UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

AN EVALUATION OF TAFI ATOME MONKEY SANCTUARY PROJECT: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY-BASED ECOTOURISM PROJECT IN GHANA

EWOENAM AFUA AFENYO

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BY

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THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT OF THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN TOURISM MANAGEMENT

JULY, 2011

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature:	Date:

Name: Ewoenam Afua Afenyo

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) has been popularised as an effective tool for integrating economic development and conservation. Many developing countries including Ghana have adopted this tool to aid in their developmental efforts.

This thesis sets out to evaluate the Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary, a CBE project in the Hohoe Municipality in Ghana, within the context of the social exchange process model. The study adopted a cross sectional study design. Data was obtained from 317 residents of Tafi Atome in November, 2010. The t-test statistic and one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were employed to analyze the quantitative data. Observations made were presented with pictures while narratives from in-depth interviews were used to support the qualitative results.

The study found out that the project had yielded collective benefits which were accessible to all residents in the community. It has also enhanced the local culture, increased environmental awareness amongst local residents and has become a major source of income for the community. The study also revealed that the local community is in support of further tourism development in the area.

Based on the findings, it was concluded that the project has the potential to effectively integrate economic development and conservation in Tafi Atome. It is therefore recommended that the Hohoe Municipal Assembly should offer more assistance to the project in order to make it more effective so that in the long run, the community's needs would be met, the environment protected, quality tourist experiences delivered and the project sustained.

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DEDICATION

To my parents; Rev. & Mrs. Winfred & Rose Afenyo and siblings; Kafui,

Fafa and Worlanyo.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CBE	Community - Based Ecotourism
CBEP	Community-Based Ecotourism Project
CBT	Community - Based Tourism
GTA	Ghana Tourism Authority
HMA	Hohoe Municipal Assembly
JHS	Junior High School
MSLC	Middle School Leaving Certificate
NCRC	Nature Conservation Research Centre
SET	Social Exchange Theory
SEPM	Social Exchange Process Model
SHS	Senior High School
SPSS	Statistical Product for Service Solution
TAMS	Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary
TIES	The International Ecotourism Society
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

Tourism has been identified as an appropriate tool for achieving development in local communities (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000). It is deemed to offer "an ideal alternative economic activity to primary and secondary industries, especially if there is a lack of development choice of economic activity" (Page, Brunt, Bushy, & Connell, 2001, p. 254). This has attracted many communities who see it as a promising opportunity for reducing problems of underdevelopment (Andriotis 2003; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2004). The benefits of tourism development including revenue generation, employment creation, and impetus for conservation has made authors such as Page et al (2001), Bushell and Eagles (2007), and Cooper, Fletcher, Fyall, Gilbert and Wanhill (2008) to become advocates for the adoption of tourism as a tool for economic development for developing countries.

The earlier planning attitude towards tourism development was influenced by the view that tourism is a "natural renewable resource industry with visitors portrayed as coming to only admire and not consume the landscape, customs and monuments of a destination area" (Murphy, 1985, p. 2). With the advent of mass tourism, the negative impacts associated with tourism development soon became evident, hence, the rise in concern about the quality of the environment and the future of the tourism industry. These rising concerns coupled with the failure of top - down approaches to development gave popularity to an alternative approach - community based, which called for more participation by local communities in tourism development (Simmons, 1994; Page et al, 2001; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

Community-Based Tourism (CBT) came up as an alternative to mainstream tourism (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). It gave recognition to the host community as being the nucleus of the tourism product (Simmons, 1994). Murphy (1985) believes that since host communities are most affected by tourism development, involving them in its development will help control the pace of development, integrate tourism in the economy and produce a more specialized tourist product. He however alluded to the fact that:

It is an idealistic dream for participation to be on a mass scale. However to achieve benefits, a shared vision about the community and its future must exist. By focusing on the community's heritage and culture in the development of the tourism product, distinctiveness can be created which is not just another stereotype. (p.1)

CBT is not a type of tourism but an approach to tourism development. It is a framework that encourages local community empowerment and at the same time acts as a developmental tool (Miller, 2008). Brohman (1996, p. 2) defines it as:

Development that seeks to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social and cultural wellbeing of the popular majority. It also seeks to strike a balanced and harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of development with other components of the local economy; the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally, and the divergent needs, interests and potentials of the community and its inhabitants.

The Mountain Institute (2000) describes CBT as a variety of activities that encourage and support a wide range of objectives in economic, social development and conservation. The ultimate goal of CBT according to Scheyvens (1999) is to empower the host community at four levels: economic, psychological, social and political.

Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) is a growing phenomenon through out the developing world. It has become one of the most promising methods of "integrating natural resource conservation, local income generation and cultural conservation in the developing world" (Miller, 2008, p.3). Scheyvens (1999) posits that through CBE, local communities gain significant control over tourism development and management, and through that, greater proportions of the benefits will remain in the community. It is also argued that CBE helps to foster sustainable use of natural resources and also embrace individual initiatives within the local community (Denman, 2001).

Dieke (2005) however argues that the success of CBE within the broader framework of development is dependent on the existence of a national legal framework guiding tourism development, access to credit, proper implementation of tourism plans, high tourist arrivals, availability of services and facilities for tourists and effective co-operations between all stakeholders. Trent (2005) concurred with him and also added that, access to the attraction,

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the existence of a transparent profit sharing system, wealth of flora and fauna species, capacity of local residents to manage the project and community support for tourism also play a key role in ensuring the success of CBE.

In Ghana, both Governmental and non-governmental agencies have been involved in CBE development. Notable among them is the collaboration between Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC), United States Peace Corps – Ghana, Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA), Netherlands Development Organization (Ghana), and selected communities with funding assistance from United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in implementing a Community-Based Ecotourism Project (CBEP) in 1996 and later CBEP II in 2005. The idea behind the CBEP was "to develop environmentally and culturally sensitive locations in rural Ghana as tourism destinations in order to create opportunities for rural communities to earn income through the conservation of local ecosystems and culture" (Netherlands Development Organization - Ghana, 2004, p. 1). The main objectives set to achieve the proposed idea were to:

- improve ecotourism facilities and technical support at 14 community-based ecotourism destinations;
- improve marketing for 14 community-based ecotourism destinations and for the country at large; and
- enhance organizational development and improve human resource capacity at the 14 community-based destinations, GTA and NCRC.

At the end of CBEP I, fourteen (14) ecotourism sites were developed and CBEP II saw further ecotourism sites been developed across the country. One of the initial sites developed under this programme is the Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary (TAMS). Aside the Mona monkeys being the key attraction, the community also offers visitors an authentic cultural life in the village.

The Hohoe Municipal Assembly (HMA) has also embarked upon CBE development in its municipality. The assembly has developed a website for the marketing of its fifteen (15) attraction sites and has also put in place a metropolitan insurance policy up to the tune of GHC 1,500 covering injury and medical expenses of tourists visiting the district (Ghana News Agency, 2006).

Problem statement

The justification often provided for the establishment of CBEPs in developing countries is their ability to create better linkages between conservation, economic development and promote sustainable development (Wallace & Pierce, 1996; Ross & Wall, 1999; Campbell, 1999; West, 2006; Stronza & Godillo, 2008).

However, in the midst of the growing popularity of CBEPs, their successes in practice seem to be rare. A number of studies have noted the failures of most of these projects. As such, some scholars are beginning to question the capacity of CBEPs to deliver (Taylor, 1995; Epler Wood, 1998; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Miller, 2008; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008; Stronza & Godillo, 2008, Sebele, 2010). While most of the studies on CBEPs in the literature have been conducted in Southern America, parts of Asia, Europe, Eastern and Southern Africa, information on the feasibility of CBEPs within the West African context is limited, hence the need to fill this gap.

Although Ghana is among the countries, which have embarked on the development of CBEPs with over 19 ecotourism sites across the country, there have been limited empirical studies on the country's CBEPs. Most of the studies on ecotourism in Ghana including Dei, 2000; Amuquandoh, 2006; Akyeampong, 2011; Appiah-Opoku, 2011) have been limited to ecotourism projects in the Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo and Central regions of the country. The Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project, a CBEP in the Volta region of Ghana has been in operation for over 15 years. However, no detailed studies have been conducted to see if the project is yielding its expected outcomes. In view of the existing debate on the efficacy of CBEPs, and the skewed nature of research done in the past, this study seeks to evaluate the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project within the broader tenets of CBE.

Research questions

The research questions guiding the study include the following:

- To what extent is the local community involved in the management of the project?
- What benefits and costs have accrued from the project?
- To what extent are the benefits distributed among the members of the local community?
- What are the current obstacles facing the project?
- What are residents of Tafi Atome's perceptions on future tourism development in their community?

Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study is to evaluate the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project as a CBEP. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- identify the current challenges facing the project;
- examine the forms of local community's participation in the project;
- assess the benefits and costs that have accrued from the project to the local community; and
- assess local residents' perceptions on future tourism development in the area.

Justification of the study

This study will provide useful information for organizations supporting CBE development by highlighting some critical success indicators of CBEPs. It will also provide valuable information that will shape the design and methods of implementing subsequent CBEPs. This is necessary as efforts are being made by CBE destinations to identify indicators that will enable them strike a meaningful balance between utilizing natural resources for tourism development as well as meeting the needs of host communities (Hipwell, 2007; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

This study will also provide tourism policy makers and planners, academicians and other stakeholders in tourism development with relevant information on residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development. This is of importance because residents' perceptions and attitudes influence their support for tourism and this is very necessary for ensuring the sustainability of tourism industry. In addition, this study will contribute to existing knowledge on CBEs by bringing to bare factors, perceptions, and attitudes that influence CBEPs within the Ghanaian context. This is of essence because the socio-cultural contexts within which CBEPs are implemented vary from country to country. This will add a voice to the on-going debate among researchers on the capacity of CBEPs to meet the needs of local communities as well as conservational goals.

The goal of CBT is to ensure the empowerment of the host community socially, economically, psychologically, and politically (Scheyvens, 1999). Hence, there is the need for the study to investigate how CBE has led to the empowerment of Tafi Atome in these four key areas. The results of this investigation will assist the community on what they can do to take advantage of opportunities presented by the project, improve upon them, implement them in order to empower themselves.

Finally, an evaluation of this kind will provide information which will serve as baseline information for further studies on the TAMS project. It will serve as a baseline for monitoring changes in the project in subsequent years.

Delimitations of the study

The study is delimited to evaluating the TAMS project to see the extent to which the project exhibits the principles of CBE guiding this study as well as assessing local residents' perceptions about the project.

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Limitations of the study

The main issue limiting this study is the researcher's inability to have access to NCRC's project document on the TAMS project. As such, the researcher could not evaluate the project based on the objectives set by NCRC but had to rely on the principles guiding sustainable CBEs stipulated in the tourism literature. Thus, the results from this study cannot be said to reflect the success or failure of NCRC's efforts in this project. Again, since the project does not have updated records on tourist arrivals, length of stay, expenditure and revenue generated over the years of operation, the financial viability of the project could not be analyzed in this study.

Generalization of findings from this study and the study's duplication must be done with great caution as some conclusions drawn may not be valid for other projects because residents' perceptions and attitudes vary in time and space. Also projects' stage of development, attractions and socio-cultural contexts may also differ.

Organization of the study

This study is divided into five main chapters. The first chapter is the introductory chapter to the study, giving background information to the study, the problem statement, research questions, objectives, justification for conducting this study, and the delimitations and limitations of the study.

Reviews of relevant literature on the subject of community-based ecotourism and related issues constitute the second chapter of the study. Topics reviewed include the concept of community, community participation, factors accounting for the success or otherwise of CBE projects, and impacts of ecotourism development. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding this work are also discussed under this chapter.

The third chapter provides detailed information on the methodology adopted for this study. This includes information on the profile of the study area, study design, data sources, sampling procedures, fieldwork issues, data analysis, and presentations.

The fourth chapter presents a detailed discussion of the results of the data analysis. It looks at the performance of the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary against the specific objectives of the study. The fifth and final chapter summarizes the major findings arising from the study, concludes and goes further to make relevant recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of a number issues underlying host community - ecotourism development relationships. It specifically examines the concepts of community, community participation and ecotourism. Issues relating to the practicality of these concepts in community-based ecotourism projects are also looked at. The second part of this review provides a discussion on the theoretical perspectives underlying the study as well as the conceptual framework guiding it.

The concept of community

The concept of community has often been used to explain the interrelationship between local communities and tourism development. Some researchers have established linkages between local community support for tourism and the sustainability of the tourism industry (Murphy, 1985; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000).

A consensus does not seen to exist in the academia on what this sociological term means. Anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, political scientists, philosophers and historians have all defined this concept differently (Delanty, 2003; O'Connor, 2008). Despite these divergent views, issues of identity and belonging, shared purpose and common goals, similarity and differences, inclusion and exclusion, geographical location or community of interest and time (Bell & Newby, 1971; Cater & Jones, 1989; Crow & Allen, 1994; Joppe, 1996; Dalton & Wanderman, 2001; Johnston 2000; Delanty, 2003) can be identified in most of the definitions.

The issues that run through the definitions suggest that the concept of community connotes some sense of connection between people. They further suggest that such connections can occur as a result of people living within a particular geographical location or people sharing particular interests and beliefs but not necessarily living together. They also reflect the issues of power at play in communities, which can lead to the inclusion or exclusion of people in a particular community. Thus to Dalton and Wanderman (2001), the concept of community can be looked at from a geographic location perspective or from a relational one, which focuses on social network relationships.

Within the tourism context, Burr (1991, as cited in Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996) observed that four main approaches have been used to define this concept. These are; human ecological approach; which emphasizes community within a defined geographical area, social systems approach; which looks at the ordering of social relations within a group, interactional approach; which focuses on the regular interactions that occur among people, and finally the critical approach, which considers the issue of power among groups of people especially in the process of making decisions.

The territorial definition of community, which reflects the concept of community within the African context as given by Dei (2000, p. 285), is

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adopted for the study. He looks at community as "a group of any size whose members resides in a specific locality and has a historical heritage. In the African context, such groups are headed by village heads, chiefs and kings and they are the owners of the land." This definition suited the case of Tafi Atome, the study area. The words 'host community' and 'local community' are used interchangeably in this work.

Local community's participation in tourism development

The failure of most top-down approaches to development has given popularity to participatory approaches which called for the involvement of all stakeholders in the planning, implementation and controlling of developmental programmes (Tosun, 2000). To some scholars, this whole idea of community participation goes to emphasize the point that those who development is meant for should be at the fore of these initiatives. This will not only help address the specific needs of these people but also ensure that these initiatives are sustained (Sewell & Coppock, 1977).

Stone (1989, p. 615) defines community participation as:

Designing development in such a way that intended beneficiaries are encouraged to take matters into their own hands, to participate in their own development through mobilizing their own resources, defining their own needs, and making their own decisions about how to meet them.

This implies that the onus of decision making is on the people who development is intended for and they will also have to deal with the consequences of their decisions. Community participation in tourism development is both a means to achieving an end and an end in itself. As a means, this approach is necessary for ensuring the sustenance of the tourism industry (Murphy, 1985). And as an end in itself, it enables host communities benefit from tourism development.

In a summary of the arguments in favour of community participation in tourism, Tosun and Timothy (2003, pp. 4-10) posit that:

- it is a very important element in implementing tourism plans and strategies. This is because the involvement of local communities in tourism planning process gives them a feeling of responsibility for making the plan succeed hence a stronger support for the plan or strategy;
- it contributes to sustainable tourism development in diverse ways such as developing the capacity of the local community for decision making;
- it increases tourist satisfaction through the local community's offering of an authentic experience to the tourist by being welcoming and hospitable. This ensures that visitors get satisfied and local communities continually derive benefits from tourism development;
- it helps tourism professionals design better tourism plans by identifying the peculiar needs of the host community and planning for those identified needs;
- it contributes to fair distribution of costs and benefits of tourism development among community members;
- it helps satisfy locally identified needs; and

• it strengthens the democratization process in tourist destinations, creating two-way information flow between the local community and the governmental agencies involved in tourism development.

Forms of community participation in tourism development

Local communities' participation in tourism development takes various forms. Dependent on the nature of the project, local communities' participation can take the form of involvement in planning of the project, involvement in the operations of the project and involvement in decision making and management of project.

Local communities' participation in the planning process often involves activities which are geared towards ensuring that there is widespread knowledge about the project in order to foster community support for it (Nance & Ortolano, 2007). Local residents participate by using all avenues available to them to express their likes, dislikes and preferences on the proposed project. The avenues often used to solicit these views are surveys, indepth interviews, focus group discussions, and community meetings. In the case of an ecotourism project in Ecuador for example, a tour operator spent nine (9) months to assist a local community plan for a proposed ecotourism project. Through the meetings held, issues on practices of ecotourism, conservation, potential impacts, and management were discussed (Epler Wood, 1998).

Local communities also participate in the operations of tourism projects. They engage in activities which focus on providing resources and facilities for the project as well as rendering services to the tourists. In the area

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of providing for the project, local residents often contribute their time, labour, and resources. A typical example was found in Ecuador by Epler Wood (1998) where the Achuars in Ecuador willingly gave out building materials and free airstrip access for a proposed ecotourism project. They offered labour for the building of the tourist accommodation, and also decided to restrict their hunting activities in the demarcated areas for the ecotourism project.

In the area of rendering services to tourists, Miller (2008) in the study of selected ecotourism projects in Guatemala noted that local residents were mainly involved in working as tour guides, providing home stay services, providing traditional meals, souvenirs, entertainment, and dancing lessons to tourists.

Local communities' participation in tourism development also takes the form of decision making and management. Depending on the ownership of the project, the degree of decision making and management of the local community varies. Local residents could be employed to work either in managerial positions or casual positions in the project.

Nance and Ortolano (2007) are of the view that measuring forms of participation by the scope of activities, the number of participations involved and the overall level of authority of the residents to initiate and control their participation activities offers a better understanding of the features of community participation.

The forms that local communities' participation in tourism take can change over time. This change is dependent on the levels of local communities' participation in tourism development, which could either be passive or active. Therefore to Denman (2001), when the legal rights and responsibilities of local communities over their land, resources and their development is strengthened, local communities can derive the most of tourism development. This may also serve as an impetus for them to support tourism development.

Levels of community participation in tourism development

Community participation in practice has taken various levels as identified by Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995) and Tosun (1999). However, not all levels of participation can help local communities actualize their expected benefits from tourism development (Tosun, 2006).

To further illustrate the levels that participation can take, Arnstein (1969) developed a ladder which has eight levels ranging from citizen power, to manipulation. The eight levels from the bottom are; manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. These levels have been further categorized into three groups namely; manipulative participation, citizen tokenism and citizen power.

The central point in this typology is the degree of power distribution, which Marturano and Gosling (2007) describe as a representation of variations of power and influence that can exist. Manipulative participation is no participation in the true sense of the word. Those in authority force their decisions on those who are not in authority and do not make any room for them to participate in decision making on issues that affect them. Citizen tokenism indicates some level of participation but it is not enough. The opportunity is given the participants in this case to make their views known. However, these views are scarcely made use of by those having the most power. Citizen power signifies true participation on the ladder and represents the ideal level of participation sought in projects. This is where participants decide on issues that affect them and are in full control over the implementation of these decisions.

With specific reference to tourism in developing countries, Tosun (1999) had categorized levels of community participation in tourism into three namely; spontaneous community participation, coercive community participation and induced community participation, with each level having its own subsection (Fig. 1).

Spontaneous Participation - Bottom-up; active participation; direct participation in decision making, authentic participation, self planning

Induced participation - Top-down; passive participation; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback

Coercive Participation - Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation

Fig. 1: Tosun's typology of community participation

Source: Adopted from Tosun (2006, p. 494)

The spontaneous participation allows the community to have full managerial control over the tourism project. This is the ideal situation sought as it puts the project fully into the hands of the host community. The induced participation gives the host community an opportunity to make known their views on tourism development in their community but it does not give them the power to ensure that their views are implemented. The goal of the final level; coercive participation, is to empower power holders to take all the decisions and educate the host community on the decisions taken. This form does not allow for participation by the host community. The host community is perceived as having problems and the power holder as having the cure to those problems.

Pretty (1995) also proposed another typology of participation (Fig. 2)

which reflected the unequal power distribution between tourism stakeholders.

Passive Participation - People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professional

Participation by consultation - People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede to any share in decision making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views

Participation by material incentives - People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.

Functional participation - Participation is seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives.

Interactive participation - People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Learning methodologies used to seek multiple perspectives and groups determine how available resources are used.

Self mobilization and connectedness - People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need but retain control over resource use.

Fig. 2: Pretty's typology of community participation

Source: Adopted from Pretty (1995, as cited in Mowforth & Munt, 1998, p.

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This typology has six levels of participation which ranged from passive participation to self mobilization and connectedness. Each level showed the varying power relationship which could exist between the local community and external bodies or organizations.

These typologies are useful for projecting the various levels that community participation can take. They provide a context within which participation issues can be discussed. However, these typologies are silent on issues such as number of people required to participate, gender, race, authority structures among others which are beyond the control of the community. This limits their application to real life situations.

Barriers to community participation in tourism development

For local community participation in tourism development to be effective, there has to be the legal right and opportunity for local communities to participate. This will include access to information, adequate resources and full representation of all groups of people in the community (Pearce et al, 1996). However, these prerequisites are most often non existent in host communities due to a myriad of external and internal factors. To Tosun (2000), the factors that act as barriers to active participation are often just a reflection of the socio-cultural, political, and economic conditions prevailing in the area.

With specific reference to developing countries, Tosun (2000) categorized all barriers to community participation into three, namely; operational, structural and cultural. In his view, at the operational level, the non decentralization of tourism administration from the national level prevents

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those at the bottom from making valuable contribution to it. Again, where there are a lot of bureaucracies in many legislative and operational processes, it becomes difficult for organizations which have a stake in tourism development to coordinate and cooperate (Jenkins, 1982).

Another key area of limitation to active participation in tourism development identified by Tosun (2000) is structural barriers. These often appear in the form of institutional structures, power structures, legislative and economic systems that are in existence in the community. Most local communities have to contend with inadequate financial resources, unqualified human resources, domination of the industry by the elites, and unavailability of appropriate legal frameworks that will encourage and protect individual's participation.

Finally, local communities are faced with cultural limitations which include limited capacity to effectively manage tourism, apathy and low level of awareness among local residents. This often results from their exclusion from the tourism development process for so long a time.

Similarly, Cole (2006) and Manyara and Jones (2007) identified problems of inadequate financial resources, inadequate capacity to manage projects, ownership disputes over the tourism resources, benefit distribution challenges, low knowledge of tourism development and the absence of a policy framework guiding as barriers to local communities' active participation in tourism development.

It is obvious from the discussion above that even though community participation is a laudable idea; its implementation is not easy. Thus to Muganda (2009), the exploration stage of every tourism destination should be

seen as the crucial point for community participation to begin. To him, the absence of tourism infrastructure at the destination at this stage will provide local communities the opportunity to get involved in tourism development. This will help local communities control tourism development to meet their local needs, aspirations and capacities.

Ecotourism as a form of alternative tourism

Since the last quarter of the 20th century, the need to find an alternative form of tourism which has minimal negative impacts as compared to mass tourism has come up (Orams, 1995). The alternative sought had to be consistent with the natural, social and community values of the host community and which will also allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive interactions and share experiences (Wearing & Neil, 1999).

This new line of thinking which offered "promises for prosperity, new opportunities and hopes for local people, tourists and service providers alike" (Fennel 2002, p. 1) has led to the creation of many alternative forms of tourism including nature tourism, adventure tourism, farm tourism, culture tourism and ecotourism.

Ecotourism, which developed as part of this new paradigm, has become one of the fastest growing sectors of tourism in the world both in practice and in theory, with an annual growth rate ranging from 10% to 30% (Fennel, 2002; Jones, 2005; Neth, 2008). This growth has been attributed to three main issues. These are an increase in alternative tourism sought by tourists and tourism developers (Weaver, 1998); a growth in nature based tourism attractions, and a growing understanding and acceptance of principles

of environmental conservation and sustainability (Orams, 1995). So significant has this sector of tourism become that in 2002, The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) & United Nation Environment Programme (UNEP) declared the year, International Year of Ecotourism and an entire journal; Journal of Ecotourism, has been dedicated to its empirical study (Neth, 2008).

Definitions and guiding principles of ecotourism

There is a general debate on what ecotourism is and what it should be. As such, several definitions of ecotourism with differing focuses are available in the tourism literature. Fennel (2001) identified 85 of such definitions. Commonly cited definitions include: "ecotourism is responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well being of local people" (TIES, 1990, p. 1).

Ecotourism is low impact nature tourism which contributes to the maintenance of species and habitats either directly through a contribution to conservation and/or indirectly by providing revenue to the local community sufficient for local people, and therefore protects their wildlife heritage area as a source of income. (Goodwin, 1996, p. 288)

Ceballos - Lascurain (1996, cited in Scheynes, 1999, p. 1)

Ecotourism is environmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement for local populations.

Ecotourism definitions could be broadly categorized into two; demand and supply. On the demand side, citing Wheeler (1993) and Munt (1994), Jones (2005) identified that the definitions focus on the characteristics and motives of eco-tourists while the supply side definitions aim at evaluating ecotourism ventures against set principles, objectives or economic criteria (Doan, 2000; Loon & Polakow, 2001).

Miller and Kaae (1993) placed all ecotourism definitions on a continuum. The extreme ends of the continuum indicated high or low levels of human responsibility. Definitions which support the idea of ecotourism's role in improving natural environments were active in nature and are towards the high level of human responsibility on the continuum. Conversely, definitions which focus on the destructive attitudes of eco- tourists and call for them to minimize their impact on the natural environment were more passive in nature and could be found near the low level human responsibility pole.

The on-going debate on ecotourism is not only limited to its definition but it extends to the principles guiding its development and its fundamental target. Different scholars have proposed diverse principles for ecotourism (Pedersen, 1991; Buckley 1994; Wallace & Pierce, 1996). One of such which stands out is by TIES (1990 as cited in Epler Wood, 2002, p. 14). It states that ecotourism development should:

- minimize the negative impacts on nature and culture that can damage a destination;
- educate the traveller/tourist on the importance of conservation;

- stress the importance of responsible business, which works cooperatively with local authorities and people to meet local needs and deliver conservation benefits;
- direct revenues to the conservation and management of natural and protected areas;
- emphasize the need for regional tourism zoning and for visitor management plans designed for either regions or natural areas that are slated to become eco-destinations;
- emphasize use of environmental and social base-line studies, as well as long term monitoring programmes, to assess and minimize impacts;
- strive to maximize economic benefit for the host country, local business and communities, particularly people living in and adjacent to natural and protected areas;
- seek to ensure that tourism development does not exceed the social and environmental limits of acceptable change as determined by researchers in cooperation with local residents; and
- rely on infrastructure that has been developed in harmony with the environment, minimizing use of fossil fuels, conserving local plants and wildlife, and blending with the natural and cultural environment.

On the fundamental goal of ecotourism, Orams (1995, p. 1) for instance is of the view that the main goal of ecotourism should be "promoting tourists to become active contributors to the health and viability of the natural environment they visit, instead of simply mitigating their adverse environmental impact." Scheyvens (1999), on the other hand claims that the principal aim of ecotourism should be the empowerment of host communities, whereas some others consider the contribution of ecotourism to biodiversity conservation to the most crucial element of all (Brandom & Margoluis, 1996).

Irrespective of varying differences in the definitions of ecotourism, three key issues stand; it is nature based, environmentally educative and sustainably managed (Blamey, 2001). Regardless of what the fundamental goal of ecotourism development should be, it must be in the position to enhance the situation at the destination and not deteriorate it. Since the focus of this study is on the host community, the study adopts Goodwin (1996)'s definition of ecotourism which stresses ecotourism's conservation abilities as well as its contribution to improving the socio-economic lives of local communities engaged in its development. It also adopts Scheyvens (1999)'s perspective of ecotourism's goal which is geared towards the empowerment of host communities.

Impacts of ecotourism development

A substantial body of literature on ecotourism's impacts points to the fact that ecotourism development leaves in its wake both positive and negative impacts (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Weaver, 1998; Belsky, 1999; Jones, 2005; Stronza & Godillo, 2008). While the positive impacts refer to the good things that accrue from ecotourism development, the negative impacts are the harm caused as a result of ecotourism development.

Positive impacts of ecotourism include environmental conservation, local employment creation, income generation, infrastructural development and sustainable development promotion (Belsky, 1999; Jones, 2005). On the other hand, due to the sensitive nature of the natural and cultural resources for ecotourism development, negative impacts can and do occur (Jenkins & Wearing, 2003). In rural communities especially, the socio-cultural, environmental and economic costs are severe (Stronza & Godillo, 2008).

Some empirical evidences of the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts associated with ecotourism development across the world are as follows:

Economic impacts

Positive economic impacts of ecotourism development have become most countries justification for embarking upon its development (Page et al, 2001, Cooper et al, 2008). Some scholars even hold the belief that when ecotourism is properly managed, it can become an efficient tool for dealing with socio-economic problems in countries which are dependent on natural resources (Fransson & Gaerling, 1999; Borchers, 2003, as cited in Neth, 2008).

Positive economic impacts

There is evidence to suggest that ecotourism does create employment for local residents. West (2006)'s work in a village of Maimafu in Papua New Guinea showed that employment opportunities opened for many women in handicraft production for tourists. Similarly, Wallace and Pierce (1996) observed that in Amazonas, Brazil, the provision of eco-lodges in the area had created employment opportunities for local residents. For many of these residents, this had been the first income job they have ever had.

With respect to ecotourism's ability to generate income, Wallace and Pierce (1996) noted that local residents in Amazonas, Brazil experienced an increase in their personal income as a result of a boom in local businesses because of ecotourism development. Again, the Posada Amazonas eco-lodge in Peru in 2004 and 2005 was said to have made profits of \$ 182,583 and \$ 208,328 respectively. Sixty (60) per cent of the profit went directly to the community for development while the rest was evenly distributed among the families in the community by their leaders. As of 2006, the average household income had increased by 25% from the dividends from tourism (Stronza, 2007).

Ross and Wall (1999)'s investigation in Bogani and Tangkoko; remote local communities near protected areas in Indonesia, revealed that these local communities have seen an improvement in their transportation and communication infrastructures. This confirmed the purported linkage between ecotourism development and infrastructural development. In the Brazilian example stated earlier, some of the eco-lodges had phones, radios, canoes, boats and vehicles which local residents were permitted to use during emergencies. Operators of the eco-lodges frequently transported locally produced food stuffs to the market for the local residents and in addition provided electricity from their generators to the communities for at least a few hours each day.

In another typical case in Ecuador it was realized that ecotourism revenue generated in Cuyabeno became a direct source of income for the

people and it also supported infrastructural developments such as school buildings, provision of health care services and provision of communication facilities for the local community (Epler Wood, 1998).

Negative economic impacts

Ecotourism development has its own associated negative impacts which include localized inflation, leakages of profits, seasonality, menial job opportunities, and opportunity cost to development.

According to Jacobson and Robles (1992), although the positive economic impacts of ecotourism are to serve as incentives for conservation, they are most often insufficient to build that needed incentive in most local communities. To them, the job opportunities which are created through ecotourism are sometimes unable to achieve the expected economic outcomes. As such, local residents go back to their previous economic activities. Barkin (2003) backed this observation with the case of Monarch Butterfly Reserve, Mexico. When the reserve could not achieve much of the expected economic gains, local residents went back to logging.

Localized inflation in local economies due to ecotourism development has also been observed as an economic cost of ecotourism development. In Belize, the competitive demand for local resources by tourists led to an increase in labour, food and land prices (Wunder, 2000). In another example, residents of Cornwall in the United Kingdom found it difficult to purchase accommodation properties in the area because an increase in demand for cottages in the area by tourists had led to high price increases (Page et al, 2001).

Environmental impacts

Concern for the environment has been at the core of alternative tourism (Cooper et al, 2008). There are indications of ecotourism contributions to both conservation and economic development. Hence the argument that the positive impacts of ecotourism on biodiversity can become an economic incentive for environmental protection and environmental education for all stakeholders in ecotourism development (Ross & Wall, 1999). On the other hand, tourism development can lead to the deterioration of the environment. There are evidences of tourism damaging the natural and built environment, increasing pollution levels among many others.

Positive environmental impacts

Ecotourism has contributed to the conservation and preservation of natural areas, plant and animal species (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). In East and South Africa, more than 207, 200 km² of forest land, having one of the largest wildlife populations in the world, have been set aside as national parks (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

A number of plant and animal species are also being conserved. A typical example is sea turtle conservation ongoing in Brazil (Stronza & Pêgas, 2008), and whale shark conservation in Seychelles (Rowat & Engelhardt, 2007). In Ghana, some fauna are being conserved through a number of ecotourism projects. Examples of these fauna are hippopotamus, mona monkeys, western Sitatunga, white-necked rockfowl, and manatee (NCRC, 2006).

Negative environmental impacts

Inappropriate ecotourism development does result in negative impacts to the very environment it seeks to protect. Page et al (2001) pointed out loss of natural habitat of animals and its consequences on wildlife, pollution, overcrowding, and traffic congestion as some of the negative environmental costs of ecotourism development.

A study conducted by Li (2003) on *environmental management indicators for ecotourism* in the Tianmushan area, China, revealed that the attraction of tourists to this protected forested area for over a period of 10 years has led to trail widening and excessive root exposure along the trails causing vegetation damage. Ahmed (1999) also cited the example of Brunei's Merimbun Heritage Park where the problem of littering, noise pollution and intentional destruction of park properties by tourists existed.

Socio-cultural impacts

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism are what Wolf (1977) describes as people's impacts. He further explained that these impacts occur in the life of the host community as a result of their direct or indirect interactions with tourists. Among all the impacts of ecotourism, it is the social cultural impacts that have the longest lasting effect on the local community.

Positive socio-cultural impacts

Ecotourism development affects the quality of social lives of local communities engaged in it. It is able to sustain rural livelihoods, renew the cultural pride of a people, empower local communities, and promote traditional art forms (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Weaver, 1998; Scheyvens, 1999). An investigation into the socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism development in the Santa Elena rainforest project in Australia revealed that opportunities have opened for the community to share their traditions with visitors, establish friendships, learn new languages and receive donations from tourists or conservation organizations who visit the area (Wearing & Larsen, 1996).

Negative socio-cultural impacts

Ecotourism development has led to the displacement of local communities on whose lands the development took place. This, Honey (2008) claims often happens to poor communities who most of the times have no rights to own lands and have limited or no access to any legal representation. Citing the Maasai Mara in Kenya and Tanzania as an example to support his claim, he indicated that the Maasai people were evicted from their lands in the 1970's to make way for the establishment of the Amboseli National Park.

The displacement of local people for ecotourism development in Kenya and Tanzania are not isolated cases. In Nepal, the establishment of the Chitwan national game reserve in the Terai area saw the displacement of the local communities who were occupying that land. Also in the case of the Island of Langkawi in Malaysia, tourism development led to the disintegration of communities and a loss of livelihood for many (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

Closely related to the issue of displacement is the restrictions placed on local communities on access to resources on those lands. In the early 1990s when the national parks in Kenya were established, the Maasai people were not permitted to allow their livestock to graze in the Maasai Mara and Samburu reserves (Zeppel, 2006).

Other negative socio-cultural impacts associated with ecotourism development include commoditization of culture, gambling, prostitution, reduce reverence for local customs, traditions and religion, migration, less use of local language, increased crime and drug use, and changes in social structures. The tribal dance of the Kuma tribe in Panama for example is losing its authenticity as it is now performed to coincide with the tourist season (Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

Community-based ecotourism projects

The community-based approach has been mostly adopted for ecotourism development. This approach Scheyvens (1999) noted, recognizes the need for the protection of the quality of lives of local people as well as the conservation of natural resources. It has been suggested that projects that qualify as CBE should "make room for a high degree of community control, enjoy a huge proportion of the benefits that accrue from the venture, and should not be controlled almost wholly by outside operators" (Scheyvens, 1999, p. 245). This will contrast them from other ecotourism projects that are totally managed by governmental or private agencies.

There is a growing debate among researchers, developers and funding agencies on the ability of CBEPs to meet their underlying objectives. To some scholars, CBEPs are yielding good results (Stronza & Pêgas, 2008; Sebele, 2010). According to Campbell (1999), the small-scale nature of CBEPs and their emphasis on community-led approach to tourism development

encourages the creation of local employment and businesses as well as respect for community values and lifestyles in local communities. This assertion was backed by Kontogeorgopoulos (2005), who added that it also enables local communities to achieve the political, economic, cultural and conservational goals of community development.

On the contrary, some researchers are sounding notes of caution and questioning the capacity of CBEPs to deliver (Taylor, 1995; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Miller, 2008; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008). According to Woodwood (1997), CBEPs have become a marketing gimmick and in reality do not yield much. And to Kiss (2004, p. 232), the purported successful CBEPs only cause "a little change in existing local land and resources-use practices, provide only a modest supplement to local livelihoods, and remain dependent on external support for long periods if not indefinitely."

It can be inferred from the discussion above that while some CBEPs are succeeding, others are failing. The next two sub-sections of this review take a look, at first, some issues that are contributing to the growing failure of these projects. These issues are termed as the challenges faced by these projects. And then it also looks at how these projects can be assessed. The assessment criteria are based on some factors considered as critical for the success of CBEPs.

Challenges facing community- based ecotourism projects

As common to all developmental projects, CBEPs have their own set of challenges. They include inequitable distribution of benefits, non-financial viability of projects attributed to poor market access and governance, conflicts and excessive donor dependence.

Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) have observed that most benefits from CBEPs are periodic and minimal. As a result, they are not able to effectively influence local residents' social and cultural patterns of resource use. Consequently, local residents go back to their old ways of doing things immediately the incentives for tourism development are no more. In the Monarch butterfly reserve project in Mexico for example, many local residents went back to logging activities because the project did not yield the expected employment opportunities (Barkin, 2003). In the Siecoya project in Ecuador, after nine years of operations, only \$200 was generated even though the project had enjoyed many subsidies from an oil company (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008).

Another area of challenge is the wrong conception of the nature of local communities and power by tourism planners and developers. Simmons (1994) and Joppe (1997) have pointed out that most community tourism planning models conceptualize power as been evenly distributed in the community and assume that consensus can easily be reached in communities. However, communities are not homogeneous but heterogeneous. They are made up of different sub-groupings of people with different power relations. Because of the power issues at play in local communities, some groups tend to act in their own self interest rather than in the collective interest of the entire community (Hoggett, 1997; Silk, 1999). Usually, the power holders in the community; local elites, men, traditional leaders, control the decision making process and influence the distribution of economic benefits from the projects (Liu, 1994; Akama 1996; Wyllie, 1998). If care is not taken, after the implementation of the project, the sub groups of unsatisfied residents within the community can pose a threat to the sustainability of the project (Blackstock, 2005).

Closely related to the above challenge is the issue of unequal distribution of benefits. The resultant effect of such unequal distributions is the withdrawal of support for the project by the aggrieved party and this can also weaken the trust and cohesion in local communities (Jones, 2005). In the Lakekamu basin project in Papua New Guinea, two women groups which prepared meals and offered cleaning services to tourists at the local guest house could not agree on how the profit from their services would be shared. This conflict almost led to the withdrawal of support for the project by the NGO involved in it (Warner, 2000).

Again, ecotourism ventures established in rural communities are most often not commercially viable (Goodwin, 1996). This could be attributed to a lack of requisite business skills by the community to manage the project, the distance between the venture and their target market and inadequate integration with other tourism products on the market. According to Denman (2001), the unrealistic market assumptions made about these projects and the misdirecting of marketing activities towards them could be blamed for their non viability. If these projects do not attract significant number of visitors and the quality of the product being offered is compromised, enough funds cannot be generated to self finance the projects and in the long run, it would not be commercially viable. The challenges identified above raises concerns about what goes into the planning phase of these projects. In order to forestall these challenges, proper consultations with all key stakeholders must be done at the planning stage of these projects. This will create a good avenue for issues of rights and responsibilities to be thoroughly discussed and measures put in place to help deal with problems that will arise later.

Assessing community-based ecotourism projects

Scheyvens (1999) has stated that contradictions on the efficacy of CBEPs will continue to exist so far as researchers continue to evaluate these projects from different perspectives. She noted that while some evaluations gave prominence to economic benefits, others focused on the projects' contributions to local livelihoods, and conservation issues.

On the other hand, Agrawal and Redford (2006) blame the methods employed in evaluating CBEPs as the cause of the differing opinions on their efficacy. This assertion was backed by Stronza and Pêgas (2008, p. 264) who stated that while some researchers evaluated conservation as "an ethic, discernible through people's attitudes or values', others looked at it 'as a set of behaviors, either observed or reported."

As a result of these divergent views, it is difficult to identify a universally accepted set of criteria by which CBEPs can be assessed. However, some researchers have come up with certain indicators by which CBEPs can be assessed. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) for example identified social capital and empowerment, conservational efforts, improved livelihoods,

local economic development, commercial viability of project and collective benefits from projects.

According to Hipwell (2007), CBEPs should satisfy the following six criteria:

- tourism activities must be small enough to be managed solely by the community without outside support;
- a broad representation of community members must be actively involved in the project;
- the project must benefit the community as a whole;
- the project must improve the quality of life for community members across the board;
- it must result in increased awareness of conservation values; and
- it should facilitate the maintenance or enhancement of the local culture.

Ostrom (1990) has also put across a set of principles she termed *designed principles for long enduring common pool resources* which she claims are important for identifying the potential successes and failures of community owned projects. These principles include clearly defined boundaries, proportional equivalence between benefits and cost, collective-choice arrangements, monitoring, graduated sanctions, conflict resolution mechanism, minimal recognition of rights to organize and own enterprises.

Taking into consideration the focus of this study, some key indicators were selected from the criteria put forward in the literature, to establish a criterion for this study. For the purpose of this study, a CBEP should:

- have a broad representation of community members, who must be actively involved in the project;
- be managed solely by the local community without outside support;
- achieve community support for the project;
- have collective benefits for the community;
- facilitate the maintenance or enhancement of the local culture;
- support diversification in local economies; and
- have less governmental interference in its management.

Theories and models of community and tourism relations

A number of theories and models have been used in explaining the local community - tourism relationships as well as human interactions in general. Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) noted that all these models and theories can be categorized under two dimensions; extrinsic and intrinsic. The models underlying the extrinsic dimension; Butler's tourist area life cycle and the irritation index model, consider the stage of tourism development, tourist/resident ratio, type of tourist, and seasonality issues. The latter dimension however is more concerned with involvement of residents in tourism activity, socio-economic characteristics, residential proximity and period of residence. The social exchange theory and social representation theory fall under this dimension.

Social representation theory

Moscovici (1984) propounded this theory after his study of diffusion of the scientific concepts of psycho-analysis among the French public (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005) This theory is concerned about describing and understanding how and what people think about in their ongoing everyday experiences and how a wider social reality influences these thoughts (Pearce et al, 1996). Social representations as defined by Moscovici (1973, p. xiii) are

A system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.

To him, it is the desire to understand the unfamiliar that results in the development of these social representations. The usefulness of this theory in explaining social conflicts or reactions to important issues or events have been noted (Emler, 1987, as cited in Pearce et al, 1996). These social representations explain why people in conflict find it difficult to agree on issues. This is because their knowledge has been influenced by their backgrounds which may differ.

Its application to tourism studies has been in the area of understanding the relationships that occur between host communities and tourism development (Pearce et al, 1996). This theory has been heavily criticized for the non existence of a distinct definition for it. This attribute of it was however applauded by Moscovici as an indication of the richness in the concepts of the theory which cannot allow it to be compressed into a single definition. Again, it overemphasized social influence on people and has been silent on the impulsiveness of human capacity (Pearce et al, 1996).

Irritation index model

This is one of the notable stage models employed in understanding residents attitudes towards tourism development. Doxey (1975), the proponent of this model, from observations made on residents in Canada and West Indies identified that the manner in which residents relate to tourism over time can be predicted. Local residents' attitude usually passes through four stages namely; euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism as shown in Fig. 3.

Antagonism stage- the tourist is seen as the harbinger of all ills, hosts are openly antagonistic towards tourists and tourists are regarded as being there to be exploited

Irritation stage- hosts can no longer cope with the number of tourists without the provision of additional facilities as the industry reaches the saturation stage

Apathy stage- once tourism development is under way and the consequential expansion has taken place, the tourist is taken for granted and is now seen only as a source of profit-taking. What contact is made between the host and the guest is done on commercial and formal basis

Euphoria stage- the initial thrill and enthusiasm that comes along with tourism development results in the fact that the tourist is made to feel welcome

Fig. 3: Irritation index model

Source: Adopted from Cooper et al (2008, p. 195)

The limitations of this model are:

- it assumes local communities are homogeneous in nature;
- it progresses from a lower stage to a higher stage but does not indicate whether a resident's attitude can move from a higher stage to a lower stage; and
- it does not indicate how long it will take for residents' attitude to progress from one stage to the other.

Social exchange process model

This model developed by Ap (1992) was built on the main concepts and assumptions of Social Exchange Theory (SET), which argues that "human behaviour or social interaction is an exchange of activity, tangible and intangible, particularly towards rewards and cost" (Homans, 1961, p. 2). Its underlying assumption is that "a resource will continue to flow only if there is a valued return contingent upon it" (Emerson, 1976, p. 359). A summary of the main concepts and assumptions of SET are that there are actors who are engaged in exchanges. The resources which are being exchanged between the actors are either tangible or intangible. These exchanges take place within social structures and through processes.

One key concept underlying SET is the concept of power. Power in the social exchange can be defined as the potential of an actor to influence the action of another actor in the social relation. Through social exchange, some form of dependence occurs between actors but there can be imbalances in these dependences creating inequalities in power. Hence actors that are less dependent in the relation would have more advantage over those who are more dependent in the relation. How power is composed in a relation determines how much power actors in that relation can impose on each other (Emerson, 1972). This implies for example that the more dependent actor X in a relation is on actor Y for a valued reward, the more power actor Y would have over actor X.

The essence of Ap (1992) model is to assist in providing an understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism. Its main assumption is that people engage in exchange processes because of what they would get out of it and in the case of local communities involved in tourism development; their impetus is to see an improvement in their socio-economic status. The model reflects the processes that host communities go through when they get involve in tourism exchanges.

The main components of the Social Exchange Process Model (SEPM) as shown in Fig. 4 are need satisfaction, exchange relation, consequences of exchange and the no-exchange outcome. The processes that link the components are (1) initiation of exchange, (2) exchange formation, (3) exchange transaction evaluation, (4) positive evaluation of exchange consequences (reinforcement of behaviour) and (2a) & (4a) negative evaluation of exchange consequences (withdrawal in exchange behaviour) which will result in no-exchange.



Positive evaluation of consequences (Enforcement of behaviour)

Fig. 4: Social exchange process model

Source: Ap (1992, p. 670)

SET application in tourism has mostly been in the area of residents' perception and attitudes towards tourism development. It has focused on the relationship between perceived impacts and support for tourism (Ap, 1992; Teye et al, 2002). It explains that residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development are influenced by their perceptions of tourism impacts. Thus, if residents perceive tourism positively, they will engage in its development but if they perceive it negatively, they will withdraw their support for it. And if the project has already taken place, their evaluation will guarantee their continuous support for it or their withdrawal from it.

Conceptual framework for the study

After a review of the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the theory and models discussed above, the social exchange process model was adapted as the conceptual framework for the study (Fig. 5). The choice of this model is based on the fact that it can easily be expanded to study various groups under differing conditions. It therefore provides a useful framework within which the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary as well as the residents' perceptions about it can be evaluated.

Some modifications were made to the model to make it more suitable for the study. The new framework is made up of nine (9) components comprising characteristics of the local community; the project implementers, objectives for developing community based ecotourism, the TAMS project, supply analysis, form of community participation, outcome analysis, distribution analysis, and conclusions. It also indicates the interrelations between the various components.

The adapted framework conceives the TAMS project as an exchange that has taken place between the local community; Tafi Atome and other tourism related organizations involved in implementing the project. It uses the main components of the social exchange process model as a basis to evaluate the exchange that has occurred. It also assesses individual participation in the project within the same context.



Fig 5: Conceptual framework for the study

Source: Adapted from Ap (1992)

The framework looks at the general socio-economic issues pertaining in the community that might have influenced the community's engagement in this project. It also considers the influence of these socio-economic issues on the objectives set for the project by the project implementers. Again, it takes a look at the form community participation has taken in the project. It specifically considers the extent to which the local community was involved in providing services to tourists. It also assesses costs and benefits derived from the project and how they were distributed. This assessment is done taking into consideration the issue of power that is at play in every exchange relation.

Based on the overall assessment of the exchange, an opportunity is created for conclusions to be made. If the community or residents are satisfied with the outcome of the project, their behaviour will be reinforced and their support and involvement in the project would increase. On the other hand, if they are not satisfied with the project's outcome, their withdrawal from the process is sure. The feedback loop in the framework indicates an opportunity for project implementers to make changes to the project's objectives when deemed necessary in order to make them more effective.

Summary

This chapter presented a review of the concepts of community and community participation and their relevance to ecotourism development. It touched on ecotourism as an alternative form of tourism and pointed out the impacts associated with its development. A discussion of issues relating to CBEPs and their assessment was done. The concluding part of this review examined notable models and theories in community and tourism relationship studies as well as the conceptual framework for the study. This next chapter looks at the methodology guiding this study. It addresses issues on the study area, study design, sampling procedures, data processing and analysis in addition to fieldwork and its related challenges.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology followed in carrying out the study. It gives a description of the study area, study design and target population. It explains the study's sampling procedures, research instruments, procedures followed in data collection, processing and analysis as well as its presentation. Challenges encountered during the fieldwork and their implications for the study are also discussed.

Profile of study area

The study area is within the Hohoe Municipality in the Volta Region of Ghana. The municipality has a total land surface area of 1,172km² and a population of 153, 047 (Ghana Statistical Services, 2000). It shares its borders with Kpandu and North Dayi districts on the southwest, Jasikan to the north and Republic of Togo to the east. The Hohoe Municipality is located within the wet semi-equatorial climatic zone with annual rainfall ranging between 1, 016 mm and 1, 210 mm with quite unpredictable rainy season. It is also within the forest savannah transitional ecological zone; a zone abundant in various natural resources suitable for nature based tourism development. The Akwapim Togo ranges; home to mountain Afadja; the highest point in Ghana

and the Akpafu iron ore caves can be found in the municipality. The municipality boasts of the Wli, Aflabo and Tsatsadu waterfalls and currently has fourteen (14) developed ecotourism sites, one of which is Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary (Hohoe Municipal Assembly, 2004).

Tafi Atome (Fig. 6); the study area, is one of the sub-villages of the Tafi traditional area in the Hohoe Municipality. It has a total population of 1,063 (Ghana Statistical Services, 2000) with a sex distribution of males constituting 51 % and females; 49%. It is made up of four communities; Tafi Atome No. 1, Tafi Atome No. 2 (also known as Tomefa), Dekpor and Ando.

The major economic activities in the area are farming, palm wine tapping and kente weaving. The area's main tourism attraction is the traditionally protected Mona monkeys. The monkeys have been revered by the local residents as they perceived them to be messengers of the gods. For over 200 years, this reverence served as protection for the monkeys until the introduction of Christianity in the area, which allegedly equated this reverence to idol worship and consequently the hunting of these animals by the new converts of the religion (Zeppel, 2006). As part of a community-based ecotourism project implemented in the community in 1996, these monkeys are now being promoted as tourist attractions. The community offers visitors an opportunity to observe and partake in their economic activities such as palm wine tapping and also experience night life in the countryside. This they effectively do through home stay arrangements available for visitors.

The CBEP in Tafi Atome was considered worthy of study because it is one of the earliest CBE projects in the country. It had enjoyed technical support from both governmental and non-governmental bodies and is currently

under the management of the local community; a key requirement of CBEPs. This presents a good case within which the purported potentials of CBE development can be evaluated.



Fig. 6: Map of the study area

Source: Department of Geography & Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast, 2011

Study design

The study adopted a cross sectional study design. The cross sectional study design also known as the one – shot or status studies allows for a phenomenon about a target population to be studied by taking a cross section of it. This type of design according to Kumar (2005, p. 23) is "very useful in obtaining an overall picture as it stands at the time of the study". This is a very simple design which allows for one time investigation of the target population. Its advantages are that it is less time consuming as compared to longitudinal and before-and-after studies and was deemed suitable for this study which sought to do a one-time evaluation of the TAMS project.

Data and sources

Data for this study were sourced primarily from the interview schedules administered, In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) conducted and observations made in the study area. Relevant and existing additional information such as information on the study area, and figures on tourist arrivals and revenue generated on the TAMS project were sourced from Hohoe Municipality Development Report 2004-2006, and CBEP I and II reports.

Target population

The target population for this study was residents of Tafi Atome who were 18 years and above and the staff of NCRC. The selection of local residents of Tafi Atome was based on Murphy (1985)'s assertion that the host community is most affected by the outcome of tourism development. Furthermore, their support for tourism development is very critical for the success of the tourism project hence their perceptions and attitudes towards the project is needed in evaluating the project. Again, the role of non governmental agencies in CBEP development throughout the world has been well noted as they are involved in their initiation, co-management or full management of CBEPs (Belsky, 1999; Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). The Tafi Atome project has enjoyed assistance from NCRC and their opinion on the project was considered relevant to the study.

Sample size determination

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (2009) sample size determination formula was employed for arriving at the sample size for the resident survey for the study. The formula to estimate the appropriate sample size is:

$$n = \frac{t^2 \times p (1-p)}{m^2}$$

Where:

n - desired sample size

t - confidence level set at 95% (standard value = 1.96)

p - estimated proportion of the target population with similar characteristics

m - margin of error set at 5% (standard value = 0.05)

The sample size calculated was:

 $n = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.75 (1-0.75)}{0.0025}$ n = 288.12

In order to cater for non response, 10% of the sample size calculated, which was equivalent to 29, giving a total survey sample size of 317.

In addition, six (6) key informants were selected. Key informants from the local community were as follows: a member of the local traditional council to represent the traditional authority, the fetish priest, an identifiable youth leader to represent the voice of the youth in the community, a non indigene, and a member of the management committee in charge of the project since they were directly involved in the project hence are in a position to offer relevant information on the state of the project. A representative of NCRC was also selected as a key informant to represent the institutions involved in CBEP in Ghana, bringing the study total sample size to 323.

Sampling procedures

The most current communal labour attendance lists for both communities were used as the sampling frame for the study. These registers contained the names of residents who were above 18 years, and had engaged in some communal labour as of the time of the study. Individuals contained in each register were Tafi Atome No. 1 (696) and Tafi Atome No. 2 (975).

A mixture of probability and non probability sampling techniques were used to select respondents for the study. Tafi Atome No. 1 and Tafi Atome No. 2 (also known as Tomefa) were purposively selected from the four communities on the Tafi Atome land. Tafi Atome No. 1 was selected because it was where the monkey sanctuary was situated. Tafi Atome No. 2 was the largest of the three (3) migrant communities and closest to the project, hence its selection. These two communities actively participated in the project. The same technique was also used to select key informants. The individuals considered as key informants possessed much knowledge on the project.

Based on the sample size calculated for the resident's survey (317), a multi-staged sampling technique was used to select the individual respondents as shown in Table 1.

Community	Population of	Sample size by sex		Total
	residents above 18 yrs	Male	Female	sample
Tafi Atome No. 1	696	68	65	133
Tafi Atome No. 2	975	94	90	184
Total	1671	162	155	317

Table 1: Summary of residents' survey sampling procedures

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

The sample size was first divided among the two communities; Tafi Atome No. 1 (133) and Tafi Atome No. 2 (184). In the second stage, samples were proportionally allotted to both sex groupings in each community (Tafi Atome No. 1: Male = 68, Female = 65; Tafi Atome No. 2: Male = 94, Female = 90) to ensure their representativeness. After this, the systematic sampling technique was used to select individuals from each community to constitute the sample for the survey. The Multi-stage sampling technique was used because it has the advantage of presenting all sub groupings that may exist in the study population.

Instruments for data collection

The study made use of questionnaires (interview schedules), in-depth interviews and observations to collect data for the study. Interview schedules were used to solicit information from residents of Tafi Atome whilst IDIs were conducted with key informants selected for the study. Data from both sources were integrated during the interpretation phase to offer explanation of situations that otherwise could not be catered for by the sole use of one instrument.

The interview schedule used for the study had six (6) main sections and contained both close-ended and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions had options that respondents selected from while the open-ended questions made room for the respondents to give their own responses to the questions posed.

The first section addressed respondents' knowledge on tourism. The second section assessed from the perspectives of the residents issues relating to impacts of the CBE project in the community. A 5- Likert scale containing 26 items was used to measure perceptions of tourism impacts. These impact variables have been used by different authors undertaking studies on residents' attitudes, perception of tourism impacts and support for tourism (Pizam, 1978; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Teye et al, 2002; Amuquandoh, 2009; Choi & Murray, 2010). Some modifications were made to make it suitable for the study. Another 5-Likert scale with 6 items was used to measure the distribution of these impacts.

The third section looked at the form community participation has taken in the project. Measurement of this objective was based on Nance and

Ortolano (2007)'s categorization of forms of community participation which tried to indicate the various forms that participation of a local community in a project can take. The fourth section dwelt on challenges facing the sustainability of the project. The fifth section assessed residents' support for further tourism development in the community and the form it should take. The final section covered the background characteristics of the respondents. This information was relevant because it had been noted that it was a factor which influenced residents' perception and support for tourism (Teye et al, 2002; Weaver & Lawton, 2001). It also provided a context within which issues in the study were discussed. The background characteristics included in the instrument were place of residence, native status, sex, age, marital status, educational level, occupation, average monthly income, length of stay and religious affiliation.

In depth Interview (IDI), which is a face to face method for data collection, enables in-depth information to be collected as it makes allowance for probing further on issues raised. It also gives the researcher the opportunity to clarify issues to the respondents (Kumar, 2005). The IDI guide was divided into three main parts and made allowance for further probing into issues of management and challenges to sustainability of the project.

Observation, which involves gathering data through vision, was used jointly with other methods. Although the main focus of observation is on people, products of human action or their physical environment can also be observed (Sarantakos, 2005). Observation as a method has advantages of providing first hand information. It also provides data that respondents might otherwise be unwilling or unable to provide (Sarantakos, 2005). For the
observation, a list of physical structures and notable occurrences were recorded on the field.

Recruitment of field assistants and pre-testing

Four (4) field assistants, who fluently spoke Ewe, were recruited for the study. Three of them were trained teachers and the other a post graduate student. They were taken through two days of training for the fieldwork. The training period looked at the purpose of the study, the translation of the instrument into Ewe and mock administration of the instrument among the field assistants. Questions that came up were addressed. The group of people selected as field assistants have had similar experiences of collecting data in local communities. It was therefore easier for them to translate the instrument into the local dialect.

With the help of the field assistants, a pilot study was conducted on 22nd November, 2010 at Dekpor, a community on the Tafi Atome land. Ten (10) residents took part in the trial administration of the interview schedules. The purpose of the pilot study was to see the practicalities in administering the instrument and identify possible challenges that could be faced. After the pilot study, the need for clearer translation of words and a shorter duration for administering the instruments came up. Thus, the necessary changes were made before the actual fieldwork was done.

Community entry

A reconnaissance survey was conducted in August, 2010 to make enquires about the state of the project. In November, 2010, an introductory letter and drinks were used to seek permission from the chief of Tafi Atome to enter the community to undertake the study. The chief was briefed on who was conducting the study, the purpose of the study and the likely questions that would be posed to residents. Permission was also sought from the fetish priest who was in charge of the monkeys. A gong-gong was then beaten to inform the two communities about the exercise that would take place in their midst for a period of time and also to inform them to make themselves available when approached to partake in the study.

Fieldwork/ data collection

The actual fieldwork lasted for two weeks (24th November to 8th December, 2010). The field assistants helped with the administering of the interview schedules whilst the researcher conducted all IDIs and observations. For the interview schedule, respondents were asked questions in Ewe and their responses were written in English. For the IDI, appointments were booked with the key informants at a time convenient for them. The conversations were recorded with the help of a recorder. Responses from respondents were encouraging as almost everyone was aware of the exercise that was going on through the gong-gong that was beaten. Prior to the administration of each instrument, a verbal consent was sought from the respondent before the exercise proceeded.

Data processing and analysis

A total of 317 interview schedules were administered. The instruments used for collecting the quantitative data were edited and coded. After editing, 302 instruments were found useable for the analysis and 15 of them were discarded. The response rate for the survey was 95.3%. The data was analyzed with the help of Statistical Product for Service Solution (SPSS) version 17.

The t-test and one way analysis of variance were used to compare the mean responses of respondents on issues of community participation and perception of tourism impacts by their background characteristics to see whether variations existed. Descriptive statistics were also employed in analyzing the data. Cross tabulations were made between respondents' profile and management option as well as respondents' scale of development preference by their profile. The chi-square statistic was used to test significant differences between respondents' background characteristics and issues on community participation and tourism development preferences.

For the IDIs, recorded interviews were transcribed for manual analysis. Information gathered from the transcription were categorized under common themes and issues identified by the researcher. Photographs were taken as part of the observation to back data collected with other tools.

The analyzed data were presented primarily using tables, pictures and narrations. The usefulness of these formats is they are easy to read and understand.

Fieldwork challenge

One clear area of concern for most respondents was the protection of their identity. The non natives especially insisted on the identity of the researchers before they gave out information. It took sometime to convince the respondent that his/her identity would be protected. To further address this concern, names and contact details of the respondent were not sought and care was also taken not to give clues that might lead to the easy identification of respondents in the research report.

Summary

This chapter was devoted to providing a context within which the study was conducted. It examined the study area, the research design, procedures followed in sampling, collecting and analyzing the data as well as the challenges encountered on the field and how they were dealt with. The next chapter presents the results and discussions of the analyzed data.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the results. Issues discussed include background characteristics of respondents, community participation in the project, assessment of the project's benefits and costs, challenges facing the project and residents' future tourism development preferences.

Background characteristics of respondents

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics considered in this study were place of residence, age, sex, marital status, highest educational level attained, religious affiliation, occupation, average monthly income, native status and length of stay. The summarized results are presented in Table 2.

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	Community					
Background characteristics	Tafi Atome 1		Tafi A	tome 2	Total	
	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
Place of residence	127	42.1	175	57.9	302	100
Native status						
Indigene	119	95.2	6	4.8	125	100
Non indigene	8	4.5	169	95.5	177	100
Sex						
Male	69	43.7	89	56.3	158	100
Female	58	40.3	86	59.7	144	100
Age						
<35	75	46.6	86	53.4	161	100
35-55	33	32.7	68	67.3	101	100
>55	19	47.5	21	52.5	40	100
Marital status						
Unmarried	55	44.4	99	55.6	124	100
Married	72	40.4	106	59.6	178	100
Educational level						
No formal education	19	40.4	28	59.6	47	100
Primary	26	35.6	47	64.4	73	100
JHS/Middle	56	47.1	63	52.9	119	100
SHS/Voc/Tech	24	40.7	35	59.3	59	100
Tertiary	2	50	2	50	4	100
Length of stay (years)						
<6	8	16.3	41	83.7	49	100
6-18	14	18.2	63	81.8	77	100
>18	105	59.7	71	40.3	176	100
Religious affiliation						
Christianity	112	43.4	146	56.6	258	100
Islam	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	100
Traditional	3	15.0	17	85.0	20	100
None	11	52.4	10	47.6	21	100
Average monthly income						
<ghc 50<="" td=""><td>91</td><td>46.0</td><td>107</td><td>54.0</td><td>198</td><td>100</td></ghc>	91	46.0	107	54.0	198	100
GHC 51-100	24	29.6	57	70.4	81	100
GHC 101-200	10	52.6	9	47.4	19	100
>GHC 200	2	50	2	50	4	100

Table 2: Background characteristics of respondents

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Host residents' place of residence in relation to the tourist zone has been noted to influence their attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development (Belisle & Hoy, 1980). Respondents were randomly selected from two communities in the study area namely Tafi Atome No. 1 and Tafi Atome No. 2. Tafi Atome No. 1 was predominately occupied by the indigenes and respondents selected from that community constituted 42.1% of the sample for the survey while respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2 who were mainly non indigenes constituted 57.9% of the total sample as indicated in Table 2.

Another variable considered was length of stay of respondents in the study area. The length of stay in both communities ranged from 1 to 78 years. On the average, respondents have stayed in the area for 24.1 years. As shown in Table 2, respondents living in Tafi Atome No. 1 recorded a longer length of stay with 59.7% of them living continuously in the community for more than 18 years. On the other hand, respondents with shorter length of stay (<6 years) were dominant in Tafi Atome No. 2 (83.7%). The shorter length of stay in Tafi Atome No. 2 may be explained by the fact that that community was dominated by migrant farmers who moved back to their native communities during festive and non farming seasons. For the indigenes, this was their home and this may account for their prolonged stay here.

Age as a demographic element has been explored in relation to host communities attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development (Tomljenovic & Faulkner, 1999). The entire sample had an age distribution as follows; 35 years and below (53.3%), 35 -55 years (33.4%) and above 55 years (13.2%) with an average age of 38.2 years as shown in Table 2. The

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majority of the respondents in both communities were less than 35 years old (53.3%). The age group above 55 years recorded the least number of respondents in both communities.

There is an indication that the sex of respondents is very important in studies relating to host communities (Mason & Cheyne, 2000). The survey had 158 (52.3%) males against 144 (47.7%) females partaking in it (Table 2). This sex proportion is close to the 2000 population census for the area which gave the sex proportion to be 51.0 % males to 49.0 % females (Ghana Statistical Services, 2000).

The educational level of individuals has been noted to influence their perceptions and participation in tourism development (Husbands, 1989). From the sample drawn for the study, it was obvious that educational levels were generally low in both communities. For instance, only 20.9 % of respondents had attended school up to the Senior High School (SHS) and tertiary levels (Table 2). The low educational attainment of the respondents may be attributed to the inadequate educational facilities available in the area. The highest formal educational institution in the community was a Junior High School (JHS).

The religious affiliation of respondents was of interest to this study because of the use of a religious asset (the Mona Monkeys) for the project. The predominant religion ascribed to by the majority of the respondents was Christianity (85.4%), followed by those who belong to none (7.0%), traditional (6.6%), and Islam (1.0%) as indicated in Table 2. Christianity which was introduced to the community by some Roman Catholic missionaries in the early 1900's has been alleged to have had a strong

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influence on the belief systems of the residents in the community over the years. It was therefore not surprising that majority of the respondents were Christians.

In terms of respondents' marital status, 58.9% of the respondents were married while those who were unmarried were 41.1% as shown in Table 2. Also, the average monthly income distribution of the respondents in Table 2 showed that most respondents were earning less than GHC 50 on the average in a month (65.60 %), and only 1.30 % of the respondents on the average earned above GHC 200 a month. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the respondents were subsistence farmers.

Occupation of respondents

The major economic activities in both communities were farming, petty trading and cloth weaving. It is therefore not surprising that 54.5% of respondents were engaged in farming (Table 3). This was followed up by petty trading (15.5%) and cloth weaving (6.9%); an activity mostly undertaken by non indigenes. Respondents engaged in tourism related jobs were 0.57 %. The unemployed constituted 9.8 % of the total sample.

Economic activity	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Farming	189	54.5
Trading	54	15.5
Unemployed	34	9.8
Cloth weaving	24	6.9
Teaching	10	2.9
Driving/Motor riding	9	2.5
Hairdressing	8	2.3
Dressmaking	8	2.3
Masonry	6	1.7
Tour guiding	2	0.57
Carpentry	2	0.57
Typing	1	0.28
Total	347*	100.0

 Table 3: Major economic activities engaged in by respondents

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency exceeds 302 because of multiple responses

Forms of community participation in the project

The goal of community participation in ecotourism development is to give local communities the opportunity to be involved in making decisions on issues that affect their lives. Studies have identified that local communities' participation in ecotourism development takes different forms such as provision of goods and services to tourists, contribution of labour, and being hospitable to tourists (Epler Wood, 1998; Miller, 2008). In line with the conceptual framework guiding this study, the forms of local participation in the project were examined.

The local community's participation in the project as indicated in Table 4 mainly took the forms of engagement in communal labour (42.6%), attending community meetings (20.5%), being hospitable to tourists/visitors (18.0%) and provision of goods and services (7.6%). Therefore engaging in communal labour was the commonest form of local participation in the project.

Forms	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Engages in communal labour	287	42.6
Attending community meetings	138	20.5
Being hospitable to tourists/visitors	121	18.0
Provision of goods and services	51	7.6
Provision of entertainment	22	3.3
Provision of security	18	2.7
Provision of home stay services	12	1.8
Protecting/guarding against hunting of monkeys	12	1.8
Provision of land for the project	5	0.7
Provision of tour guide services	4	0.6
Member of management board	3	0.4
Total	673*	100

Table 4: Forms of community participation in the project

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency exceeds 302 because of multiple responses

Other respondents indicated that their involvement in the project took the form of providing entertainment to tourists/visitors (3.3%), security to tourists/visitors (2.7%), land for the forest reserve (0.7%), tour guide services to tourists (0.6%), working on the management board for the project (0.4%), and protecting/guarding against the hunting of the monkeys (1.8%) as shown in Table 4.

It was observed that all the forms of local participation identified in the project could be broadly categorized into two; involvement in decision making and involvement in providing support services for the project. In exception of attending community meetings and working on management board, which were related to decision making, all other forms identified in Table 4 were geared towards maintenance of the sanctuary as well as providing services to tourists. This finding is consistent with the observations made by Nance and Ortolano (2007) that local communities' participation in projects often takes the forms of involvement in decision making and provision of support services. It was also clear that the number of people involved in providing support services (532) far outweighed those involved in decision making related activities (141). This suggests that majority of the local residents were not involved in making decisions for the project but rather were involved in providing support services for the project.

Forms of community participation by background characteristics

The forms of participation identified by respondents were explored across the social groups. The results presented in Table 5 indicated that respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2's participation in the project largely took the form of engaging in communal labour (58.9%), being hospitable to tourists/visitors (56.2%), and provision of goods and services (45.1%). On the other hand, participation by respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1 in the project took the form of community meeting attendance (71.0%), provision of security (61.1%) and provision of entertainment (59.1%).

A vast difference was noted in respondents' participation in community meetings. Whereas the majority of respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1 (71.0%) indicated their attendance of community meetings, only 29.0% of respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2 attended those community meetings. The non participation of respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2 may be explained by their complaints to the effect that invitations to these meetings were not extended to them. One respondent remarked that:

"The gong-gong is never beaten at our side to invite us for any community meetings on the project." (54 years old non indigene, Tafi Atome No. 2)

Table 5:	Forms of	community	participation	by res	pondents'	background
		•/		•/		

characteristics

Background characteristics	Forms of participation					
	Communal labour	Community meeting	Hospitality	Provision of goods /services	Provision of Entertainment	Provision of security
N Parcontago (%)	287 %	138 %	121 %	51 %	22 %	18 %
Place of residence	/0	/0	/0	/0	/0	/0
Tafi Atome No. 1	41.1	71.0	43.8	54.9	59.1	61.1
Tafi Atome No. 2	58.9	29.0	56.2	45.1	40.9	38.9
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sex						
Male	50.5	51.4	47.1	54.9	81.8	50.0
Female	49.5	48.6	52.9	45.1	18.2	50.0
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age						
<35	53.7	58.0	56.2	64.7	63.6	50.0
35-55	33.4	29.0	27.3	19.6	27.3	33.3
<55	12.9	13.0	16.5	15.7	9.1	16.7
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Educational level						
No formal education	15.7	11.6	15.7	11.8	4.5	11.1
Primary	25.1	19.6	23.1	15.7	13.6	11.1
JHS/MSLC	39.4	44.2	38.8	49.0	31.8	61.1
SHS/Voc/Tech	19.2	21.7	20.7	23.5	45.5	16.7
Tertiary	0.7	2.9	1.7	0	4.5	0
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average monthly income						
<ghc 50<="" td=""><td>67.6</td><td>65.9</td><td>74.4</td><td>58.8</td><td>50.0</td><td>83.3</td></ghc>	67.6	65.9	74.4	58.8	50.0	83.3
GHC 51-100	25.1	25.4	18.2	25.5	31.8	11.1
GHC 101-200	5.9	7.2	5.8	15.7	18.2	5.6
>GHC 200	1.4	1.4	1.7	0	0	0
Sub total (%)						

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Much variation was not noted among the age groups and the form their participation had taken in the project. However, respondents within the more youthful group (<35years) were more involved in every aspect of the project as compared to all other age groups (Table 5). Similarly, in terms of respondents' educational levels (Table 5), those who attained JHS/MSLC education were more involved in the project as compared to respondents in other educational categories. This was to be expected because most respondents (79.1%) have not progressed beyond this educational level as shown in Table 2.

With respect to average income levels, respondents who earned less than GHC50 were mostly involved in the project (Table 5). This situation perhaps may be due to the fact that the forms of participation identified in the study did not require much money. Thus, many people in spite of their low income levels could participate in the project.

Respondents' sentiments about their participation in the project

The SEPM suggests that the issue of power is central in all exchange relations. The model conceptualizes power as the potential of an actor in the exchange relation to influence the action of other actors engaged in that exchange relation. In line with this, the study attempted to explore the issue of power in the community's participation in the project by exploring respondents' sentiments about their participation in the project.

Respondents were asked to rate how they felt about their participation on a scale ranging from voluntary, obligatory to coercive. Voluntary connoted a feeling of freewill or choice, obligatory, a sense of duty and coercion, a

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feeling of duress. The results showed that on the whole, obligatory feelings rated highest (67.9%), followed by voluntary feelings (28.8%) and feelings of coercion (3.3%).

Respondents' sentiments by background characteristics

The sentiments expressed by respondents about their individual participation in the project were further explored in relation to their background characteristics. The result of the chi square test, which was set at a significance level of 0.05, showed significant association between respondents' place of residence, native status, sex and length of stay and their sentiments (Table 6).

	Sentiments				\mathbf{x}^2
Background	Ν	Voluntary	Obligatory	Coercive	Statistic
characteristics		(%)	(%)	(%)	(P-Value)
Place of residence					
Tafi Atome No. 1	127	52.0	45.7	2.3	0.000
Tafi Atome No. 2	175	12.0	84.0	4.0	
Native Status					
Indigene	125	53.6	44.0	2.4	0.000
Non indigene	177	11.3	84.7	4.0	
Sex					
Male	158	33.5	60.8	5.7	0.005
Female	144	23.6	75.7	0.7	
Age					
<35	161	32.4	64.6	31.0	0.244
35-55	101	21.8	73.2	5.0	
>55	40	32.5	67.5	0.0	
Marital status					
Unmarried	55	33.9	62.1	4.0	0.198
Married	72	25.3	71.9	2.8	
Length of stay (years)					
<6	8	18.4	79.6	2.0	0.001
6-18	14	16.9	75.3	7.8	
>18	105	36.9	61.4	1.7	

Table 6: Respondents' sentiment by their background characteristics

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Significance level = 0.05

In terms of place of residence as shown in Table 6, respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1 expressed more voluntary feelings (52.0%), as compared to those from Tafi Atome No. 2 who articulated more obligatory feelings (84.0%).

Significant association was also noted between respondents' native status and their sentiments. A higher sense of obligation was noted among non indigenes (84.7%) as compared to their counterparts, the indigene (44.0%) as shown in Table 6. Again, the voluntary feeling was more pronounced among indigenes (53.6%) than among non indigenes (11.3%). This implies that the non indigenes felt obligated to participate in the project while the indigenes voluntarily participated.

With respect to sex of respondents as shown in Table 6, the females (75.7%) felt more obligated to participate in the project as compared to their male counterparts (60.8%). Again, regarding length of stay, respondents, who have stayed in the community for a period of less than 6 years felt more obligated (79.6%) to participate in the project (Table 6). On the contrary, those who had stayed for a longer period of time (>18) saw their participation in the project to be more of voluntary.

From the results above, it came out that most respondents (67.9%) felt obligated to participate in the project. The chi square results also revealed that the majority of non indigenes (85.7%) felt obligated to participate in the project. The explanation for this may be in the remark made by one informant that:

"Because of the issues concerning the mismanagement of funds from the project, most of their youths (indigenes) boycott communal labour and nothing can be done to them. As for us (non indigenes), this is not our place so we cannot exempt ourselves from communal labour even though we are not getting any of the benefits." (54 years old non indigene; Tafi Atome No.2)

The above finding suggests that the non indigenes do not have much influence in the community. This was to be expected as in most Ghanaian communities; the non indigenes do not have much say in community issues but are expected to abide by community regulations. This finding backs SEPM's assertion that differing levels of influence in an exchange relation can result in imbalances where some actors may be contributing resources but may not get anything of value in return.

Barriers to community participation in the project

There are a number of factors that act as barriers to local communities' active participation in ecotourism development. To Tosun (2000), these factors reflect the socio-political, economic and cultural structures existing in the local communities. Respondents identified a total of twelve (12) barriers limiting their participation in the TAMS project as shown in Table 7.

Barriers	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Not a native of Tafi Atome	141	17.7
Inadequate financial resources	125	15.7
Inadequate information on tourism	95	11.9
Have low educational background	94	11.8
Do not have the right skills	90	11.3
Family does not own land	74	9.3
Inadequate community meetings	66	8.3
Don't trust the management committee	30	3.8
Many conflicts in the community	29	3.6
Inconvenient meeting times	21	2.6
Outside business operators leading in	20	2.5
provision of services		
I am a woman	13	1.6
Total	798*	100.0

Table 7: Barriers to community participation in the project

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency is more than 302 because of multiple responses

The five (5) leading barriers as shown in Table 7 were non native status (17.7%), inadequate financial resources (15.6%), inadequate information available on tourism development in the community (11.9%), low educational background (11.8%) and inadequate skills (11. 3%).

Barriers to community participation by background characteristics

Aside the non native status, the topmost four barriers identified was explored by respondent's place of residence, age and sex. The results presented in Table 8 revealed that the main barriers limiting the active participation of respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1 in the project were inadequate information (52.6%), low educational background (58.5%), and inadequate skills (55.6%). On the other hand, respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2 were mainly faced with the barrier of inadequate financial resources (55.2%).

Table 8: Barriers to participation by respondents' backgroundcharacteristics

	Barriers			
Background Characteristics	Inadequate money	Inadequate information	Low educational background	Inadequate requisite skills
Ν	125	95	94	90
Percentage (%)	%	%	%	%
Community				
Tafi Atome No. 1	44.8	52.6	58.5	55.6
Tafi Atome No. 2	55.2	47.4	41.5	44.4
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100
Sex				
Male	55.2	56.8	51.1	51.1
Female	44.8	43.2	48.9	48.9
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100
Age				
<35	59.2	56.8	59.6	58.9
35-55	31.2	31.6	27.7	30.0
<55	9.6	11.6	12.8	11.1
Sub total (%)	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

The results also showed that the identified barriers were limiting the males from actively participating in the project more than the females. Likewise, those within the younger age group of < 35 years were being limited from actively participating in the project more than respondents from the other age groups.

On the whole, the barriers identified by the respondents reflected some socio-political and economic conditions prevailing in the community. Educational level of most respondents was low (Table 2). This perhaps account for the unavailability of requisite skills needed to engage in the project. Because of low income levels (Table 2), some respondents (15.7%) considered inadequate financial resources as a barrier to their active participation in the project. Due to the existing distinction between indigenes and non indigenes in the community, the non indigenes (17.7%) considered their status in the community as a barrier to their active participation in the project.

Challenges facing the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project

CBEPs like any developmental initiatives are confronted by a number of challenges. Results from the survey presented in Table 9 indicated that poor roads (27.3%), inequitable distribution of benefits (21.7%) and conflicts among groups in the community (13.3%) were the three (3) topmost challenges facing the project.

Challenges	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Poor roads	294	27.3
Inequitable distribution of benefits	234	21.7
Conflicts among groups in the community	143	13.3
Revenue generated not reinvested	90	8.4
Poor management of the attraction	87	8.1
Poor marketing	82	7.6
Inadequate market for goods produced	73	6.8
Low revenue generated from project	28	2.6
Donor dependence	15	1.4
Low community support for project	11	1.0
Bush burning	8	0.7
High leakage of profit	7	0.7
Low visitor arrivals	6	0.6
Total	1078*	100.0

Table 9: Challenges facing the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency is more because of multiple responses

Other challenges identified (Table 9) were revenue generated not reinvested (8.4%), poor management (8.1%), poor marketing (7.6%), inadequate market for produced goods (6.8%), low revenue generated from project (2.6), donor dependence (1.4%), low community support (1.0%), bush burning (0.7%), high profit leakages (0.7%) and low visitor arrivals (0.6%).

The in-depth interviews conducted with key informants on the major challenges facing the project revealed that the main road leading to Tafi Atome from Logba Alakpeti was in a deplorable state (Plate 1) and anytime it rained, it became difficult to ply the road. Some respondents (23.7%) believed the poor roads were retarding the progress of the project and the community as a whole (Table 9).



Plate 1: Main road leading to Tafi Atome from Logba Alakpeti Source: Fieldwork, 2010

To further explain the effect of the poor roads on the project, a respondent commented that:

"The bad road leading to the community has made it difficult for people to visit the community as compared to previous times. For example, four days ago, a bus load of tourists was coming to Tafi Atome. When they got to Logba, they had to return because it had rained the day before and the road could not be used." (25 year old, indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

The Hohoe Municipal Assembly was blamed for looking on while the roads deteriorated. An informant remarked that:

"It is the responsibility of the Hohoe Municipal Assembly to assist the community in road construction and other developmental related issues but for the past four to five years now, they have stopped extending any help to the community. This is because when the project commenced, they demanded 40% of the revenue which the community did not agree to because it is a community based project and if the assembly alone should take 40% of the total revenue, what would be left of the money for the community? So for the past 2 -3 years, no money was sent to the assembly again and they have also refused to extend any help to us." (25 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

Another challenge noted was the inequitable distribution of the benefits. In 2003, the youth in the community accused the then tourism management board of misappropriating revenue generated from the project. They forcibly removed the management board and the tour guides and took over the management of the visitor centre (Edelman, 2003). This was just one of the instances where the youth forced the tourism management board out of office because of misappropriation of funds allegations. Others accused the Chiefs and elders of conniving with the tourism management board to misuse the funds. One respondent remarked that:

"For the past thirteen years, there had not been any plan on how revenue generated was to be shared and used. It was because there was no constitution guiding the work hence things were done as people wished and monies were not well distributed. In my opinion, the chiefs and elders were not making proper use of the revenue from the project. So nothing much was coming out of the project for the community." (32 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

This situation has created some level of mistrust amongst residents. This situation confirmed observations made by Jones (2005) that when conflicts relating to benefit distributions are not well handled, they can lead to mistrust among local residents and people will not be willing to give their support to the project. As of the time of the study, most of the youth were reluctant to engage in communal labour towards the maintenance of the monkey sanctuary.

NCRC attributed the TAMS project's challenges to poor leadership. Expatiating on the issue, the informant explained:

"Tafi Atome has being a 'problem child' among all other CBEPs across the country. It is constantly changing its management board. Reports from Tafi Atome do not regularly reach the NCRC office and the visitor centre and guesthouse built for them are not being properly maintained. The scholarship fund set up for them has still not been accessed because the community is having problems selecting beneficiaries. If proper leadership is in place, the project can yield more than it is currently doing." (Informant, NCRC)

Attempts had been made by the community to resolve some of the challenges facing the project. An informant stated that:

"NCRC came in recently to help us draw up a constitution for the project. The creation of this constitution has really helped solved matters of finance (distribution of revenue) as compared to the previous years. Based on the constitution, it has been agreed upon that after every three months, accounts would be rendered to the community and percentages shared to all those who are to benefit. The third of such meeting was held on the 7th of November, 2010. At this meeting, it was realized that since things are now being done properly, the amount of money received by all groups has increased. Landowners for example received about GHC 800 as the money due them for the first time." (25 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

The challenges described above have the potential to undermine the sustainability of the project. Mitchell (1994) has observed that tourism projects in local communities, which are inaccessible due to poor roads, are often not commercially viable. If tourists are deterred from visiting the TAMS project because of the nature of the roads, enough revenue will not be generated to sustain the project. Also, the sustainability of this project is equally dependent on the community's support for it. These benefit distribution-related challenges in the long run can make unsatisfied residents withdraw their support for the project. This can hinder the quality of tourist experience delivered by the project and eventually lower tourist arrivals to the community.

Assessment of benefits and costs of the project

An assessment of tourism related impacts is very necessary for ensuring the success and sustainability of tourism projects (Diedrich & Garcı'a-Buades, 2009). In line with the framework guiding the study, the associated benefits and costs of the project were assessed. The benefits were the good things that had come out of the project while the costs were the negative things the project had brought. Observations and results from the resident's survey were used to assess the associated benefits and costs.

From the observations carried out in the area, it was revealed that some benefits had accrued from the project to individuals and the community as a whole. These observations were confirmed by the majority of the respondents (87.7%) who acknowledged that the community had benefited from the project.

Economic benefits of the project

One rationale often given by governments and other agencies for embarking upon tourism development is the associated economic benefits (Page et al, 2000). The most visible tourism-related benefit in the study area was in the form of infrastructural development with funding support from revenue generated from the project.

Since the inception of the project in 1996, there had been gradual increase in tourist arrivals and revenue generated. In 2006 for example, total tourist arrivals was 3,885 with revenue generated amounting to GHC 12,080.20. In 2007, this increased to 4,604 in tourist arrivals with accompanying revenue of GHC 15,708.70 (NCRC, 2008). Revenue was generated from entrance fees paid by visitors/tourists; charges on accommodation and meals, hiking activities, cultural display, story telling and sales from the souvenir shop attached to the visitor centre.

From the community share of the revenue generated, two public toilets (Plate 2) were constructed and a number of electric poles purchased to facilitate the electrification project in the community. As of the time of the

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study, the community had embarked upon the construction of a clinic and housing quarters for nurses (Plate 3) and a new kindergarten block with the money generated from the project.



Plate 2: One of the public toilets constructed with the tourism revenue Source: Fieldwork, 2010



Plate 3: Health centre and nurses housing quarters under construction Source: Fieldwork, 2010

In terms of employment, CBEPs claims of providing employment for the local community were substantiated as a number of young people had been taken on as tour guides and others were working on the tourism management board.

In order to facilitate the CBEP project in Tafi Atome, NCRC, the non governmental organization which spear-headed the development of the project, had funded the construction of a visitor reception centre and a souvenir shop (Plate 4); the only commercial accommodation facility in the community (Plate 5), and provided a number of dust bins for the community.



Plate 4: Visitor reception centre and souvenir shop in Tafi Atome

Source: Fieldwork, 2010



Plate 5: Guest's accommodation facility Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Another notable benefit the community had gained was the establishment of an academic scholarship with part of the revenue generated from the project. The scholarship was created to assist students who were resident in the area and had performed academically well in the BECE to further their education up to the tertiary level. Until now, no one has benefited from this fund because the community has not been able to select beneficiaries.

Socio-cultural benefits of the project

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development occur as a result of the local community's interactions with tourists (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Tourism's ability to inspire local residents to have a pride in their culture and heritage (Cooper et al, 2008) was exemplified in Tafi Atome. A reasonable number of respondents (72.1%) have alluded to the fact that the sanctuary's continuous attraction of people to the community has made their pride in their culture and heritage to increase. A respondent remarked that:

"People from all over the country and whites from different countries come to see our monkeys. It has made our community to be popular and I am happy I am from this place." (32 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

Closely related to this is the increase in a variety of cultural activities including evening story telling and cultural displays in the community which many (80.1%) have attributed to the development of the project. This affirmed Mathieson and Wall (1982)'s assertion that tourism development does revive and promote cultural activities in the destination.

The community had also benefited from philanthropic gestures extended to them by tourists who had visited the community and this was widely recognized by the respondents. The idea for tourism development in the community was credited to an environmentalist who had come to the community for research purposes and realized the tourism potential of forest and monkeys. As narrated by an informant:

"The project began when a white man (John Mason) who had heard about the monkeys in Tafi Atome visited the town. He spoke to the chiefs and the community on the need to protect the monkeys. He promised the people that if they stopped killing the monkeys and cutting down trees in the forest, he would help them develop the place as an ecotourism site. The community agreed to it and families gave portions of their lands out and it is what has developed into the forest *that the monkeys are currently staying in.*" (25 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

Several donations were made to the community by tourists and there was the report of a female British tourist who after visiting the community decided to adopt the community. She renovated the almost dilapidated primary school in the community (Plate 6), instituted a scholarship scheme for successful Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) candidates from the school in the community to any level the individual would want to go to. In addition she was said to have sponsored a number of young people through apprenticeship and organized for the community's cultural troupe to visit the UK for a number of cultural performances. Respondents recounted a number of times visitors to the community made donations in the form of pencils and books to the Primary and JHS pupils, and dresses to the community.



Plate 6: The renovated primary school block

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Environmental benefits of the project

The development of the monkey sanctuary in the community had contributed to increasing environmental awareness among residents. The community as a whole had put measures in place to ensure the protection of natural resources as well as maintain a clean environment.

To illustrate their commitment to protecting their environment, the community formulated bye-laws to regulate residents' behaviour. Some of which included:

- No hunting in the forest
- No bush burning
- No defecating in the forest
- No littering in the community
- No cutting down of trees in the forest
- No dumping of rubbish in the forest
- No dogs allowed in the community

A high awareness of these bye-laws among all respondents who partook in the study was noted. They exhibited understanding of the bye-laws by explaining what the laws meant, the usefulness of the law and what can be done to any individual who violated any of them.

The community had also exhibited devotion to protecting the monkeys in the sanctuary as well as the forest reserve within which they can be found. During the dry season, fire belts were created around the forest to protect it against bush fires and mango trees planted regularly in the forest to serve as food for the monkeys. In the forest reserve, well labelled footpaths had been created to aid movement in the reserve (Plate 7 & 8).



Plate 7: A clear footpath in the forest reserve

Source: Fieldwork, 2010



Plate 8: A well labelled signage in the forest reserve

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Costs associated with the project

The TAMS project has not only generated benefits for the community but it has also brought about some costs to the community as a whole and to individuals. Respondents identified a number of these costs which cut across economic, socio-cultural and environmental issues (Table 10).

Costs	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Increased clan conflicts	68	40.2
Increased land disputes	24	14.2
Rigid community rules on tourism	23	13.6
Increased in price of goods and services	18	10.7
Destruction of farm produce by monkeys	18	10.7
Frequent community meetings	16	9.5
Changes in the dressing of the youth	2	1.1
Total	169*	100.0

Table 10: Costs associated with the project

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency less than 302 due to non response to question by some respondents

The three topmost costs identified were increased clan conflicts (40.2%), increased land disputes (14.2%) and rigid community rules on tourism (13.6%). Other costs identified were increased in price of goods and services (10.7%), destruction of farm produce by monkeys (10.7%), frequent community meetings (9.5%) and changes in the dressing of the youth (1.1%).

Issues on clan conflicts were linked to the unequal distribution of benefits to the project. Some of the clans felt some particular clans were benefiting more from the project than other clans in the community.

"If you do not belong to the Chief's clan, you do not get anything from the project. Those boys who are working at the visitor centre are all from that clan." (32 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

Another respondent was of the view that:

'Since the monkeys are gods and we are the fetish clan, we should have a lot of say in how the project is managed but that is not the case. The other clans are getting more from the project than us but when the rites for the gods have to be performed, they will call upon us.' (75 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

Again, other respondents felt that the community's bye laws on tourism were too rigid and they felt restricted in their own community. A respondent commented that:

'They said we cannot approach the tourists when they come to the community if you do not work at the visitor centre. I also want to make friends with them but because I do not work there, I can't approach them.' (32 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No.1)

Although these costs were observed, respondents were quick to add that these costs could not be solely attributed to tourism development. One remarked that:

"For example since the monkeys are gods, we cannot do anything to them when they destroy our farm produce. They have been destroying
our crops even before tourism started." (43 years old indigene, Tafi Atome No. 1)

General assessment of the associated benefits and costs of the project

There is evidence to suggest that the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary project has brought some benefits to the community. Most of the benefits were tangible hence residents could easily identify them. It was also observed that both individuals and the community benefited from the project. At the individual level, people got employment, received portions of the tourism revenue, established friendship with tourists, and enjoyed assistance provided by some tourists, while at the community level, most of the tourism revenue was used to provide social amenities for the community, and therefore everyone could access them. The nature of the benefits from the project is in line with one of the criteria of CBEPs, which called for collective benefits from the project to the community.

One challenge regarding the benefits had to do with their distribution. Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) believe that the distribution of economic benefits from CBE projects is just as important as the actual benefits that accrue to the community. It was noted that most of the social facilities including the public toilets, the electric poles, kindergarten, and clinic buildings were located in Tafi Atome No. 1. Even though it was accessible to all, residents in Tafi Atome No. 2 complained about the location as one respondent remarked:

"All the public toilets are at Tafi Atome No. 1. We cannot walk all that distance just to make use of it. What happens if someone wants to attend to nature's call in the night? That is not all. The electricity poles brought to the community were all erected in Tafi Atome No. 1. That is why they (Tafi Atome No. 1) have electricity and we (Tafi Atome No. 2) don't." (54 years old non indigene, Tafi Atome No. 2)

This situation has the potential to make those in Tafi Atome No. 2 withdraw their support for the project in the long run.

In relation to identifying costs of the project, only 11.3% of the respondents could say for a fact that some costs had been incurred because of the implementation of the TAMS project. The costs made mention of are similar to other costs associated with CBEPs in the tourism literature. Although only a small percentage of respondents noted these costs, their assertions are enough to suggest that the community as a whole as well as individuals have incurred some costs due to the project.

On the whole, it can be said that the project has satisfied two of the guiding criteria for CBEPs. The project has successfully generated collective benefits for the community, and it has enhanced and maintained the culture of the people.

Respondents' perception of the projects' benefits and costs by background characteristics

Harril (2004) has pointed out that how residents perceive tourism's impacts influence their support for tourism development. For tourism planners and developers, this is of interest because community support is an essential element in ensuring the sustainability of tourism projects.

Drawing from studies that have suggested that residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism impacts vary by their background characteristics (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Amuquandoh, 2009), the study explored respondents' perceptions about the benefits and costs of the TAMS project by their background characteristics to see whether they varied. Respondents' perceptions were explored with t-test and one-way ANOVA test set at a significance level of 0.05. The t-test was used to test independent variables which had only two categories. Independent variations which had more than two categories were tested with the one-way analysis of variance.

The results of the analysis presented in Table 11 indicated significant differences in respondents' perceptions by their place of residence. Although respondents from both communities expressed uncertainty about economic and socio-cultural benefits accruing from the project, respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2 expressed more doubt about this situation as compared to those from Tafi Atome No. 1.

Similarly, in terms of respondents' native status, the indigenes as shown in Table 11 were more certain about economic and socio-cultural benefits accruing from the project as compared to the non indigenes who expressed uncertainty about these benefits accruing from the project.

With respect to educational level, significant differences were established in respondents' perceptions about the project's economic benefits. Although respondents across all educational levels as shown in Table 11 indicated uncertainty about the project bringing about economic benefits, the most educated group (tertiary) was the least uncertain (2.13).

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Profile		Benefits			Costs			
	Ν	Eco	Soc-Cul	Env'tal	Eco	Soc-Cul	Env'tal	
Place of residence								
Tafi Atome No. 1	127	2.06	1.58	1.35	2.44	2.82	2.85	
Tafi Atome No. 2	175	2.36	1.74	1.31	2.35	2.84	2.82	
		P=0.000	P=0.001	P=0.352	P=0.153	P=0.739	P=0.363	
Native Status								
Indigene	125	2.07	1.57	1.33	2.42	2.82	2.85	
Non indigene	177	2.36	1.74	1.32	2.37	2.84	2.82	
		P=0.000	P=0.000	P=0.824	P=0.388	P=0.717	P=0.333	
Sex								
Male	158	2.19	1.66	1.37	2.36	2.79	2.81	
Female	144	2.28	1.68	1.28	2.43	2.87	2.85	
		P=0.150	P=0.757	P=0.012	P=0.225	P=0.079	P=0.347	
Age								
<35	161	2.19	1.65	1.34	2.38	2.84	2.84	
35-55	101	2.28	1.66	1.33	2.36	2.81	2.78	
<55	40	2.27	1.78	1.23	2.50	2.83	2.89	
		P=0.298	P=0.171	P=0.162	P=0.338	P=0.883	P=0.206	
Marital Status								
Single	124	2.21	1.65	1.31	2.37	2.81	2.81	
Married	178	2.26	1.68	1.34	2.40	2.85	2.85	
		P=0.338	P=0.380	P=0.471	P=0.551	P=0.382	P=0.341	
Educational level								
No formal Educ.	47	2.38	1.74	1.21	2.39	2.89	2.86	
Primary	73	2.34	1.65	1.32	2.34	2.81	2.77	
JHS/Middle	119	2.17	1.69	1.35	2.43	2.84	2.84	
SHS/Voc/Tech	59	2.14	1.59	1.37	2.36	2.77	2.86	
Tertiary	4	2.13	1.50	1.33	2.44	3.00	3.00	
		P=0.014	P=0.251	P=0.089	P=0.750	P=0.455	P=0.455	

Table 11: Mean responses of the project's benefits and costs bybackground characteristics

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Scale: Agree = 1.0-1.49, Uncertain = 1.50- 2.49, Disagree = 2.50-3.0

Eco = Economic, Socio-Cul = Socio-cultural, Env'tal = Environmental

Significant level: 0.05

Profile		Benefits			Costs			
	N	Eco	Soc-Cul	Env'tal	Eco	Soc-Cul	Env'tal	
Income level								
<ghc 50<="" td=""><td>198</td><td>2.29</td><td>1.70</td><td>1.31</td><td>2.39</td><td>2.83</td><td>2.82</td></ghc>	198	2.29	1.70	1.31	2.39	2.83	2.82	
GHC 51-100	81	2.17	1.65	1.38	2.33	2.83	2.83	
GHC 101-200	19	1.95	1.49	1.28	2.50	2.80	2.87	
>GHC 200	4	2.19	1.44	1.08	2.94	3.00	3.00	
		P=0.009	P=0.078	P=0.153	P=0.087	P=0.824	P=0.741	
Religious								
affiliation								
Christianity	257	2.22	1.65	1.32	2.39	2.84	2.83	
Islam	3	2.58	2.08	1.44	2.08	3.00	2.50	
Traditional	20	2.48	1.94	1.43	2.30	2.73	2.79	
None	22	2.14	1.67	1.33	2.48	2.82	2.93	
		P=0.043	P=0.004	P=0.430	P=0.467	P=0.532	P=0.174	
Length of stay								
(years)								
<6	49	2.34	1.73	1.33	2.41	2.75	2.79	
6-18	77	2.29	1.66	1.30	2.31	2.88	2.83	
>18	176	2.18	1.66	1.34	2.42	2.83	2.84	
		P=0.062	P=0.538	P=0.777	P=0.235	P=0.161	0.665	

Table 11 continued

.

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Scale: Agree = 1.0-1.49, Uncertain = 1.50- 2.49, Disagree = 2.50-3.0

Eco = Economic, Socio-Cul = Socio-cultural, Env'tal = Environmental

Significance level: 0.05

With regards to respondents' income levels, significant difference was noted in their perception about economic benefits as expressed in Table 11. Whilst respondents across all income levels were not sure whether the project had brought about economic benefits, those within the income level of GHC 101-200 were the least uncertain (1.95) and those with income less than GHC 50 were the most uncertain (2.29). In terms of the religious affiliation of respondents, significant differences were noted as expressed in Table 11 on respondents' perception on socio-cultural benefits. The Christians were the least uncertain (1.65) that the project had brought about socio-cultural benefits. Their perceptions on economic benefits were also statistically different. Respondents affiliated to the Islam religion were the only group that disagreed (2.58) to the notion that the project had yielded economic benefits.

Overall, a clear pattern could be observed in respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1's perceptions of the outcomes of the project as compared to that of the respondents from Tafi Atome No. 2. Respondents from Tafi Atome No. 1 exhibited more favourable perceptions of the outcome of the project as compared to those from Tafi Atome No. 2. This situation could be attributed to the fact that the project and most of the tangible benefits from the project were situated in Tafi Atome No. 1. Hence those living there had more opportunities to benefit from the project than those living further away. This finding contradicts Gursoy and Jurowski (2002) and Harrill and Potts (2003)'s findings that residents living closer to the tourist zone have less favourable perceptions about positive tourism's impacts than those living further away. It confirms Mansfield (1992)'s findings that those living further away from the tourism zone have more negative perceptions of tourism's impacts than those living close to it.

The significant observations made in relation to respondents' educational background and income levels were consistent with earlier studies which stated that local residents with higher educational background and income levels have more positive perception of tourism impacts (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Lindberg, Andersson, & Dellaert, 2001). In the case of Tafi Atome, those with higher educational background had the opportunity to serve on the tourism management board and those with higher income levels were able to provide goods and services to the tourists. Thus, they are disposed to the project's benefits as such their favourable responses.

Future tourism development preferences in Tafi Atome

The model guiding this study (Fig 5) postulates that local communities' support for tourism development is based on what they gain from it. Thus, local communities will continue to support tourism development as long as it is meeting their needs. The researcher therefore investigated respondents' support for future tourism development within the community by assessing their expectations and preferences in terms of scale and management of tourism development.

The majority of respondents (89.7%) were in support for further tourism development in the area. On the contrary, 10.3% of the respondents were against any further tourism development in the area. With respect to the respondents' expectations from future tourism development as shown in Table 12, infrastructural development; specifically road and electricity (53.9%) rated highest. This may be due to the poor nature of their roads, the non availability of electricity in greater part of the community and the non availability of pipe born water in the community.

Item	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Infrastructural development	266	53.9
Create employment opportunities	93	18.9
Generate revenue for the community	65	13.2
Sponsorship for children's education	41	8.3
Market for produce	22	4.5
Unify the community	6	1.2
Total	493*	100.0

Table 12: Respondents' expectations from future tourism development

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

*Frequency is more because of multiple responses

Another expectation was that employment opportunities will be created through the opening up of tourism business (18.9%). Aside farming, there were limited job opportunities for the youths who were in the majority. Thus many of them were looking forward to tourism development to open employment avenues for them. Other expectations were educational sponsorship packages (8.3%), market for produce (4.5%), revenue for the community (13.2 %) and unity of the community (1.2 %).

Residents' preference for scale of tourism development

Local communities' preference for a particular scale of tourism development is often influenced by their previous experiences with tourism development (Amuquandoh, 2006). The scale of tourism development was looked at from two main dimensions; volume of tourists and physical size of tourism infrastructure. Respondents were asked to state the volume of tourists they will prefer visiting TAMS in the future as well as the size of tourism infrastructure to support further tourism development in the community. They were also to give reasons to support their choices. The results showed that 16.6 % of the residents wanted it on the small scale, 10.3 % of them preferred the medium scale and 73.2 % opted for the large scale.

Reasons for scale preference

Reasons given by respondents in support for the preferred scales of development as shown in Table 13, indicated that those in favour of small scale development had the view that the project was not yielding benefits hence did not see the need for any further development (70.0%). Others who shared this preference added that even in cases where benefits accrued, they were not fairly distributed hence they did not see the need for any further expansion (20.0 %).

Scale	Reasons for preference	Percentage (%)
Small	No need for expansion	70.0
	Unfair distribution of benefits	20.0
	Easy management	8.0
	infrastructural development	2.0
Sub total		100.0
Medium	Easy management	31.0
	More revenue	27.6
	More employment	17.2
	More infrastructural development	10.3
	More visitors	6.9
	Benefits for everyone	6.9
Sub total		100.0
Large	Benefits for everyone	30.3
	More infrastructural development	21.8
	More revenue	17.5
	More employment	15.6
	More visitors	13.7
	Easy management	0.9
Sub total		100.0

Table 13: Scale of tourism development by reasons for preference

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Those who the medium scale appealed to gave the reasons of easy management (31.0%) and revenue generation (27.6%) to support their stand as shown in Table 13. In addition, they added more visitors would be attracted (6.9%) and everyone would benefit from the project (6.9%).

On the large scale, the main reason was benefits for everyone (30.3%) as indicated in Table 13. This was based on the assumption that not everyone

was benefiting because the project was currently on a small scale. High aspirations in terms of employment opportunities (15.6 %), More infrastructural development (21.8 %), more revenue (17.5 %) and more visitors (13.7 %) also came up.

Respondents' scale preferences by background characteristics

Respondents' scale of tourism development preferences were explored by their background characteristics. From the results presented in Table 14, it was clear that while both indigenes and non indigenes had more preference for large scale development; the preference was higher amongst the indigenes (84.0%) as compared to their non indigene counterparts (65.5%).

In terms of sex of respondents (Table 14), both sex groups preferred the large scale of tourism development although the preference was higher amongst the male as than the females. Likewise, in terms of age groups as shown in Table 14, all age groups indicated high preference for large scale development; 55 years (75.0%),< 35 years (73.9%), 35-55 years (71.3%). Preference for small scale development by the age groups was high within the categories of 35-55 years (25.7%).

		Scale of tourism development					
Background		Small	Medium	Large	Total		
characteristics	Ν	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
Native status							
Indigene	125	2.4	13.6	84.0	100.0		
Non indigene	177	26.6	7.9	65.5	100.0		
Sex							
Male	158	13.3	10.8	75.9	100.0		
Female	144	20.1	9.7	70.1	100.0		
Age							
<35	161	12.4	13.7	73.9	100.0		
35-55	101	25.7	3.0	71.3	100.0		
<55	40	10.0	15.0	75.0	100.0		
Marital status							
Single	124	17.3	12.7	70.0	100.0		
Married	178	16.1	8.9	75.0	100.0		
Educational level							
No formal education	47	12.8	10.6	76.6	100.0		
Primary	73	34.2	8.2	57.5	100.0		
JHS/Middle	119	13.4	11.8	74.8	100.0		
SHS/Voc/Tech	59	5.1	8.5	86.4	100.0		
Tertiary	4	0	25.0	75.0	100.0		
Length of stay (years)							
<6	49	18.4	12.2	69.4	100.0		
6-18	77	26.0	10.4	63.6	100.0		
>18	176	11.9	9.7	78.4	100.0		

Table 14: Respondents' preference for scale of tourism development bybackground characteristics

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

In terms of educational level, respondents who had attained SHS or equivalent certificates (86.4%) had the highest preference for the large scale as indicated in Table 14. By marital status, respondents had a high preference for large scale development though the preference was higher among the married (75%). Finally, by length of stay, respondents' single most preferred scale of tourism development was large scale but preference was highest amongst those who had stayed in the community for more than 18 years (78.4%).

Respondents' preference for tourism management options

Respondents were presented with five (5) different management options. These were community control, government control, private control, non governmental control and joint control. The community control means the local community will be in charge of the management of the tourism. Governmental control implies government will be in charge through the HMA. Private control is management in the hands of private business operators. Non governmental control puts the management of the project into the hands of the non governmental organizations involved in tourism development. Joint control refers to collaboration between all stakeholders; the community, the government, NGOs, private services providers and others, to manage the project.

The management option currently in use was community control. For future tourism development, 2.0% of respondents did not state their preferred management option, 29.1 % preferred the continuity of the local community's management, 34.1% preferred governmental control through the HMA, NGO control (2.0%), private control (4.3%) and 28.5 % were for joint control. Thus the single most preferred management option was governmental control.

Reasons for tourism management option preferences

Various reasons were given by the respondents over their choice of particular management option for further tourism development as shown in Table 15. Those who favoured community control were of the view that since it will be on the community's land, the community should have control over its management (96.2%). In addition, it will ensure evenly distribution of benefits (3.8%).

Management option	Reasons for preference	Percentage (%)
Community control	It is a community based project	96.2
	Evenly distribution of benefits	3.8
Sub total		100.0
Governmental control	Evenly distribution of benefits	49.0
	Better capacity to manage	39.0
	Check misappropriation of funds	10.0
	Provide a platform for sharing ideas	2.0
Sub total		100.0
Non-governmental	Better capacity to manage	60.0
control		
	To check misappropriation of funds	40.0
Sub total		100.0
Private control	Better capacity to manage	92.3
	Check misappropriation of funds	7.7
Sub total		100.0
Joint control	Provide a platform for sharing	54.9
	ideas	
	Check misappropriation of funds	28.0
	Evenly distribution of benefits	17.1
Sub total		100.0

Table 15: Tourism management options by reasons for preference

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

The governmental control was the single highest option favoured. The main reason given in support was that the government would ensure evenly distribution of benefits (49.0%). Others were of the view that the governmental control will check the misappropriation of funds (10.0%). This is because of the allegations made against the previous management boards and the chiefs for misappropriating funds from the project. Again, the government was seen to have the resources and requisite skills to better manage the project (39.0%).

For the case of the NGOs as indicated in Table 15, some believed they would put a check on misappropriation of funds (60.0%), and since they spearheaded the implementation of the project in the community, they were the right people to manage the project (40.0%).

Management by a private operator had the accompanying reasons of better management (92.3%) and checking misappropriation of funds (7.7%). Finally, advocates for the last management option; joint control, believed it will provide a platform for stakeholders to share ideas on how to best manage the project (54.9%). Again, it will check misappropriation of funds (28.0%) and at the same time ensure that everyone benefits from the project (17.1%) (Table 15).

Respondents' tourism management option preferences by background characteristics

A further analysis was done to see whether there were variations between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and their preference for particular management options. The results shown in Table 16 indicated with respect to native status, while indigenes opted for community control (44.7%) non indigenes preferred governmental control (43.9%). Non indigene's preference for governmental control may be because they felt excluded from the project and were hoping that governmental control will enable them partake and enjoy the benefits of the project.

 Table 16: Respondents' preference for tourism management options by

 background characteristics

		Management options					
Background		Community	Government	NGO	Private	Joint	Total
characteristics	Ν	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Native status							
Indigene	125	44.7	22.0	3.3	6.5	23.6	100.0
Non indigene	177	19.1	43.9	1.2	2.9	32.9	100.0
Sex							
Male	158	26.6	36.4	2.6	4.5	29.9	100.0
Female	144	33.1	33.1	1.4	4.2	28.2	100.0
Age							
<35	161	31.4	30.2	1.9	3.8	32.7	100.0
35-55	101	22.2	43.4	2.0	5.1	27.3	100.0
>55	40	42.1	31.6	2.6	5.3	18.4	100.0
Marital status							
Single	124	30.3	28.4	1.8	4.6	31.7	100.0
Married	178	29.4	38.5	2.1	4.3	25.7	100.0
Educational level							
No formal educ.	47	34.8	30.4	0	6.5	28.3	100.0
Primary	73	31.5	37.0	0	4.1	27.4	100.0
JHS/Middle	119	28.9	34.2	4.4	0	32.5	100.0
SHS/Voc/Tech	59	27.1	37.3	1.7	10.2	23.7	100.0
Tertiary	4	0	1.0	0	7.7	2.3	100.0
Length of stay							
(years)							
<6	49	24.5	38.8	4.1	2.0	30.6	100.0
6-18	77	23.7	38.2	0	2.6	35.5	100.0
>18	176	33.9	32.2	2.3	5.8	25.7	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Respondents' preference for management options for tourism development varied by their age as shown in Table 16. While those less than 35 years preferred joint control, those within 35-55years favoured the governmental control and the elderly age group (>55 years) opted for community control. Across sex groups, while the males preferred governmental control (36.4%), the females were divided over community control (33.1%) and governmental control (33.1%) as shown in Table 16.

In relation to length of stay as expressed in Table 16, those who had stayed in the community for more than 18 years preferred community control (33.9%) whiles those who had stayed for less than 6 years opted for governmental control (38.8%). This could be explained by the fact that the elderly and those who had stayed in the community for longer period of years might have experienced all these management options and therefore come to the conclusion that community control was the better alternative.

General observations on respondents' future tourism development preferences

One important requirement for achieving sustainable tourism development is the existence of local community support (Murphy, 1985). The results on respondents' future tourism preferences are suggestive of the community's support of tourism development.

Respondents' preference for large scale development and the accompanying reasons given implies their recognition of ecotourism's ability to transform their livelihoods. However, their preferences for CBE on a large scale raises questions about what scale of development alternative tourism forms should adopt. Their preference for governmental control over tourism management implies that there are challenges with the community control which is the current management option.

Summary

This chapter has presented the empirical evidence of Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary, highlighting issues on the community's participation in the project and assessing benefits and costs related to the project. The study noted that although the project had generated benefits for the community, it had been faced by a number of challenges which had potentials of threatening its sustainability. There was community support for tourism development in the area and for further development, residents would prefer tourism to be developed on a larger scale and preferably have governmental control as a management option. The next chapter summarizes the study's major findings, draws conclusions and make relevant recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study. It summarizes the main findings of the study, draws conclusions on the findings and makes recommendations towards the improvement of the Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary project as well as research into CBEPs.

Summary

This study sought to evaluate the Tafi Atome monkey sanctuary as a CBEP. The evaluation specifically focused on

- identifying current challenges facing the project;
- evaluating the form local community's participation has taken in the project;
- assessing the benefits and costs that have accrued from the project to the local community, and
- assessing the local residents' perceptions on future tourism development in the area.

The conceptual framework guiding the study was adapted from Ap (1992)'s social exchange process model which sought to explain that local

communities engage in tourism development because of the perceived benefits associated with it and in the event where these perceptions are not met, they are likely to withdraw their support for tourism development.

The study adopted a cross sectional study design and a mixed method approach to data collection and analysis. A total of 317 respondents were selected for the survey through the use of multi-stage sampling procedure while 5 respondents were purposively selected for the In-depth interviews. Non participant observation was also used to collect information on the project.

The quantitative data gathered was edited, coded and analyzed with the help of SPSS v.17. Descriptive statistics were mainly employed in analyzing the quantitative data. Cross tabulations were used to explore respondents' tourism scale and management preferences by their background characteristics. T-test and one-way ANOVA were also made use of to test differences in respondents' mean responses on participation and perceptions about the project's impacts by their background characteristics. In depth interviews were transcribed, major themes identified and presented in narrative forms. The quantitative results were presented with the use of tables while pictures were used to report the observations made.

Main findings

Based on the specific objectives of the study, the main findings are as follows:

• Local residents' participation in the TAMS project mainly took the form of engagement in communal labour (42.6%), attending

community meetings (20.5%), and being hospitable to tourists/visitors (18.0%);

- Participation in the project's decision making process was restricted to indigenes. Non indigenes' participation in the project was mainly in the form of engaging in communal labour towards the maintenance of the sanctuary;
- The five topmost barriers limiting residents' active participation in the project were native status, inadequate financial resources, low educational background, inadequate information on the project, and inadequate requisite skills to partake in the project;
- The two main challenges affecting the smooth operation of the project were poor roads and inequitable distribution of benefits;
- The community's culture had been enhanced by the project and this was attested to by majority of the respondents (80.1%). Story telling amid drumming and dancing now characterize the evenings when tourists are around;
- The project has generated some collective benefits for the community. These included two public toilets, a clinic, kindergarten, electricity poles which were funded with revenue generated from the project. In addition, a scholarship fund had been set up with portion of the generated revenue for the community;
- A high community support (89.7%) for further tourism development in the area was registered. This support was backed by respondents' expectations that further tourism development will bring infrastructural development to the community, create employment opportunities,

generate revenue, provide sponsorship for children's education and establish a market center for the community;

- The majority of respondents (73.2%) preferred future tourism development to be on a large scale. The main reason given in support for this scale was that the larger the scale, the more benefits everyone will derive. In addition, such a large scale project will provide more opportunities for employment and infrastructural development; and
- Governmental control was the single most preferred management option for any further tourism development in the community. Reasons given in support of this were that it will check the misappropriation of funds, ensure fair distribution of benefits and offer better management for tourism in the community.

Conclusions

Based on the objectives and the subsequent findings of the study discussed above, it can be concluded that:

• The local community has a high degree of control over the management and development of the TAMS project. It is evident from the study that the project's management board is entirely constituted by the local residents. Local residents are involved in providing security, home stay services, meals, local artifacts, entertainment, and tour guide services to tourists as well as labour for the maintenance of the monkey sanctuary. In addition, community meetings were intermittently held for key decision on the project to be taken by community members.

- The project is yet to achieve a broad representation of all identifiable sub-groups in the community in its management. Evidence from the study suggests that issues of power within the Tafi Atome community had resulted in the exclusion of non indigenes from participating in the management of the project. It revealed that opportunities were not created for non indigenes to attend community meetings relating to the project. In addition, the constitution guiding the project did not provide for their representation on the tourism management board. This reemphasizes the calls made by Liu (1994) and Hoggett (1997) for closer looks to be taken at the heterogeneity of local communities, the issues of power and its effect on the decision making processes in tourism development.
- Residents associated scale of tourism development with magnitude of benefits. Residents indicated that the project's current scale of development was small and consequently yielding benefits which were not enough to meet the needs of everyone in the community. Therefore, their preference for large scale tourism development is based on the belief that a larger scale would bring about more revenue, infrastructural development, and unity in the community.
- It can be concluded from the study that the local community's support for tourism development is based on their expectations of it meeting their individual needs as well as that of the community. Residents of Tafi Atome are hopeful that tourism development will provide them with employment opportunities, cultural exchanges and educational scholarship opportunities. They are also expecting that it would lead to

infrastructural development in the community especially in the area of roads and electricity. This affirms the SEPM's assumption that local residents evaluate tourism development as a social exchange and hence are willing to engage in it in order for their needs to be addressed and their community's well being improved (Ap, 1992).

The TAMS project has the potential to effectively integrate • environmental conservation, income generation and cultural conservation in Tafi Atome. The project has become a major source of income for the community. A number of development projects; public toilets, clinic, and electrification project, in the community have been funded by revenue generated from the project. The project's bye-laws have helped in increasing environmental awareness among local residents. Governmental assistance in terms of good roads, effective marketing, and capacity development of local residents will enable the TAMS project become more effective. This will make it become a good example of CBEPs which is meeting the needs of local communities as well as conservational goals.

Recommendations

Based on the main findings and the conclusion drawn, the following recommendations are made:

 Overtime, developers have failed to recognize the dynamics of local communities in tourism development. The study recommends that NCRC and other organizations involved in adopting the community approach to tourism development be mindful of the heterogeneous

- Sentiments of exclusion from the project expressed by non indigenes have implications for the sustainability of the project. Therefore, the TAMS project's management board must take into consideration the role of non indigenes in the project. Other than that, their continual exclusion could in the long run become a source of conflict and that could affect the sustainability of the project. To avoid this, changes should be done to the project's constitution that would allow non indigenes to have a representation on the tourism management board and they should also be invited for all community meetings.
- There is limited governmental assistance to the community in terms of providing support for the project. Although CBEPs are supposed to be devoid of governmental control, it would be necessary for the Ministry of Tourism and the HMA to create an enabling environment for these projects to succeed. This could be done in the area of providing the necessary infrastructure such as roads and also marketing the projects.
- Residents' preference for large scale tourism development in the future has implications for the environment and the sustainability of the project. This is because the tourism resources in Tafi Atome are nature based and alternative tourism emphasizes small scale tourism development. The study therefore recommends that NCRC should

assist the community to plan further tourism development on a scale that will neither degrade the environment nor exceed the capacity of the local community to effectively manage it. This will ensure that the community's expectations will be met and the conservational goals and quality of tourist experiences would not be compromised.

• Given the fact that information on efficacy of CBEPs in Ghana is limited, this study recommends that tourism scholars and other researchers intensify their research in this direction. Both known and unknown cases of CBEPs in the country should be explored. Through this, empirical data will be made available to form the basis for monitoring progress of these projects. In addition future research should focus on determining the economic impact of CBEP on livelihoods so as to establish the link between economic development and conservation. This will enable CBEPs to be improved upon to become more effective developmental tools.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT

Community Based Ecotourism Projects in Ghana: An Evaluation of Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project

Interview schedule for residents of Tafi Atome

Introduction

The aim of this questionnaire is to evaluate the effectiveness of community based approach to the development Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project as a sustainable Community Based Ecotourism Project. It would be greatly appreciated if you could complete this questionnaire. The findings from this study would be used solely for academic purposes. Your confidentiality is assured.

Thank You.

SECTION A: GENERAL ISSUES

1. How long have you been staying in the community?

2. Are you a native of Tafi Atome?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

3. Please state briefly what you know about tourism.

.....

4. List 4 benefits and 4 costs of tourism development **Benefits Costs**

Denenus	00000
a)	a)
b)	b)
c)	c)
d)	d)

5a. Mention 4 things you were hoping tourism development would bring to your community.

a).....

b)..... c).....

d).....

5b. Mention 4 things you were hoping tourism development would bring to you as an individual.

a)	•••••	 	
b)		 	
c)	•••••	 	
d)		 	

SECTION B: ASSESSMENT OF IMPACTS FROM TAFI ATOME MONKEY SANCUARTY PROJECT

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements on tourism impacts (S/A (Strongly Agree) - 1, A (Agree) - 2, U (Uncertain) - 3, D (Disagree) - 4, SD (Strongly Disagree) - 5)

Statement	SA	Α	U	D	SD
Tourism development in the community has brought benefits					
Tourism development in the community has brought negative effects					
Accrued benefits are fairly distributed					
Associated costs are fairly distributed					
Everyone in the community enjoys the benefits					
Only selected people enjoy the benefits					



8b. List 4 costs tourism development has brought to the community a)..... b)..... c)..... d)..... 8c. List 4 costs tourism development has brought to you as an individual a)..... b)..... c)..... d)..... 9a. Which group of people benefit most from the project? 9b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q11a 10a. Which group of people least benefit from the project? 10b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q10a 11a. Who decides on the usage of the revenue generated from the project ? 11b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q11a 12. To what extent do you agree with the statements regarding the impacts of

12. To what extent do you agree with the statements regarding the impacts of Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project since it was implemented (S/A (Strongly Agree) - 1, A (Agree) - 2, U (Uncertain) - 3, D (Disagree) - 4, SD (Strongly Disagree) - 5)

Statement	S/A	Α	U	D	S/D
Economic (Positive)					
1.Contributed to personal income					
level					
2.Increased employment					
opportunities					
3.Increased transport infrastructure					
4.Improved social amenities					
Economic (Negative)					
1.Increased price of good/ services					
2.Increased price of land/housing					
3. Opportunity cost to farming					
4. Increased leakages					
Socio Cultural (Positive)					
1.Increased demand for local					
artefacts					

2. Encouraged variety of cultural			
activities			
3. Increased community sense of			
pride			
4. Fostered unity among residents			
Socio Cultural (Negative)			
1.Increased			
crime/robberies/vandalism			
2.Increased alcoholism/drug addition			
3.Increased prostitution			
4.Decreased reverence for local			
customs			
Environmental (Positive)			
1.Increased effort to preserve natural			
resources			
2. Increased efforts to maintain a			
clean environment in the community			
3. Increased awareness on			
conservation issues			
Environmental (Negative)			
1.Increased cutting down of			
trees/bush burning			
2. Increased hunting of Mona			
monkeys			
3. Increased noise making			
4. Increased pollution			

SECTION C: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

a) Knowledge

13. Who is/are the main owner (s) in the Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary project? (Tick as many as apply)

.

1. The community[2. The chief/Elders[3. Private business operators[4. Other communities[5. Others (specify)......

14. Which of the following do you have information on?

Issue	Information	Source
Management tenure		
Formation of		
management team		

Bye laws regarding the	
project	
Distribution of revenue	
generated	
Others	
1.	
2.	

15. Are you in anyway involved in tourism development in your community? 1. Yes []

2. No []

15a. If yes, how are you currently involved in tourism development in your community? **Tick all that apply**

1. Engages in selling goods to tourists/visitors	[]
2. Providing entertainment to tourists/visitors	[]
3. Engages in communal labour	[]
4. Providing security to visitors	[]
5. Being friendly to visitors	[]
6. Stopped hunting the monkeys in the sanctuary	[]
7. Providing tour guide services	[]
8. Involved in management of attraction	[]
9. Hosting tourists/visitors in your home	[]
10.Others		

.....

15c. If no, why

.....

16. Indicate your agreement with the following statements on community involvement in tourism development in the community on a scale of 1-5

Statement (Forms of Community	SA	А	U	SD	D
Involvement)					
Spontaneous					
1The community has total control over all					
key management decision on the project					
2.Entire community is consulted before key					
decisions are made					
3. The community is directly involved in					
providing services/goods to tourists					
4.All groups in the community are					
represented on the management committee					
Induced		-			

1.Information on the project is made			
available to the community but avenues are			
not created for feedbacks			
2.Only people from selected groups can be			
on the committee board			
3. Community views are rarely made use of			
Coercive			
1.Key decisions on the revenue generated			
from the project are always made by			
Hohoe Municipal Assembly or NGOs			
2. Outside business operators are leading in			
providing services and goods to tourists in			
the community			
3. The community does not have a choice in			
what form tourism development should take			

17a. How do you feel about your involvement in tourism development in your community?

1. I am involved because I want to	[]
2. I am involved because I have to	[]

3. I am involved because I am being forced to []

17b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q.17a

.....

18a. Are you satisfied with your current level of involvement in tourism development in your community?

1. Yes	[]
2. No	[]
3. Not sure	[]
Diagon briefly evolution your	an arrian in	\cap

18b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q 18a

.....

C) Barriers

19. To what extent do you agree with the following statements (S/A (Strongly Agree) - 1, A (Agree) - 2, U (Uncertain) - 3, D (Disagree) - 4, SD (Strongly Disagree) - 5). I am unable to get involved in tourism development in my community the way I would have preferred because:

Statement	SA	Α	U	D	SD
Structural					
1.I do not have enough information on					
tourism development in the community					
2. There are inadequate community meetings					
3. Time of community meetings are not					
favourable					
4. There are too many conflicts in the					

community			
5. I do not have trust in the management			
committee			
6. Outside business operators are leading in			
service provision to tourists			
Personal			
1. I am not in support of tourism development			
in the community			
2.I do not have enough money to get into			
tourism business			
3.Because I am a woman (Gender)			
4. I do not come from any of the families that			
own lands in the community			
5.Because of religious reasons			
6. I do not have any interest in tourism			
development			
7.I do not have the right skills to work in the			
area of the industry I want			
8.I have a low educational background			

SECTION D: CHALLENGES TO THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PROJECT

20. Which of the following are posing challenges to the sustainability of the project? **Tick all that apply**

1. Low visitor arrivals	[]
2. Poor roads	[]
3. Poor marketing	[]
4. Conflicts among groups in the community	[]
5. Inadequate market for goods produced	[]
6. Inequitable distribution of benefits	[]
7. Low revenue generated from project	[]
8. Revenue generated not reinvested	[]
9. Bush burning	[]
10. High leakage of profit	[]
11. Majority of community members	[]
do not support tourism development in the community		
12. Poor management of attraction	[]
13. Too much dependence on NGOs and Government	[]

21. Who should be responsible for the challenges identified?

Tick all that apply and briefly explain your answers		
1. The entire community]]
2. Traditional authority]]
3. Private business operators]]
4. The NGOs]]
5. Hohoe Municipal Assembly]]
6. No one]]
7. Others (specify)		
		· · ·

SECTION E: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION ON FUTURE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

22a. Are you in support of further tourism de	velopment in your community?
1. Yes []	
2. No []	
22b. If yes, state 3 tourism activities/ pro-	oducts you would want to see
introduced in the future	
a)	
b)	
c)	
22b. If no, why	
23a. What scale should future tourism develo	pment take?
1. Small []	
2. Medium []	
3. Large []	
23b. Briefly explain your answer	
24. What in your opinion can be done to ave	oid the current negative effects of
tourism development in the future?	
25a. Who should have maximum control over	r any future tourism development
in your community?	
1. The local community	[]
2. The Hohoe Municipal Assembly	[]

3. The NGOs	[]			
4. Private business operator (s)	[]			
5. Joint control	[]			
25b. Please briefly explain your answer in Q. 25a.					
26. Any suggestions on future tourism development in the community.					
	•••••	•••••			

SECTION F: SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

27. Sex:				
1. Male []				
2. Female []				
28. Age:				
29. Two main occupation: 1	2	2		
30. Marital Status:				
1. Single	[]		
2. Married	[]		
3. Widowed	[]		
4. Divorced	[]		
31. Highest Education Attained:				
1. No Formal Education	[]		
2. Primary	[]		
3. JHS	[]		
4. Secondary/Vocational/Tech	hnical []		
5. Tertiary	[]		
6. Others			••	
32. Religion				
1. Christianity	[]		
2. Islam]]		
3. Traditional	[]		
4. None]]		
5. Others				
33. Family size	No of: M	Iales	:	Females:
34. Average monthly income:				
1. less than GHC 50]]		
2. GHC 51 – GHC 100]]		
3. GHC 101 – GHC 200]]		
4. Above GHC 200	[]		
35. Any other Issues?				
		•••••		

THANK YOU

APPENDIX II

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT

Topic: Community Based Ecotourism Projects in Ghana: An Evaluation of Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project

In-depth interview guide for key informants

Introduction

The aim of this IDI is to evaluate the effectiveness of community based approach to the development Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project as a sustainable Community Based Ecotourism Project. It would be greatly appreciated if you could offer your time to engage in this interaction. The findings from this study would be used solely for academic purposes. Your confidentiality is assured.

Thank You

A. General Issues

- Economic activities
- Power structure
- Support for tourism development

B. Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary Project

- Who are the main stakeholders in the project?
- Management committee in charge of the attraction
 - Structure
 - 📥 Tenure
 - 📥 Mandate
 - **4** Capacity (skills, training, authority)
 - Any other issues
- Bye laws for the project
 - Preparation
 - 📥 Content

- 🖶 Usefulness
- 4 Challenges associated with its use
- Any other issues
- The project
 - Source of funding (before and after; individual or institutional; form)
 - 4 Conflicts (sources; form; strategies for resolving them)

C. Level of community participation

- What level of community participation was sought when the project was initiated? What has now been accomplished in terms of:
 - Management
 - **4** Distribution of benefits
 - 🖶 General decision making
- Information flow about the project to the local community?
 - Hethods
 - 4 Frequency
 - **Handling of feedbacks**

D. Assessment of cost and benefits

- Benefits and Costs from the project
 - Distribution of benefits and costs
 - ➢ What
 - ≻ Who
 - ➤ How
 - ➢ Why

E. Challenges

• Current challenges to the sustainability of the project (funds, market access, conflict, traditional authority, insufficient benefits, distribution of benefits etc.)

F. Future tourism development

- What in your opinion so far as tourism development in Tafi Atome is concerned must be:
 - **4** Encouraged

+ Discontinued

🖌 Added

- G. Any other Issues
- H. Background characteristics of informant

APPENDIX III

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT

Observation checklist

- Tourism-related facilities
 - Nature
 - Location
- > Tangible benefits from the project
 - Nature
 - Location
- ➢ Forest reserve
 - Accessibility
 - Signage
- Access to community
 - Modes of transportation
 - Nature of roads