. African Wildlife Foundation—Laikipia Wildlife Economics Study Discussion Paper No. 1. Nairobi, Kenya.
- Ellis, F., 2000. *Rural livelihood diversity in developing countries: Analysis, Policy, Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Environmental Protection Agency., 2008. *Environmental Impact Assessment Guidelines for Tourism Sector*. EPA Draft, 3rd July 2008.
- Enzensberger, H. M., 1996. *A Theory of Tourism*. Trans. Gerd Gemünden and Kenn Johnson. *New German Critique* 68.2 (1996): 113-35.
- Escobar, A., 1995, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, A., 1998. Imagining a post-development era. In J. Crush., *Power of development*. London: Routledge.
- Eshun, G., 2007. The Worthiness of Argument. In Taylor, J. and Smith, V.E. (eds.) *Spoken Word*. Leicestershire: Crystal Clear Creators.
- Essah, P., 2001. Slavery, Heritage and Tourism in Ghana. *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration* 2:(3) 31- 49.
- Eyong, C.T., and Foy, I.I., 2006. Towards Alternative Strategies for Sustainable Development in Africa. *International Journal of Sustainable Development Planning* 1(2): 133–156.
- Eze, C., 1997. *Postcolonial African Philosophy: a critical reader*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Fage, J., 1969. *A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fairhead, J. and Leach, M., 1995. Local agro-ecological management and forest-savanna transitions: the case of Kissidougou, Guinea. In Binns, T., (ed.) *People and Environment in Africa*. London: Wiley. pp. 163-169.
- Fairhead, J. and Leach, M., 1995. Livelihoods, Sustainable development and indigenous forestry in dryland Nigeria. In Binns, T., (ed.) *People and Environment in Africa*. London: Wiley. pp. 171-185.

Fairhead, J. and Leach, M., 2000. Desiccation and Domination: Science and Struggles over Environment and Development in Colonial Guinea. *Journal of African History* 41:35-54.

Falconer Al Hindi, and Kawabata, A., 2002. Towards a more fully reflexive feminist geography. In Moss, P., (ed.) *Placing Autobiography in Geography*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Fanon, F., 1967. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fardon, R., 1990. *Localising Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Fargey, P.J., 1991. *Assessment of the Conservation Status of the Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary*. Final Report to the Flora and Fauna Preservation Society UST, Kumasi: Ghana.

Farsani, N. T., Coelho, C. and Costa, C., 2011. Geotourism and Geoparks as Novel Strategies for Socio-economic Development in Rural Areas. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 13:68–81.

Fennell, D. A., 1999. *Ecotourism: an introduction*. London: Routledge.

Fennell, D. A., 2003. *Ecotourism: an introduction*. (2nd Ed) London: Routledge.

Fennell, D. A., 2008. *Ecotourism: an introduction*. (3rd Ed) London: Routledge.

Few, R., 2001. *Conservation, Participation and Power: Community Involvement in Protected Area Planning in Belize*. University of Leicester: PhD Thesis.

Fillion, F.L., Foley, J.P. and Jacquemot, A.J. 1992. *The Economics of Global Ecotourism*. Paper presented at the 4th World Congress on National Parks and PAs, Caracas, Venezuela, February 10-21.

Freire, P. 2000., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Friedrich, P., 1996. The Culture in Poetry and the Poetry in Culture. In Valentine, D., and Peck, J.M., (eds.) *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp.37–57.

Frost, W., and Hall, C.M., (eds.) 2009. *Tourism and national parks: International perspectives on development, histories and change*. London: Routledge.

Furman, C. and Langer, R., 2004. Exploring Identity and Assimilation: Research and Interpretative Poems. *Forum Social Research* 5(2): 5.

Furman, R., Lietz, C., and Langer, C.L., 2006. The research poem in international social work: innovations in a qualitative methodology *International Journal of*

Qualitative Methods(http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_3/html/furman.htm/
Accessed/07/6/2008.

Furman, R., Langer, C.L., and Taylor, D. B., 2010 Analyzing narratives through poetic forms and structures in gerontology: Applying new tools in qualitative research. *Journal of Poetry Therapy* 23(2): 61–71.

Gabbatt, A., 2004. *Volcanic ash cloud cost European business up to €2.5bn* <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/apr/27/iceland-volcano-cost-business-europe/>accessed 28/04.10.

Gangadharan, A., 2008. *Paradoxes of agricultural transformation: changing gender roles and power relations in Kerala, India*. University of Leicester: PhD Thesis

Ghana Tourist Board., 1999. *Tourism Statistical fact sheet on Ghana*, Accra: GTB Research Department.

Gilbert, H., 2002. Belated Journeys: Ecotourism as a Style of Travel Performance. In Gilbert, H. and Johnston, A. (eds.) *Transit: Travel, Text, Empire*. New York: Peter Lang. pp.255-274.

Gilbert, H. M., 2007. Ecotourism: A colonial legacy? In Tiffin, H., (ed.) *Five Emus to the King of Siam: Environment and Empire* Amsterdam: Rodopi. pp. 51-69.

Gilg, A., 2010. Tourism and National Parks: International perspectives on development, histories and change. *Tourism Geographies* 12(1):169-171.

Gilmartin, M. and Berg, L., 2007. Locating postcolonialism. *Area* 39(1):120-124.

Goulet, D., 1989. Participation in development: new avenues. *World Development* 17 (2): 165–178.

Government of Ghana., 1992. *Ghana, 1981-1991 A decade of Unity, Stability and Development*. Information Services Department, Ghana.

Government of Ghana., 2004. *Ghana Positive Change 2002*. Ghana: GOG.

Green, M., 2003. Globalizing Development in Tanzania: Policy Franchising through Participatory Project Management. *Critique of Anthropology* 23:2.

Gregory, D., 2004. *The Colonial Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Grimble R. and Laidlaw M., 2002. *Biological Resource Management: Integrating Concerns in Rural Development Projects and Programs*. Biodiversity Series, Paper No 85.

Hall, S., 1992. The West and the rest: discourse and power. In S. Hall, and Gieben, B., (eds.) *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp. 275-332.

Hall, C.M. and Tucker, H., 2004. (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge.

- Hall, C.M. 2010, Tourism and the implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity, *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 5(4): 267-284.
- Hammersley, M., 1992. *What's Wrong With Ethnography? Methodological Explorations*. London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P., 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Harmon, D., 2007. A Bridge over the Chasm: Finding Ways to Achieve Integrated Natural and Cultural Heritage Conservation. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13(4–5): 380–392.
- Harris, W., 1999. Literacy and the imagination - a talk. In Bundy, A., (eds.) *The Unfinished Genesis of the Imagination*. London: Routledge.
- Harris, P., 2005. To see with the mind and think through the eye: Deleuze, folding architecture, and Simon Rodia's Watts Towers. In Buchanan, I. and Lambert, G., (eds.) *Deleuze and Space*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hasty, J., 2002. Rites of Passage, Routes of Redemption: Emancipation Tourism and the Wealth of Culture. *Africa Today* 49(3): 47-76.
- Hawkins, D. E. and M. M. Khan., 1998. Ecotourism Opportunities for Developing Countries. In Theobald, W.F., (eds.) *Global Tourism*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Hawthorne, W.D. and Abu-Juam, M., 1995. *Forest Protection in Ghana with Particular Reference to Vegetation and Plant Species*. IUCN: Gland, Switzerland.
- Hay, I., 2008. Postcolonial practices for a global virtual group. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 32(1): 15-32.
- Hens, L., 2006. Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity Conservation and Management in Ghana. *Journal of Human Ecology* 20(1): 21-30.
- Hens, L., and Boon, E.K., 2000. *Causes of Biodiversity Loss: A Human Ecology Analysis*. VUB, Brussels.
- Hill, R., 2006. The Effectiveness of Agreements and Protocols to Bridge between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Toolboxes for Protected Area Management: A Case Study from the Wet Tropics of Queensland *Society and Natural Resources* 19(7): 577–590.
- Hillel, O., 2001. *Ecotourism as a tool for Sustainable Development: Trends and Challenges*. *Sustainable Development Web-Conference* www.world-tourism.org/sustainable/2002ecotourism/UNEPbasedocument.htm/accessed/09/10/05.
- Hoeft, A., 2001. *Competitiveness of the Ghana Industry*. University St. Gallen, Germany: PhD Thesis.

- Hollinshead, K., 2004. Tourism and New Sense: Working and the enunciative value of Tourism. In Hall, C.M and Tucker, H., (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp.25-42.
- Honey, M., 1999. *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise*. Washington: Island Press.
- Honey, M., 2008 (2nd Ed) *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise*. Washington: Island Press.
- Hoyles, A. and Hoyles, M., 2002. *Moving Voices: Black Performance Poetry*. London: Hansib Publications Limited.
- Huang, S.Sam. 2011. Tourism as the Subject of China's Doctoral Dissertations Australia. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 38 (1)316–319.
- Hunter, C., 1995. *Tourism and Environment*. London: Padstraw.
- Hussain, A., 2000. Joy Harjo and Her Poetics as Praxis: A Postcolonial Political Economy of the Body, Land, Labour, and Language. *Wicazo Sa Review* **15**(2): 27-61.
- Hussey, J. and Hussey, R., 1997. *Business Research: A practical guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*. London: PALGRAVE.
- Hymer, S. H., 1970. Economic Forms in Pre-Colonial Ghana. *The Journal of Economic History* **30**(1): 33-50.
- Issaverdis, J.P., 2001. The Pursuit of Excellence: Benchmarking, Accreditation, Best Practice and Auditing. In Weaver, D. B., (eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Ecotourism*. New York Publishing: CABI.
- IUCN/UNEP/WWF., 1991. *Caring for the Earth: A Strategy for Sustainable Living*. Gland, Switzerland. World Conservation Union.
- Jaakson, R. 2004. Globalisation as Neocolonial Tourism. In Hall, C.M and Tucker, H. (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp. 169–183.
- Jack, G. and Westwood, R., 2006. Postcolonialism and the politics of qualitative research in international business. *Management International Review* **46**(4): 481-501.
- Jazeel, T., 2007. Awkward Geographies: spatializing academic responsibility, encountering Sri Lanka. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* **28**(3): 287-299.
- Jazeel, T. and McFarlane, C., 2007. Responsible learning: cultures of knowledge production and north-south divide. *Antipode* **39**(5): 781-789.
- Johnson J.D., Snepenger D.J. and Akis S. 1994. Residents' Perceptions of tourism Development. *Annals of Tourism Research* 21:629-642.

Johnston, A., 2000. Indigenous Peoples and Ecotourism: Bringing Indigenous Knowledge and Rights into the Sustainability Equation. *Tourism Recreation Research* 25(2):89-96.

Kakum Conservation Area., 1997. *Facing the Storm: Five Years of Research in and around Kakum National Park, Ghana. Proceedings of Kakum Conservation Area Research Colloquium*. Conservation International, Washington DC. pp. 15–18.

Kaliney, P., 2008. East African literature and the politics of global reading. *Research in African Literatures* 39(1):1-24.

Kanu, Y., 2005. Tensions and dilemmas of cross-cultural transfer of knowledge: post-structural/postcolonial reflections on an innovative teacher education in Pakistan. *International Journal of Educational Development* 25(5): 493-513.

Kibutu, T., 2006. *Development, gender and the crisis of masculinity among the Maasai people of Kenya*. University of Leicester: PhD Thesis.

Kiss, A., 2004. Is a Community-based Ecotourism a good use of Biodiversity Conservation fund? *Ecology and Evolution* 19(4): 232-256.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. J., 2000. *Conducting Research in Human Geography, Theory, Methodology and Practice*. London: Prentice Hall.

Kothari, U., 1996. *Development studies and Postcolonial Theory*. IDPM Discussion paper Series, Paper No 47, Institute Development Policy and management, University of Manchester.

Knappert, J., 1989. *The A-Z of African Proverbs*. London: Kamak House.

Kramer, R.A., van Schaik, C.P. and Johnson. J. (eds.) 1997. *The Last Stand: Protected Areas and the Defence of tropical biodiversity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Krefetz, S. and Goodman, A., 1973. Participation for what or for whom? Some considerations for research. *Journal of Comparative Administration* 15(3):367–380.

Kremen, C., et al 1994. Ecological monitoring: a vital need for integrated conservation and development programs in the tropics. *Conservation biology* 8(2): 388-397.

Kwansah-Aidoo, K., 2001. Telling stories: the epistemological value of anecdotes in Ghanaian communication research. *Media, Culture and Society* 23: 359-380.

Lacher, R. G. and Nepal, S. K., 2010 From Leakages to Linkages: Local-Level Strategies for Capturing Tourism Revenue in Northern Thailand. *Tourism Geographies* 12: (1):77-99.

Lahman, M. E., Geist, M. R., Rodriguez, K. L., Graglia, P. E., Richard, V. M., and Schendel, R. K. 2010. Poking Around Poetically: Research, Poetry, and Trustworthiness. *Qualitative Inquiry* 16 (1): 39-48.

Lamarque, F., Anderson, J., Fergusson, R., Lagrange, M., Osei-Owusu, Y. and Bakker L. 2009. *Human-wildlife conflict in Africa An overview of causes, consequences and management*. Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN, Forestry Paper 157 Rome.

Lamming, G., (2nd Ed) 1995. The Occasion for Speaking. In Ashcroft, B., et al (eds.) *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. Oxford: Routledge. pp. 9-14.

Langer, C. and Furman, R., 2004. Exploring identity and assimilation: research and interpretive poems. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 5(2). (<http://www.qualitative-research.net/lfqs-texte/2-04langerfurman-e.htm>/Accessed/07/08/2008).

Lash, G.Y.B., 2003. *Sustaining Our Spirit: Ecotourism on Privately-Owned rural lands and Protected Areas*. University of Georgia, Athens: PhD Dissertation.

Lash, G. Y. B. and Austin, A. D., 2003. *Rural Ecotourism Assessment Program*. Burlington, VT: The International Ecotourism Society. In Prep. Laurie, N., 1999. *Geographies of New Feminities*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Leach, M. and Mearns, R., (eds.) 1996. *The Lie of the Land: Challenging received wisdom on the African Environment*. Oxford: James Curry.

Leach, M. and Fairhead, J., 2000. Challenging Neo-Malthusian Deforestation Analyses in West Africa's Dynamic Forest Landscapes. *Population and Development Review* 26(1):17-43.

Limb, M. and Dwyer, C., 2001. *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and debates*. London: Arnold Publishers. pp. 1-20.

Lindberg, K. 1998. Economics Aspects of Ecotourism. In Lindberg et al (eds.) *Ecotourism: a Guide for Planners and Managers*. Vermont: The Ecotourism Society. pp. 87-118.

Lohmann, Gui. and Duval, D. T., (2011) *Critical Aspects of the Tourism-Transport Relationship*. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers.

Lopez, R., 1998. Reflections on epistemology and standpoint theories: a Response to a Maori approach to creating knowledge International. *Journal of Qualitative Studies Education* 11(2):225-231.

Loomba, A., 1998. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.

Madge, C., 1994. Ethics of Research in the Third World. In Robson, E. and Willis, K., (eds.) *Postgraduate Fieldwork in Developing Areas*. Developing Areas Research Group (DARG) of The Institute of British Geographers. Monograph No 8.

Madge, C., 1995. Ethnography and Agroforestry research: a case study from. *The Gambia Agroforestry System* 32: 127-146.

- Madge, C., Raghuram, P., Skelton, T., Willis., K and Williams., J., 1997. *Methods and methodologies in feminist research in Woman and Geography Study Group Feminist Geographies: Diversity and Difference*. London: Longman. pp.86-111
- Madge, C., Raghuram, P., and Noxolo., P. 2009. Engaged pedagogy and responsibility: A postcolonial analysis of international students. *Geoforum* **40**(1):34-45.
- Madge, C., and Eshun, G., (Submitted). Role for Poetry in Postcolonial Research on Conservation Education through Ecotourism. *Antipode*.
- Manning, E. D. and Dougherty, T. D., 1995. Sustainable Tourism. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* 36:2.
- Manu, T, Asante R. 2005. Reaping the gains of Ghanaians overseas: an evaluation of the Home Coming Summit of 2001. In *At Home in the World? International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa*, Manu T (ed.).Sub-Saharan Publishers: Accra, Ghana; 292–310.
- Marschall, S., 2004. Modifying Heritage: Post-apartheid monuments and the visual representation of heritage and Cultural tourism. In Hall, C.M and Tucker, H., (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp.95-112.
- Mason, J., (1996) *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.
- Massey, D., 2008. When Theory Meets Politics. *Antipode* **40**(3): 492–497.
- Mbembe, A., 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McClintock, A., 1994. The Angels of Progress: Pitfalls of the term Postcolonialism. In Barker, F., et al., (eds.), *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 253-266.
- McEwan, C., 2005. New spaces of citizenship? Rethinking gendered participation and empowerment in South Africa. *Political Geography* **24**(8): 969-991.
- McEwan, C., 2009. *Postcolonialism and Development*. London: Routledge.
- McKay, A. and Aryeetey, E., 2004. *Operationalising the Pro-poor Growth: A Country Case Study on Ghana*. AFD/BMZ/DFID/ and the World Bank, Washington, DC.
- McNeely, J.A., 1988. Values and Benefits of Biological Diversity. In McNeely, J. A., (eds.) *Economics and Biological Diversity*. Gland, Switzerland. IUCN.
- McNeely, J.A., Miller, K.R., Reid, W.V., Mittermeier R.A., and Werner. T.B., 1990. *Conserving the World's Biological Diversity*. International Union for the

Conservation of Nature, The World Bank, World Resources Institute, Conservation International and World Wildlife Fund.

Meganck, R.A., and Saunier, R.E., 1983. What Trinidad and Tobago Must Know about Managing Our Natural Resources. *The Naturalist* 4:8.

Mercer, C., et al 2003. Towards a critical political geography of African Development. *Geoforum* 34: 419-436.

Messer, N., and Townsley. P., 2003. *Local institutions and livelihoods: guidelines for analysis*. Rome: FAO.

Middleton, V.T.C and Hawkins, R., 1998. *Sustainable Tourism: A Marketing Perspective*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Milazi, D., 1996. Ecotourism, Conservation, and Environmental Sustainability in Africa Botswana. *Journal of African Studies* 10(1): 29-46.

Ministry of Information., 2007. *The Bond of 1844*. Accra: MIS.

Mnthali, F., 1982. Stronghold of English Literature. In Moore, G. and Beier, U., (eds.) *Modern African Poetry*. London: Penguin Books.

Mock, J., 1998. *You Can Write Poetry*. Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books

Mohammad, R., 2001. Insiders' and/or 'outsiders: positionality, theory and praxis. In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C., (eds.) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*. London: Edward Arnold. pp.101-107.

Moore, G. and U. Beier., (eds.) 1984. *The Penguin Book of Modern African Poetry*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Moradi, A., 2008. Confronting Colonial Legacies—Lessons from Human Development in Ghana and Kenya, 1880-2000. *Journal of International Development*. 20:1107–1121.

Mroz, A., 2010. *Rise Up Freedom Fighters*. Times Higher Magazine February 11-17. P.5

Mudimbe, V.Y., 1994. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mudimbe, V.Y., 2003. Globalization and African Identity. *The New Centennial Review* 3(2): 5-218.

Murphy, P.E. and Price, G.G., 2004. Tourism and sustainable development. In Theobald, W. F., (ed.) *Global Tourism*. Butterworth-Heinemann. pp.167-193

Myers, N., 1993. The Question of Linkages in Environment and Development: We Can No Longer Afford to Split the World into Disciplinary Components. *BioScience*, 43(5):302-310.

Nagar, R., 2002. Footloose Researchers: Travelling' theories, and the politics of transnational feminist praxis. *Gender, Place and Culture* 10: 29-46.

Narud, S. and Vondolia, G.K., 2005. Using Contingent Valuation to Price Ecotourism Sites in Developing Countries. *Tourism* 53:115-125.

NCC., 2004. *The Cultural Policy of Ghana*. Accra: NCC.

Nepal, S., 2000. Tourism, National Parks and Local Communities. In, Butler, R. W. and Boyd, S. W. (eds.). *Tourism and National Parks: Issues and Implications*. Chichester: Wiley. pp. 73-94.

Nepal, S. K. 2009. Traditions and Trends: A Review of Geographical Scholarship in Tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 11: (1) 2-22.

Ngugi, T., 1985. The language of African literature. *New Left Review* 1:150.

Ngugi, T., 1986. *Decolonising the Mind, The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.

Nkrumah, K., 1964. *Socialism without Science is Void*. Speech Delivered on the laying of the foundation stone of Ghana's Atomic Reactor Centre. Spark Nov, 24.2.

Noxolo, P., 2009. My Paper, My Paper: Reflections on the Embodied Production of Postcolonial Geographical Responsibility in Academic Writing. *Geoforum* 40: 55-65.

Noxolo, P., Raghuram, P., Madge, C., 2008. Geography is pregnant and Geography's milk is flowing: metaphors for a postcolonial discipline? *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26(1): 146-168.

Noy, Chaim (2008) The Poetics of Tourist Experience: An Autoethnography of a Family Trip to Eilat *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 5: (3) 141-157.

Oakeshott, M., 1991. *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*. In Obuan Committee., 1972. *Report of the Feasibility Study Committee on the Development of Ghana Tourist Attractions for the Five-Year Plan Period*. Accra: GOG.

Oduro, K. A., 2002. *Multi-Purpose Rainforest Management in Ghana: An Exploratory Study* Tropenbos Ghana Programme Forestry Research Institute of Ghana. Kumasi: KNUST.

Okolie, A.C., 2003. Producing knowledge for sustainable development in Africa: Implications for higher education. *Higher Education*.46: 235-260.

Okonjo, C., 1986. The Concept of Development. In Brown, C.K., (ed.) *Rural Development in Ghana*. Accra: University of Ghana.

Omale, D. J. O., 2006. Justice in History: An Examination of African Restorative Traditions and the Emerging Restorative Justice Paradigm. *AJCJS* 2 (2):33-63.

Okoti, M., Keya, G. A., Esilaba, A.O. and Cheruiyot, H., 2006. Indigenous Technical Knowledge for Resource Monitoring in Northern Kenya. *Journal of Human Ecology* 20(93): 183-189.

- Opoku, K., 2006. *Forest Governance in Ghana: An NGO Perspective*. A report produced for FERN: Forest Watch Ghana.
- Osha, S., 2000. Theorising the postcolony or the force of the commandment: meditations on Achille Mbembe's 'On The postcolony'. *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy* 14(1-2): 113-122.
- Osagie, I., and Buzinde Christine N. 2011. Culture and Postcolonial Resistance Antigua in Kincaid's *A Small Place*. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 38 (1):210–230.
- Osei-Tutu, B. 2006. African-American and the Commoditisation of Ghana's Slave Castles. In Havisser, J.B. and MacDonald, K.C., (eds.). *African Re-gensis: confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. The Left Press: California. pp.2-9.
- O'Reilly, K., 2005. *Ethnographic Methods*. London: Routledge.
- Owusu E. H., (2001) *Community Forest Conservation in Ghana: The Potential of Mount Afadjato and Agumatsa Range for Ecotourism*. University of Kent: PhD Thesis.
- Owusu-Ansah, L., 2003. *Non-African and African Poetry: Kwadwoan Study Guide*. Accra: Kwadwoan Publishing.
- Owusu-Mintah, S. B., (2001) *Bia National Park: A case for Sustainable Ecotourism Development through Community Participation*. University of Cape Coast: Mphil thesis.
- Page, S.E., Hoscilo, A., Wosten, H., Jauhiainen, J., 2009. Restoration Ecology of Lowland Tropical Peatlands in Southeast Asia: Current Knowledge and Future Research Directions. *Ecosystems* 12: 888–905.
- Patke, R. S., 2006. Poetic Knowledge. *Theory, Culture and Society* 23(2-3):199-205
- Paul, S., 1987. Community Participation in Development Projects: The World Bank Experience. World Bank discussion papers, 6.
- Pellow, D. and Chazan, N., 1986. *Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Perrings, C., 2000. The Biodiversity Convention and Biodiversity Loss in Sub-Saharan Africa. In C. Perrings., (ed.) *The Economics of Biodiversity Conservation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Mending the Ark*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Pickerill, J., 2008. The surprising sense of hope. *Antipode* 40(3): 482–487.
- Pimbert, M.J. and Pretty, J.N., 1995. *Parks, People and Professionals: Putting Participation into Protected Area Management*. Geneva: UNSRID.
- Possiel, W. J., et al 1995. *Conservation of Biodiversity and the New Regional Planning*. IUCN.

- Porter, G. and Young, E., 1998. Decentralized Environmental Management and Popular Participation in Coastal Ghana. *Journal of Int. Development* **10** (4):515-526.
- Power, M., 2003. *Rethinking Development Geographies*. London: Routledge.
- Power, M., 2009. The Commonwealth, development and Postcolonial Responsibility. *Geoforum* **40**:14-24.
- Prasad, A. and Prasad, P., 2003. The postcolonial imagination. In Prasad, A., (eds.) *Postcolonial Theory and Organisational Analysis: a Critical Engagement*. New York: Macmillan. pp. 283-295.
- Price, R.M., 1984. Neo-Colonialism and Ghana's Economic Decline: A Critical Assessment. *Canadian Journal of African* **18** (1): 163-193.
- Punch, K. F., 1998. *Introduction to Social Sciences: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Radcliff, S.A., 2005. Development and Geography: towards a postcolonial development geography. *Progress in Human Geography* **29**(3):291-298.
- Raghuram, P., et al 2009. Rethinking responsibility and care for a postcolonial world. *Geoforum* **40**(1):5–13.
- Raghuram, P. and Madge, C., 2006. Towards a method for postcolonial development geography: possibilities and challenges. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* **27** (3): 270-288.
- Rapport, F., 2008. The poetry of Holocaust survivor testimony: towards a new performative social science. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, **9**(2). (www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/405/877/Accessed/07/08).
- Reid, R.D. and Bojanic, D.C., 2010. *Hospitality Marketing Management*. Wileys: New Jersey.
- Reid, W. V., S. A. Laird, R. Gamez, A. Sittenfel 1993. *Biodiversity Prospecting: Using Genetic Resources for Sustainable Development*. Washington, D.C. World Resources Institute.
- Richards, S. L., 2005. What Is to Be Remembered?:Tourism to Ghana's Slave Castle-Dungeons. *Theatre Journal*. **57**:617–637.
- Richardson, L., 1994. Nine Poems Marriage and the Family. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* **23**(1): 3-13.
- Riklefs, R.E., et al 1984. *Conservation of Ecological Processes*. Gland, Switzerland. IUCN (Commission on Ecology Paper 8).
- Rizvi, F., et al 2006. Postcolonialism and education: an introduction to a contested terrain. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* **14**(3): 249–262.

- Robinson, G.M., 1998. *Methods and Technology in Human Geography*. Wiley: London.
- Rose, W., 1992. The great pretenders: Further reflections on Whiteshamanism. In Jaimés, M. A., (ed.). *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*. Boston: South End Press. pp. 403-421.
- Ryan, J. R., 1997. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, E., 1978. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin.
- Saj, T.L, et al 2006. Traditional taboos in biological conservation: the case of *Colobus vellerosus*. *Social Science Information* 45: 285-310.
- Sajed, A., 2006. *Empire Writes Back: between dreams of trespass and fantasies of Resistance*. Globalisation Working Papers 06/07.
- Sallah, H., 2007. *Treatise on founding a Federation of African Republics*. The Gambia: Edward Francis Small Press.
- Samers, M. and Sidaway, J.D., 2000. Exclusions, inclusions, and occlusions in 'Anglo-American geography': reflections on Minca's 'Venitian geographical praxis'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 663-666.
- Sarantakos, S., 1998. *Social Research*. Macmillan Press: London.
- Sarfo-Mensah, P. and W. Oduro., 2007. *Traditional Natural Resources Management Practices and Biodiversity Conservation in Ghana: A Review of Local Concepts and Issues on Change and Sustainability* <http://www.feem.it/Feem/Pub/Publications/WPapers/default/Accessed/29/09/08>).
- Saunier, R. E., 1993. The Place of Tourism in Island Ecosystems Paper presented to the Regional Conference on Health and Sustainable Tourism Development (Nassau, Bahamas, 9-11 Nov. 1993).
- Scheyvens, R. and Storey, D., 2003. *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*. London: Sage.
- Schülter R. G., 1994. Tourism Development in Latin America. *Annals of Tourism Research* 20:364-366.
- Segbefia, A. Y., 2008. Community Approach to Tourism Development in Ghana. In Akyeampong, O. and Asiedu, A.B., (eds.) *Tourism in Ghana: A Modern Synthesis* Accra: Assemblies of God Literature Centre. pp. 54-68.
- Senatu, K.E. and Vincent, T., 2000. *Selection of African Poetry*. London: Longman.

- Serpell, R., 1999. Opportunities and constraints for research on education and human development in Africa: focus on assessment and special education. *Prospects* **29**(3) 349-363.
- Sharp, J., 2009. *Geographies of Postcolonialism*. London: Sage.
- Sherry, J.R., J.F. and Shoulten, J.W., 2002. A Role for Poetry in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research* **29**: 218-234.
- Shome, R. and Hedge, R.S., 2000. Postcolonial Approaches to Communication: Charting the Terrain, engaging the intersections. *Communication Theory* **12**(3): 247-270.
- Sidaway, J.D., 2000. Postcolonial geographies: an exploratory essay. *Progress in Human Geography* **24**:591–612.
- Simmons, B. A., 2004. Saying the Same Old Things: A Contemporary Travel Discourse and the Popular Text Magazine Text. In Hall, C.M. and Tucker, H., (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp. 43-56.
- Singh, D., 1990. *Cry of the Soul: Mystic poetry*. Bowling Green, Va: Sawan Kirpal.
- Smith, E.W., 1963. *Aggrej of Africa*. Manchester: Ayer Co Publishing.
- Smith, V. L., 1996. Indigenous Tourism: The Four Hs. In Butler, R. and Hinch, T., (eds.) *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*. London: International Thomson Business Press. pp 283-307.
- Spivak, G. C., 1995. Can the subaltern speak? The Occasion for Speaking. In Ashcroft, B., et al (eds.) *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. Oxford: Routledge. pp.28 37.
- Stock, R. F., 2004. *Africa South of the Sahara: A Geographical Interpretation*. The Guilford Press, USA.
- Stem, C. J., 2001. *The Role of local Development in Protected Area Management: a Comparative Case Study of Ecotourism in Costa Rica*. Cornell University: PhD Thesis.
- Stronza, A. and Gordillo, J., 2008. Community Views on Ecotourism *Annals of Tourism Research* **35**(2): 448-468.
- Sundberg, J., 2007. Reconfiguring North-South solidarity: critical reflections on experiences of transnational resistance. *Antipode* **39**(1): 144–166.
- Swarbrooke, J., 1999. *Sustainable Tourism Management*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Sylvester, C., 1999. Development studies and Post-colonial studies: disparate tales of the 'Third World. *Third World Quarterly* **20**(4): 703-721.

Sylvester, C., 2006. Bare life as a Development/Postcolonial Problematic. *The Geographical Journal* **172** (1):66-77.

Tapela, B., Maluleke, L., and Mavhunga, C., 2007. New Architecture, Old Agendas: Perspectives on Social Research in Rural Communities Neighbouring the Kruger National Park. *Conservation and Society* **1**(5):60–87.

Tembo, F., 2003. Multiple identities, representations and categorisations: experiences in the study of people's life-worlds in rural Malawi. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* **24**: 229-41.

Terborgh, J., van Schaik, C., Davenport, L and Rao, M., 2002. *In Making parks work: Strategies for preserving tropical nature*. Washington DC: Island Press.

Teye, V. B., 1999. Commentary: Tourism plans and planning challenges in Ghana. *Tourism Geographies* **1**(3):283-292.

Teye, V.B and Timothy D. J., (2004) The Varied Colours of Slave Heritage in West Africa: White American Stakeholders. *Space and Culture* **7**(2):145-155

The International Ecotourism Society., 2005. The TIES Global Ecotourism Fact Sheet <http://www.ecotourism.org/atf/cf/access/30/12/10>.

The TIES, 2006. Global Ecotourism Fact Sheet, Washington DC.

The International Ecotourism Society., 2007. *What is Ecotourism?* http://www.ecotourism.org/site/c.orLQKXPCLmF/b.4835303/k.BEB9/What_is_Ecotourism__The_International_Ecotourism_Society.htm/access/08/08/2006.

The Mirror., 2007. Fante Kings form Fante Confederation Ghana.

The Top 10 Ethical Destinations in the World <http://www.tourism-review.com/2291/Accessed/09/21/2010>.

Theobald, W.F., 1998. *Global Tourism, The next decade*. Oxford: Heinemann.

Tuhiwai-Smith, L., 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Twumasi, P.A., 2001. *Social research in rural communities: The problems of fieldwork in Ghana*. Accra: University of Ghana Press.

UNDP/WTO., 1995. *National Tourism Development Plan for Ghana 1996-2010 Integrated Tourism Development Programme*. Accra: MOT.

Upton, C., 2008. Social Capital, Collective Action and Group Formation: Developmental Trajectories in Post-socialist Mongolia. *Human Ecology* **36**: 175-188.

- Upton, C., Ladle, R., Hulme, D., Jiang, T., Brockington, D. and Adams, W., 2008. Are poverty and protected area establishment linked at a national scale? *Oryx* 42:19-25.
- USAID., 2005. *Community-based Ecotourism Project in Ghana* (http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACD818.pdf/Accessed/10/10/06).
- Valente, M. 2010. Public and Private Partnerships for Sustainable Development in Africa: A Process Framework. *Journal of African Business* 11(1):49-69.
- Valentine, G., 2001. At the drawing board: developing a research design. In Clifford, N.J. and Valentine, G., (eds.) *Key Methods in Geography*. London: Sage.
- Venkatachalam, M., 2010. Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana. *The Journal of the International African Institute* 80 (3) 520-521.
- Vieta, F.E., 1999. Ecotourism propels development: But social acceptance depends on economic opportunities for local communities. *Africa Recovery* 13:1.
- Wakefield, S.E.L., 2007. Reflective action in the academy: exploring praxis in critical geography using a 'Food Movement' case study. *Antipode* 39(2): 331–354.
- Wallace, G.N., and Pierce, S.M., 1996. An evaluation of ecotourism in Amazonas, Brazil. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(4): 843-873.
- WCED., 1987. *Our common future* New. York: Oxford University Press.
- Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J., 2007. Twenty Years on: The State of Contemporary Ecotourism Research. *Annals of Tourism* 28(5):1168-1179.
- Wels, H., 2004. About Romance and Reality: European Imager in Postcolonial Tourism in Southern Africa. In Hall, C.M. and Tucker, H., (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London: Routledge. pp 76-94.
- Wells, M., Brandon, K., Hannah L., 1992. *People and parks: Linking protected area management with local communities*. Washington: World Bank.
- Wildlife Division., 2000. *Wildlife Division Policy for Collaborative Community Based Wildlife Management*. September 2000. Accra: Wildlife Division.
- Wildlife Division., 2004. *Collaborative Resource Management*. Collaborative Resource Management Unit Wildlife Division of Forestry Commission, Accra: WD.
- Williams, A., 1997. The postcolonial flaneur and other fellow travellers: conceits for a narrative of redemption. *The Third World Quarterly* 18(5): 821-841.
- Williams, A.M. and Shaw, G., 1998. *Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences*. London: Wiley.

- Wisner, B., Toulmin, C., and Chitiga, R., (eds.) (2005), *Towards a New Map of Africa*, London: Earthscan.
- Wolfe, M., 1983. *Participation: the view from above*. Geneva: UNSRID.
- Wong, S.N.P., and Sicotte, P., 2006. Population Size and Density of *Colobus vellerosus* at the Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary and Surrounding Forest Fragments in Ghana. *American Journal of Primatology* 68:465–476.
- World Travel and Tourism Council., 1992. *The WTTC Report: Travel and Tourism in the World Economy*. Brussels: Belgium.
- World Tourism Organisation., 1996. *Global Overview: Preliminary Results*. Madrid.
- World Tourism Organization, 2004. Press release, June.
- World Development Report., 2000. *Entering the 21st Century World Development Indicators*. World Bank: Oxford University Press.
- Yardley, A., 2008. Piecing together—a methodological bricolage poetic arrivals and departures: bodying the ethnographic field in verse. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 9(2). (<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/416>, Accessed/07/07/2008).
- Yeboah, I.E.A., 2006. Subaltern strategies and development practice: urban water privatisation in Ghana. *Geographical Journal* 172(1): 50-65.
- Young, R.J.C., 2001. *Postcolonialism: A historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Young, R.C., 2003. *Postcolonialism: a very short introduction*. Oxford: OUP.
- Zang, L. and Wang, N., 2003. An initial study on habitat conservation of Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*), with a focus on human elephant conflict in Simao, China. *Biological Conservation* 112(3): 453-459.
- Zeilig, L. and Ansell, N., 2008. Spaces and scales of African student activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean university students at the intersection of campus, nation and globe. *Antipode* 40(1): 31–54.
- Zezeza, P.T., 2002. The politics of historical and social science research in Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(1): 9-23.
- Ziffer, K. A., 1989. *Ecotourism an uneasy Alliance*. Working Paper No. 1 Washington DC.

Appendix I Sample of the Main Questionnaire
Module I Ecological Study

1. In the past have you depended on products from the forest? Yes _____ No _____
2. If yes how often did you go there?
Daily _____ Weekly _____ Monthly _____ Certain Season *specify* _____ Other *specify* _____
3. Have you collected animal resources from the forests before? Yes _____ No _____
4. If yes, how many do you collect at a time?
5. How often do you collect? Specify _____
6. Do you collect for yourself? Yes _____ No _____
7. Do you collect for household? Yes _____ No _____
8. What are your protein sources?
9. What types of bushmeat do you normally take?
11. What animals in the forest would you personally exploit had it not been restrictions on access to the forest?
12. Do you know anybody who has collected plant or animal resources from the forest? _____ Yes _____ No
13. If yes what did they collect?
14. Has the forest help you or any member of your family in anyway? Yes _____ No _____
If yes explain
15. What plants in the forest would you have collected had it not been restrictions on accessing the forest?
16. Do you know anybody who has collected something from the forest _____ Yes _____ No
17. If yes what did they collect?
18. Non-Timber Forest Products: Plants
19. Are there patches of forest outside the park/sanctuary where you can get the forest products that are important to you? Yes _____ No _____
20. Which products are these?
21. How far are these forest resources from your home (distance in mile or km)?

22. What resources in the forest do you think; you should be allowed to have access to in the forest?
23. Is protecting the forest necessary? Yes _____ No _____
24. Do you see any need in the protection of the forest?
Wild animals? Yes _____ No _____
25. Wild plants Yes _____ No _____
26. State the benefits of the forests?
27. Who should be responsible for protecting the forest?
28. What would happen if the forest gave access to everyone to the resources in it?
29. What would happen if government left the forest protection only to community?
30. If the source is a stream/river is it located in the forest? Yes _____ No _____
31. If you were made part of the management of the forest and the tourism on it, what are the first four things you will change?
32. How do you intend to achieve this?
33. Do you think the current management are not doing these things? Explain
34. State wildlife division contribution to the forest protection, if any?

Module II Socio-Cultural Issues

35. What local practices do you think contribute to the forest standing? Explain
36. What local practices before contributed to protecting the forest? Explain
37. What is affecting these local practices in protecting the forest?
38. Do you think communities participate appropriately in the tourism on the forest?
Yes _____ No _____
39. What are your feelings towards the people managing the forest?
Good _____ Very Good _____ - Bad _____ Very Bad _____ Indifference
40. Are there any animals or plants you would not collect or harvest for cultural reasons? Yes _____ No _____
41. What are they?
42. How do you voice your concern on the forest? Explain
43. How do you participate in issues concerning the forest? Explain
44. Do you think the forest, wild animals, and wild plants offer benefits?

Yes _____ No _____ Both _____ Niether

45. Please state the benefits you derive from the forest, wildlife and wild plants?

46. Have there been any change in the benefits and disadvantages in the last 5years?

47. Please answer the following questions?

Recent illness, injuries etc	How was this treated?	If homemade Yes _____ No _____	If yes, source of materials used in the medicine
------------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------	--

48. If you used herbal medicine, how do you acquire them?

49. How do the community members treat this using traditional medicine?

Malaria— Jaundice— Boils—Loss of appetite— Anaemia

50. List four plants know for their medicinal properties in the forest?

51. What are they specifically used for?

52. Are there anything tourists to the forests/community do that you wish they do not do?

53. Are there anything tourists to the forests/community do that you wish they continue to do?

54. How can we continue to promote/improve the relationship of community with the Wildlife Division on protecting the forest and tourism based on it? Explain

Module III Economic Consideration

55. How close is your farm from the forest (distance)?

56. If you are farmer answer the following?

Type of activity	Acreage (acres)	Yield/acre or sacks/acre	Sale Price
------------------	-----------------	--------------------------	------------

57. Have you changed from growing these types of crops in the last 5 years?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes explain why?

58. What problems do you face in your selling of farm produce? If yes explain why

59. Are there any reason(s) behind the crops you cultivate? Explain

60. What factors determines your farm size?

61. If you wanted more land for farming would that be available locally?

No ___ Yes ___ Explain?

62. Do you keep livestock? Yes _____ No _____

63. If yes, what is the average cost of rearing them to selling them?
64. What is the market price for each of them?
65. State mode of acquiring the land for farming have you rented this land?
66. What times do you grow your crops and why? Explain Is your farm rain-fed?
67. If the rain fails to come in the appropriate time what do you do? Explain
68. Do animals damage your crops? Yes _____ No _____
69. Do you protect your crops from the animal? If yes explain how?
- Do any of your family members have a work related to the forest?
70. Do you think it is due to increase of animals in the forest? Yes _____ No _____
71. What animals in the forest do you think have increased in the forest since the inception of the prohibition of direct exploitation of animals in the forest?
72. Have you interacted directly with any of the visitors to the forest? Yes _____ No _____
73. Do you think visitors have contributed to protecting the forests? Yes _____ No _____
If yes explain
74. Before the forest became a park/sanctuary were you allowed to go in there for some products? Yes _____ No _____
75. If yes, were there any products that you now buy which used to be available from the forest?
76. What are they?
77. Have prices of some of these products changed in the last five years?
Yes _____ No _____
78. If yes please indicate as follows:
- | Product | Old Price | New Price | Causes of price changes |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
|---------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
79. Please list four main animals you think attract tourists to the park/sanctuary (starting with the most attractive to visitors)?
80. Please list four main trees/plants that you think attract tourists to the park/sanctuary? (starting with the most attractive to visitors)
81. What cultural things do you think attract tourists to your community?
82. Do tourists participate in cultural activities in the community? Yes _____ No _____
83. Which of the cultural activities do tourists mostly participate in?

84. Who is (are) responsible for the management / protection of the natural resources
(If you answered yes)

85. List (if any) jobs could be generated through this tourism on the forest?

86. Would you like to be employed in any tourism related work on the forest?

Yes ___ No ___

87. If answered yes, list your choice of job preference?

If no, what are your reason(s) for not taking a job in eco/tourism?

88. Have you provided service to any tourists to this community before? Yes ___ No

89. If yes what service(s) did you provide?

90. How do you feel if you see tourist and Visitors in this region?

Happy _____ Very Happy _____ Indifferent _____ Ignored _____

Do you have any questions or comments to make?

Socio-demographic Issues

Name:	Religion:	Occupation:	Education Level: None _____ Primary _____ Secondary _____ Tertiary _____
Ethnicity:	Are you native of this Village? Yes ___ No ___	Marital Status: Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____ Widow _____ Widower _____	No of Children: 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 and Over _____
Age: 15-25 _____ 26- 36 _____ 37-47 _____ 48-58 _____ Above 58 _____	Status in Village:	Gender: Male _____ Female _____	Number of people in household
Where were you born if you are not a native of this village and in what region?	What year did you arrive in this village?	Why did you come to settle in this village?	Water: Well Stream Borehole Other <i>specify</i>

Appendix II Question Schedules with Specialists

Example IA Extracts from Interview with Kofigah, Marketing Director of GTB

How specifically have GTB contributed to ecotourism development in Ghana?

The GTB collaborate with other organisation concerned with ecotourism development in Ghana. GTB is responsible for training the Peace Corps, on the socio-cultural, economic and social facets to tourism and tourism and rural development in Ghana. There are “add-on activities” such as training Peace Corps on craft making, beekeeping, poultry, and grasscutter rearing among others. Technical advice cannot be bought anywhere...er..er..GTB trained them on product development and marketing.

Has any mistake been made by GTB in promoting ecotourism in Ghana?

We have made mistakes in the past, especially the way ecotourism was introduced we feel communities were not adequately informed and educated about the project on its inception, but this is part of the learning process. GTB has employed ways of getting information to the members of the communities. For instance, people ask me “how did we get community members to buy into ecotourism?” I tell them I use school children, to get to their parents. Despite our challenges Ghana is developing Highway Rest Stops, currently from Aflao to Elubo, Accra to Paga, Accra to Wa to Hamile. This though geared towards the CAN 2008, is important for ecotourism in the country.

Example IB Extracts from Interview with Mason, Executive Director of NCRC

What's the role of NCRC in the development of ecotourism in Ghana?

The first ecotourism activity that involved NCRC was at Adafoah in the Volta Region A PCGV who was working in the area prompted our attention. The PCGV's project was not going on well and there was this Rasta man who has started tourism on the beach, with the District Assembly and town council aiming to stop it, it offered an opportunity for tourism development in the area. Undeterred and with small sponsorships from EarthWatch among others NCRC had eight sites *inter alia* TAMS, Wachi Waters, Amedzofe, Bobiri, Wli Water Falls, Adaklu and Paga going. With the seeming progress from most of these sites NCRC, in 1999 contacted USAID in connection with funding and successfully in 2000 they released the funds.

The contributions of CBEP?

CBEP Phase One generated five generated 800 employment and it is estimated that by 2012, there will be 8,000 employment. From 1997 to 2006 there has being 1000 percent rise in revenue at the CBEP sites. It is estimated that in the next five years (2012) visitors to rural areas will be half-million. It is estimated that by the end of (2012) revenue to rural areas would be around \$2-3 million. Through CBEP over 400ha of new areas in Ghana has being brought under conservation and it is estimated that by 2012 the figure will be one million. It is objective that by the year

2012, Ghana would be the first country, probably in the world, where the ecotourism sub sector will be driving the tourism sector.

What role has the private sector in ecotourism development in Ghana?

It is a win-win situation on the emergence of private investors, let us be honest, most Ghanaian investors will not go and build in these rural areas, it is too much of a risk to them hence the need to court foreign investors. Five years we have been seeking for Ghanaian investors, but to no avail. The presence of these facilities is for Bigger Exposure. With these facilities the visitors' number to these sites can quadruple. Communities gain by selling of souvenirs, foodstuffs etc.

Appendix III Sample of Responses from a Focus Group at Boabeng of BFMS

What is the origin of the monkeys?

We came to meet them. We don't tame them, they 'naturalise' themselves, and if you make a home for them they will destroy it. We have seen monkeys which are tamed but these ones cannot be tamed. One visitor thought he could catch one and take it away... (I wish you were here!) the monkey scratched him with such aggressiveness that, he left the animal alone. They are the children of the gods; they love it be here.

How do the communities help in protecting the forest in general?

The monkeys come to our homes though of course they live in the bush. The absence of the bush therefore will mean the monkeys will eventually migrate or die. We because of the stories handed down to us, know that it is our responsibility to make sure that the monkeys are protected. This is a greater reason for the forest standing.

Have you seen or heard of people killing the monkeys, what happens to them?

In Boabeng in 1991, two people killed monkeys and escaped from the community. They returned to the community in 2001 and paid some sum of money to the elders for ritual to remove the bad omen they have brought on themselves. But as the slogan goes "even if no one kills you, you will eventually die"; one passed on last year 2006 and the remaining one is mentally challenged.

How do you participate in the issues concerning the Sanctuary/monkeys?

The Wildlife Division are basically the people who almost do everything concerning the monkeys and the community members just come in if they are not happy with their decisions. The Assembly member, the chief warden and the fetish priest of Fiema are our direct contact when we have issues concerning the forest and the monkeys specifically. Sometimes the queenmother at well at Boabeng is our point of contact on issues concerning us and the community in general.

Appendix IV Some Pictures Mentioned in the Thesis



Plate a: Barack Obama and Family with some Ghanaians at the Cape Coast Castle.



Plate b: A Restaurant in Cape Coast Castle in 1992. Credit: Nathan Kwame Braun.