ECOTOURISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
A STUDY OF THE WECHIAU COMMUNITY HIPPOPOTAMUS
SANCTUARY IN THE UPPER WEST REGION OF GHANA

AKWASI AMOAKO-ACHEAMPONG

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN
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REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF
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BY

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JULY, 2013

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DECLARATION

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

Candidate’s Signature: [Signature]
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Supervisors’
I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored how community-based ecotourism can be successfully developed for the benefit of rural poor using the Wechiau Community Hippo Sanctuary (WCHS) as a case study. This study examined the processes involved in the establishment of the WCHS; the extent of collaboration between stakeholders in its formation and management. Factors militating against the fullest harnessing of tourism potentials of WCHS were also determined. The study employed qualitative data collection methods such as focus group discussions, self-administered questionnaire and both structured and unstructured interviews. Data were analysed by the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and qualitatively as well. The study noted that the processes towards the establishment of the sanctuary were transparent but less participatory since Sanctuary communities could not make many inputs. There was also a positive collaboration among the stakeholders. The main factors militating against the fullest operation of the sanctuary were identified as the intrusion of citizens of Burkina Faso into the sanctuary catchment area; restricted access to local deities, pasture and medicinal plants in the protected area and perception among the people that the benefits of the sanctuary are enjoyed by only the traditional leaders of the various communities. The study noted that WCHS attracted the provision of basic social amenities such as boreholes, schools, and roads to the sanctuary communities. The study recommends among others a four-stage participatory sanctuary management framework which could lead to a more participatory and integrated management of the WCHS for the increased benefit of all.
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Last but not the least, I wish to thank Mr. Gordon Dandeebo of the Department of Social, Political and Historical Studies for proofreading the second draft of this thesis.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved father and mother Mr. Yaw Gyedu-Acheampong and Miss Abena Ofusua-Amoako.
LIST OF ACRONYMS

GDP : Gross Domestic Product
NCRC : National Conservation Research Centre
UN : United Nations
GTB : Ghana Tourist Board
NGOs : Non-Governmental Organisations
WCHS : Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary
CBET : Community-Based Ecotourism
GOs : Governmental Organisations
WTO : World Tourism Organisation
SD : Sustainable Development
CSD : Commission on Sustainable Development
WCED : World Conference on Environment and Development
UNCED : United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
FAO : Food and Agricultural Organisation
NR : Natural Resource
CBNRM : Community-Based Natural Resource Management
NRM : Natural Resource Management
CREMA : Community Resource Management Area
US : United States
MoT : Ministry of Tourism
NLCD : National Liberation Council Degree
PP  : Progress Party
NDC : National Democratic Congress
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
ITDP: Integrated Tourism Development
NTDP: National Tourism Development Plan
CBDC: Convention on Biodiversity Conversation
SNS : Sacred Natural Site
FSD : Forestry Services Division
GWLD: Game and Wildlife Division
MOFA: Ministry of Food and Agriculture
GSS : Ghana Statistical Service
RCC : Regional Coordinating Council
EC  : Electoral Commission
MTDP: Medium Term Development Plan
UWR : Upper West Region
GoG : Government of Ghana
IDIs : In-depth Interviews
FGDs : Focus Group Discussions
SPSS : Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TDC : Tourism Development Corporation
SMB : Sanctuary Management Board
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The quality of Africa’s resource endowment for tourism is exceptional, but
most countries have only barely developed their tourism potentials. The
continent receives about 4% of all international travellers and tourism receipts,
but tourism is “significant” (between 2% and 5% GDP exports) in about half
of Sub-Saharan African countries. Countries in Africa are now focusing on
tourism as a source of growth and diversification, but with only limited policy
guidance from most donors, despite the sector’s potential (World Bank, 2001).

In Ghana, the tourism industry is one that has emerged strongly since the mid-
1980s as a significant sector in the economy and society (Akyeampong and
Asiedu, 2008). Tourism is Ghana’s fastest-growing industry and the third
largest foreign exchange earner behind gold and cocoa. Ghana, as a nation,
abounds in both natural tourist sites and events that can be harnessed for her
development. With more than 5% of Ghana’s land officially protected through
16 national parks and conservation areas, the country is a perfect destination
for nature lovers to observe a range of colourful birds, butterfly species,
monkeys, waterfalls, savannahs and forests (Akwotugu, 2004). According to
the Ghana Rural Ecotourism and Travel Office (2008), tourism in Ghana
grows at an estimated figure of 15% per year. The Ghana Tourist Board (2010), reports that, tourist arrival numbers rose from 428,533 in 2005 to 698,069 in 2008. Ghana, with its current political stability and low crime rate make it one of the safest places to visit in Africa and with its pioneering ecotourism programs already in place, the country will be poised to compete for a larger share of the increasing numbers of travellers. This new trend has come not only because of the economic benefits of tourism but also the psychological and social benefits. This is evident in the many keep-fit clubs, relaxing at beaches and the attendance of many traditional festivals across the country.

The sustenance of tourism largely depends on sustainable management of these resources. State management of tourism has been the enactment of laws and policies as well as budgetary support for the sector. Much as this is needed, the involvement of local community members in the management of these tourist sites is key to the sustenance of these resources and ensuring local benefits from tourism. Fortunately, with the support of National Conservation Research Centre (NCRC), there has been increased community participation in the management of these tourist resources in Ghana through the establishment of community-based ecotourism systems. Successful community-based ecotourism projects supported/created by the NCRC include the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary, Avu Lagoon, Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary, Bobiri Forest and Butterfly Sanctuary, Gambaga Escarpment, Tafi
Atome, Asumura and the Afram Arm of Lake Volta. The community-based ecotourism concept allows community members to actively participate in the preservation of their natural and cultural resources and serves as a complement to farming and other activities that the communities are normally involved in.

Sustainable management of resources is not a choice for the world, especially for developing countries like Ghana. Since the 1987 Brundtland Commission and the 1992 UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, sustainable development has become a key word in the world. In the tourism sector, ecotourism is seen by many as an ideal way to integrate challenges of economic growth with environmental conservation and to do so in a participatory manner, the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism. Since then, ecotourism has continued to boom, leading to a pronounced presence in the field of conservation (Duffy, 2002). With Ghana increasingly becoming a popular tourist destination, coupled with the increasing revenue and by the fact that most of her tourist resources are nature based, the ecotourism has become the *sine qua non* for the realization of the full potentials of this thriving industry in Ghana.

Ecotourism is becoming a crucial means for underdeveloped nations to grow economically by increasing their national revenues (International Ecotourism Society, 2001). In some cases, ecotourism has been a huge success in achieving its goals - natural resources are protected and community-level
infrastructure is developed as a result of tourism revenue. This new paradigm shift to ecotourism is largely motivated by three objectives: financial support for protection and management of natural areas; economic benefits for residents living near natural areas; and encouragement of conservation among local residents, in part through economic benefits (Lindberg et al, 1995).

Similarly, according to Brandon (1996), ecotourism has been embraced by tourism practitioners as a more credible alternative to conventional mass tourism because it has less damaging effect and affords local communities the opportunities for involvement and reaping of benefits.

1.2 Problem Statement

Ecotourism or sustainable tourism as a development tool in Ghana requires an integrated approach between government, private sector and local community (Ghana Tourist Board, 1996). In consonance with the Agenda 21 of the UN Earth Summit, the 1996-2010 National Tourism Development Plan for Ghana advocates for a concerted effort between Government, Private Sector/Non-Governmental Organizations NGOs and Local Community members for sustainable tourism development.

The Wechiau Community in the Upper West Region of Ghana is one of Ghana’s abode for both flora and fauna. Though wildlife in Ghana is dominated by the Mole and Kakum Parks, the Wechiau Community is home to about 500 species of animals including the hippopotamus and baboons
(GTB, 2010). Located along the Black Volta in the north-western part of Ghana, the area has a serene savannah vegetation and home to many fauna. With the support of Nature Conservation Research Centre, a local NGO founded in 1995, the Calgary Zoo and the Wechiau Traditional Council, the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary was formed to give vent for community participation in the planning and management of the tourist resources there.

The place is host to hippopotamus and most rare fauna and flora. With this enhanced community-based ecotourism program, the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary (WCHS) has been lauded as one of the most successful Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET) sites resulting in the "Special Recognition" by the United Nations in 2008. Despite this recognition, very little research work has been carried out which focuses on its success story for the development of CBET. This thesis is an attempt at bridging such a gap. In doing so, the study seeks to explore the how WCHS became a model of CBETs in Ghana.

1.3 Main Research Question

The study seeks to answer the question: how can Community-Based Ecotourism site(s) be developed for the benefit of the host communities in Ghana?
1.3.1 Sub-Research Questions

1. What are the processes that were adopted to form the WCHS?
2. What is the extent of collaboration between indigenous institutions and Governmental Organisation (GOs) in the establishment and management of the WCHS?
3. What are the factors militating against the full harnessing of tourism potentials of WCHS?
4. What strategies can be put in place to ensure an integrated management of the WCHS?

1.4 Main Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to examine how Community-Based Ecotourism can be successfully developed for the benefit of respective communities in Ghana.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

1. To assess the processes involved in the establishment of the WCHS.
2. To determine the extent of collaboration between indigenous institutions and governmental organisations in the formation and management of the WCHS.
3. To examine the factors militating against the fullest harnessing of tourism potentials of WCHS.

4. To determine the strategies that can be put in place to ensure an integrated management of the WCHS.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The rationale of the study is to unearth how local communities can be engaged to sustainably manage ecotourism development for their benefit. It is becoming increasingly clear that community participation in the management of local resources is the surest way to sustainable resource management (Ostrom, 1990) and therefore ways of engaging local people in the management of tourist resources in Ghana is in the right direction.

The bulk of Ghana's tourist resources are nature-based and the management of these resources by the state alone could lead to conflicts between community members and service providers (Akwotugu, 2004). For the academic reader, the study will contribute to existing literature on the formation and management of the WCHS by sharing with readers the success, challenges and best practices peculiar to the WCHS. By examining the methodological processes involved in the establishment of the WCHS as well as strategies for an integrated management of the WCHS, the study will attract the attention of policy makers in natural resource management and community tourism.
development to develop successful community-based tourism as a strategy for tourist resource management.

1.6 Limitation of the Study and Mitigation Measures

Both community members and formal institutions perceived the study as 'just one of those to acquire a degree' and therefore were not forthcoming with serious responses at first. A careful rapport was established between the researcher and institutions as well as community members. With carefully trained research assistants, patience and tact, the study achieved remarkable results.

The second was the issue of language barrier as the researcher could not speak the local languages in the study area. To overcome this, all research assistants were persons who understood Dagaare, Wali and or Lobi. In some cases, respondents who could speak Twi or English (the language of the researcher) communicated directly. To overcome the issue of time constraints by respondents especially at the community level, the timing of the data collection was done in May and June when farming activities were not too serious.

1.7 Organization of Chapters

The thesis is organized in five Chapters as follows: chapter one consists of the introduction, problem statement, research questions, study objectives and
rationale of study. Chapter two (2), reviews existing literature and concepts of ecotourism development. Chapter three consists of the methods of data collection and collation while chapter four will consist of the analysis of data collected. Chapter five summarizes the main findings, conclusions and the recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the Operationalisation of concepts and a review of the literature on community ecotourism formation, community participation and the management of ecotourism sites.

2.2 Operationalisation of Concepts

This section of the study defines basic concepts such as tourism, sustainable development, sustainable tourism development, community-based tourism and community participation in tourism. According to Babbie (2005) Operationalisation of concepts simply refers to the process whereby researchers specify the meaning of terms and concepts they employ in a given context. In the view of Babbie (2005) even though operational definition appear almost the same as nominal definitions, operational definitions are often preferable in social science because they prescribe the meaning of concepts with reference to a given context. In this regard, concepts and terminologies in this study are operationalised within the context of the research questions and the socio-cultural context of the study.
2.2.1 Tourism and Tourist Attraction

The concept of tourism has been defined as the study of a people who are away from their usual habitat, of the industry which responds to their needs, and of the impacts that both the tourists and the industry have on the host and guests socio-cultural, economic and physical environments" (Jafari cited in Jafari and Pizam, 2002:6499).

On the other hand, the World Tourism Organization ([WTO], 2008) defines tourists as people who travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for more than 24 hours but not exceeding one consecutive year for the purposes of leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.

Tourism has become a popular global leisure activity. In 2008, there were over 922 million international tourist arrivals, with a growth of 1.9% as compared to 2007. International tourism receipts grew to US$944 billion (Euro 642 billion) in 2008, corresponding to an increase in real terms of 1.8% on 2007 (WTO, 2009).

It is one of the fastest growing service sectors in the world. According to Dei (2008: 48) “people travel to satisfy certain basic social needs which could be social, political, intellectual and even status needs”. Thus people travel to rest from fatigue, for exercise and activity, to recuperate and stay healthy, to
escape from social duties and pressures and to conform to society among others. This means for there to be tourism, people must be assured that they will derive one or more of the above mentioned aspirations of tourist.

According to McCannell (1976) there are three (3) attributes for a tourist attraction. These are: a site to be viewed; an image or marker that makes it significant and a tourist or a visitor. However, Gartner (1996) notes that, tourist attractions are the supply side of tourism, providing the pull of people into an area. Again, in order for an attraction to draw discretionary travellers, it must be endowed sufficiently with quality, authenticity and above all its uniqueness (Dei, 2008; Fridgen, 1991).

In the case of Northern Ghana, there exist such attractions with uniqueness which could be of interest to visitors. Some of these unique attractions include the: Mystical Stone at Laribanga, which has defied being evacuated; the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary, where one can view live hippopotamus; the Paga Crocodile Pond, where live crocodiles can be viewed and touched; the Mole Game and Wildlife Reserve, where one can see many wildlife like elephants and other animals. These are but few of the tourist attractions in Northern Ghana. Their peculiarity and uniqueness attract visitors from both far and near.
2.2.2 Sustainable Development

The conceptual basis of sustainable development can be traced to seven key concepts which constitute the theoretical arena of sustainable development i.e. the concepts of: ethical paradox, natural capital stock, equity, eco-form, integrative management, utopianism and the political global agenda (Jabareen, 2008).

Ethical paradox portrays the enigmatic nature of the concept sustainable development; it is sometimes perceived as a process or a condition that can be achieved and maintained, yet development in its neoliberal sense is regarded as a modification of the natural environment leading to increase gross domestic product and per capita incomes of nations (Jabareen, 2008, emphasis added).

The concept sustainability had its roots from the field of ecology where it refers to an ecosystem that subsists overtime with almost no alteration. Reboratti (1999 cited by Jabareen 2008) observed that when the idea development is added to sustainability, the focus diverts to the society and the capital economy. Therefore sustainability is often seen as an environmental buzzword whereas development is perceived as an economic one.

What SD seeks to do is to mediate between non-alteration of the ecosystem and the need for modification of the natural environment for increase incomes
and wellbeing. Notwithstanding the fact that there is no single agreed-upon
definition of SD, almost all definitions acknowledge the conflict between the
goals of economic development and environmental protection, with a
preference for the goals of economic growth (Geisinger, 1999). Scholars such
as Kothari, (1992; ) have criticise the ethics behind the concept of
sustainability arguing that sustainability is an empty term, because the current
neo-liberal model of development destroys nature’s wealth and hence is non-
sustainable. They also posit that it is ecologically destructive because it is not
ethically grounded in any strong values, nor based on concepts of rights and
responsibilities. Are these arguments valid?

In the literature on sustainable development, constant natural capital is often
referred to as a score card for sustainability. For example, Pearce and Turner
(1990) are of the opinion that the resource stock of every society should be
held constant over time. In essence, sustainability connotes a non-decrease in
capital stock as a means to providing opportunities of growth and wellbeing
for future generations. However, Kohn and Gowdy (2001) argued that the
natural stock exist in an environment is in a flux, hence it is conceptually and
operationally challenging to seek to sustain or ensure a non-decrease overtime.

Sustainable has strong connotation with equity and social justice. Equity
within the context of sustainable development embraces concepts such as
environmental, social and economic justice, social equity, and equal rights for
and to development benefits, quality of life, equal economic distribution, freedom, democracy, public participation and empowerment (Jabareen, 2008). In this regard, it has been argued that “Wherever in the world environmental despoliation and degradation are happening, they are almost always linked to questions of social justice, equity, rights and people’s quality of life in the widest sense” (Agyemang, Bullard and Evans, 2002). They contend that a truly sustainable society is that which assures the social needs, equity, welfare, and economic opportunities which are related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems. This examined the threats to the sustainability of the WCHS by assessing the management processes and the perceived benefits by social groups.

The concept of eco-form represents the ecologically desired form and design of the human habitat such as urban spaces, buildings, and houses (Jabareen, 2008). Advocates of eco-form are of the view that energy efficiency is crucial in achieving ecological form through proper architectural design on the building, community, city and regional levels. For example, it is argued that proper architectural design contributes both to reducing air pollution and increased energy efficiency.

Integrative management in the field of SD combines social, economic and environmental concerns in the planning and management for sustainable development (Commission on Sustainable Development [CSD], 2001). The
orthodox view that poverty reduction and economic growth should take precedence over environmental concerns has been challenged by the World Conference on Environment and Development [WCED], (1987) when it argues that environmental sustainability is an accelerator of social and economic success. Also, the WCED argued that poverty and environmental degradation are interlocking global crises. Therefore there is no choice between opting for either environmental sustainability or development, but rather there exist a challenge of how to integrate these to achieve sustainable development.

Therefore, using the concept of integrative management to operationalize SD is utopianism, in which human beings and nature live in a society of justice, fairness, and harmony in the midst of diversity. In this regard Bookchin (1989) proposed a form of society in which ecological principles such as self-regulation, diversity, variety, natural spontaneity, balance and harmony reign supreme; in short his model for an ecological society is that of liberty and participatory democracy. However, the argument for a green society appears to suggest that people in such a society will be non-competitive and non-materialistic hence the tragedy of the commons will not happen. This certainly cannot be the case since humanity will continue to be met with insatiable needs.
Another concept used in the conceptualization and definition of SD is political and global agenda which was born out of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972. Notable among the principles adopted by the Stockholm Conference include: conservation of both renewable and non-renewable natural resources including wildlife; maintenance of atmospheric and marine pollution within the absorptive capacity of the environment; the desire for development that will improve the environment; the need for the developed world to assist the developing world and pay realistic prices for the exports from the developing world and the importance of science and technology, environmental education and establishment of international institutions for the maintenance of environmental sustainability (LC/CAR/G.754 (2003).

Except to indicate that the organization of the Stockholm conference was in itself historic, it nevertheless resulted in the recognition by state parties of the importance of environment to development hence the creation of ministries responsible for environment and the incorporation of environmental policies to their development agenda. However the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, 1992 was organized in recognition of the transcendental nature of sustainable development concerns; the nomenclature of the UNCED clearly demonstrated the link between environment on the one hand and development on the other hand (LC/CAR/G.754).
The popularization of the concept of sustainable development at the political global agenda is attributable to the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) often referred to as the Brundtland Commission. The report of the WCED (1987) entitled Our Common Future provided the definitional and conceptual essentials of what is globally referred to as sustainable development. It perceived sustainable development as “…development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987:27).

The Brundtland/WCED Report noted that the concept of sustainable development has two critical concepts: the concept of needs particularly the needs of the world’s poor which must be accorded greatest priority; and also the limitation imposed by the available technology and culture on the ecology’s ability to meet the needs of both the present and the future.

Sustainable development therefore requires the international community, governments and traditional leaders to meet the basic needs of all and extend equal opportunities to them for the realization of their aspirations. But for a society to meet the needs of its members requires achieving its growth potential, and SD supports growth in areas where there are unmet basic needs (WCED, 1987).

Can these be met without exceeding the absorptive capacity of the environment? Should the value of meeting the basic needs of the poor override
the value of ensuring intergeneration equity in benefits and opportunities? Even though economic growth can be consistent with the concept and practice of SD, economic growth must be in accord with the principles of sustainability and the non-exploitation of any generation. Therefore, economic growth that is said to be sustainable must increase the productive capacity and create equitable opportunities for all.

2.2.3 Sustainable Tourism Development

The concept of sustainable development was amplified by the 1992 World Commission on Environment and Development (also known as the Brundtland Commission) which calls for the sustainable use of resources in a manner that would not compromise future generations.

World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines sustainable tourism development as that which meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (WTO, 2004). By this definition, ecotourism is a form of sustainable tourism that should be promoted.
Ecotourism is a form of tourism that emphasizes sustainable nature-based and culture. Weaver (2001:15) defines ecotourism as:

...a form of tourism that fosters learning experiences and appreciation of the natural environment, or some component thereof, within its associated cultural context. It has the appearance (in concert of best practices) of being environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable, preferably in a way that enhances the natural and cultural resource base of the destination and promotes the viability of the operation.

One can therefore infer from the definition that ecotourism is: basically nature-based, but can include associated cultural resources and influences; educational and learning outcomes are fostered, and must be sustainable. Ecotourism is therefore a responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people. This definition suggests that ecotourism must result in important economic and environmental benefits.

However, measuring benefits from ecotourism will never be part of the standard process of measuring tourism arrivals (World Tourism Organisation, 1997). According to the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism, ecotourism embraces the principles of sustainable tourism because it: contributes actively to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage; includes local and
indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation contributing to their well-being; interprets the natural and cultural heritage of the destination to the visitor; and lends itself better to independent travellers, as well as organizes tours for small sized groups.

Similarly, Khanal and Babar (2007) defined ecotourism as sustainable tourism because it follows clear processes, such as: ensuring and informed equal effective and active participation of all stakeholders; acknowledging indigenous peoples’ communities rights to say “no” to tourism development— and to be fully informed for effective and active participation in the development of tourism activities within the communities, lands, and territories; and promoting processes for indigenous peoples and local communities to control and maintain their resources.

These important tenets of ecotourism make it a desirable form of tourism for Northern Ghana. First, the tourist attractions and resources in Northern Ghana are basically nature-based, culturally embedded and fosters learning and second, the continuous benefits derived from tourism depends on the sustainability of the tourist resource.

2.2.4 Community-Based Tourism and Sustainable Development

A community can be described as “a mutually supportive, geographically specific, social unit such as a village or tribe where people identify themselves
as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making” (Mann, 2000:18). Community-based tourism is the use of local initiatives in support of tourism attraction, growth and development in a locality (Gyimah and Okrah, 2009). It is based on a bottom-up approach without sacrificing partnerships between central authorities and local people.

Successful community-based ecotourism development, that is, ventures that satisfy both conservation and development objectives, are supported by partnerships between local communities, government agencies, NGOs, and the private sector (Spoule, 1994). This means the development of community-based tourism depends on the participation of various stakeholders of tourism development.

In the case of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary, the main stakeholders are the Wechiau Traditional Council, Nature Conservation and Research Centre (NCRC), the Ghana Government/Ghana Tourist Board and the Calgary Zoo. Of interest to this would be to ascertain the stakes these stakeholders have and their motivation to collaborate effectively as it is being done now.

Rozemeijer (2001) also notes that the success of Community Based Tourism (CBET) would depend on whether: CBET generates income and employment and, as such, contributes to rural development— a benefit that especially applies in remote areas; or benefits derived from the use of natural resources
for tourism will prompt the community to use these valuable resources in a sustainable way; or CBET adds value to the national tourism product through diversification of tourism, increasing volume and economies of scale.

But with the resounding success of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary, these tenets of CBET will not only be assessed but also the stakeholder(s) who benefits most from the sanctuary will be identified. In the case of community members, it will be of interest to find which group of people benefits most from the general development derived by the community.

Also, Rozemeijer (2001) further notes the following as important for sustainable tourism development using the CBET concept: CBET should be economically viable: the revenue should exceed the costs; CBET should be ecologically sustainable: the environment should not decrease in value; there should be an equitable distribution of costs and benefits among all participants in the activity; and institutional consolidation should be ensured: a transparent organisation, recognized by all stakeholders, should be established to represent the interests of all community members and to reflect true ownership.

Similarly, Spoule (1995) notes that whether a community-based tourism enterprise encourages community conservation of natural resources depend on at least four factors: the scale of benefits received by local residents (and whether they outweigh the short term costs of foregoing resource use or changing resource management); the extent to which the benefits are clearly
perceived as dependent on the resource base, and therefore on sustainable management; whether benefits reach all resource users; and whether local institutions are strengthened, so as to increase their capacity for collective resource management. The main objective of the formation of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary is to conserve the environment through the development of sustainable or alternative livelihood development.

### 2.3 Theories of Natural Resource Management

Garett’s (1968) ‘Tragedy of the Commons’ theory is based on the dictum that, ‘what is every body’s property is nobody’s property’. This is because, collective and unregulated use of natural resources would lead to overexploitation of the resource, hence institutions should be developed to regulate the use of these common resources. A situation referred to as ‘Social Trap’ and defined as a situation that:

...exists wherever the rational decisions of individual agents necessarily leads to an outcome that is inconsistent with the best interests of society. These are circumstances in which the signals guiding individual choices are distorted by the informational, institutional or temporal parameters of the decision-making process (Constanza and Perrings, 1990:2).
Hardin (1968) holds that the non-sustainability in the management of common resources is mainly because of the lack of institutional governance and coercion to enforce sustainability measure and avoid free riding. He therefore advocated for institutional governance in the management of common pool resources such as rangelands, waters and forests lest they suffer from individual insatiable quest to maximize benefits there from resulting in degradation resulting in the tragedy of all the commons.

The premium put on community based management of tourist resources like that of Wechiau perhaps is to avert the destruction of the ‘common resource’ which survives the tourist opportunities therein. The Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary is therefore to provide a regulatory framework for the sustainable exploitation of the resources therein.

Runge (1996) and Ostrom (1990) recognized community institutions as the linchpin for sustainable community resource management. Collective action refers to concerted actions of people that share a common interest, perceive that interest and act to achieve it (World Bank, 1999). Collective action is an important mechanism for coordinating individual resource users towards achieving socially accepted outcomes by assigning management responsibilities that correspond with simple and complete ownership rights (Bwalya, 2004). Traditional community institutions can ably manage
community resources such as land because of their common interests in it. Indeed, Olson (1965:1) argues that:

...if members of some group have a common interest or object, and if they would all be better off if that objective were achieved, it has been thought to follow logically that the individuals in that group would, if they were rational and self-interested, act to achieve that objective.

It means that given the benefits of common interests if the resource is conserved, there would be collective action from all stakeholders for the sustainable management of the resource. With the success chalked by the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary by winning the UN Equator ward in 2008, it is of interests to investigate the collective interests of stakeholders and the benefits they derived as a result of being stakeholders of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary.

The Runge’s (1996) Problem Assurance theory is based on the principle that to forestall the failure of the top-down policies, codes and laws on natural resource management designed by government agencies in line with the ‘tragedy of the commons’ approach. Therefore, governments should seek to support traditional institutions where they are effective, and promote them where they no longer exist in their efforts to manage natural resources. It further argues that the assumptions of the ‘Tragedy of the Commons’
hypothesis are unrealistic: rural producers living in the same community often do not practice the same livelihood, thus they do not share the same interests in resources, nor do they act entirely independently of their fellow producers. Hence, research using this approach argues that a learning process takes place between competing but linked users of resources. Runge (1996) therefore, argues that individual decisions are conditioned by the expected decisions of others. Thus, if expectations, assurance and actions can be coordinated, there is less necessity for people to pursue ‘free-rider’ strategies: indeed, cooperative behaviour might be a utility-maximizing strategy.

Ostrom (1990) outlined three of her eight principles for community-based conservation projects as discussed below:

**Design Principles for Successful Community-based Conservation Projects**

Ostroom (1990) and Elderg (2006) outline the following principles as being core for successful community-based conservation projects.

- **Collective choice arrangements**

Those that are affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules. This means for effective community-based conservation project like the case study, all stakeholders should have equal powers and capacities to participate effectively in decision making and to effect changes
in rules if need be. Lack of access to the decision-making processes may lead to people being forced to carry out roles that do not necessarily fit the local conditions, and subsequently lead to failure

- **Minimal Recognition of right to organize**

The rights of appropriators to make their own institutions are not challenge by external governmental authorities. This principle bothers on the overriding rights of government institutions. Rules made by the CBT bodies should not be over-ruled arbitrary by the state or any other stakeholder. However, enforcement of rules should be a collaboration between stakeholders including government

- **Congruence between rules made by appropriators and the local conditions**

Rules should be acceptable by all stakeholders involved. Rules must fit state policy, local authority conditions and the needs for the project.

Despite these views about CBET as being key to sustainable tourism, Blackstock (2005) notes that the concept could have defects. First, it tends to take a functional approach to community involvement to the neglect of the transformative intent of community development and not focusing on community empowerment. Additionally, it tends to treat the host community as a homogeneous bloc (for whom “consensus” is rare). Finally, it neglects the
structural constraints (external power-based) on local control of the tourism industry. This can result in misunderstandings that are reflected in unsuccessful development or dissatisfied community groups who resent changes, particularly in relation to tourism and tourists.

2.4 Community Participation and Development

Even though the concept of participation has gained high currency within and without community development arena, its definition has been varied and quite elusive. Kumar (2002) has observed that while some development thinkers and workers see participation as an end in itself, others view the concept as a means to achieve other goals.

Participation and empowerment have the ability to sustain local community development processes. In fact, it makes development community-driven and the beneficiaries really feel part of the development process, not 'parcels' in the system (Helmore and Singh, 2001).

The concept of participatory development was introduced by Paulo Freire in 1970 to challenge the anti-participatory models of development at the time. These anti-participatory models made community development donor-driven whereby communities earmarked as beneficiaries of development programmes were not acknowledged as legitimate stakeholders in what was supposed to be their development process. The lack of sustainability of centralised and donor-
driven initiatives accounted for the popularity of participatory development. Here, the outside professionals are entreated to focus on the assets, strategies and strength of communities instead of concentrating on its needs.

According to Cohen and Uphoff (1977), participation normally involve people taking part in the decision-making processes, in implementing programmes and projects, in sharing the benefits created by the development intervention and involvement in an effort to evaluate such programmes and projects. In the view of the Food and Agriculture Organization FAO (1982) people’s participation is the process where project beneficiaries are able to organise themselves, identify their development challenges, collectively design, implement, and evaluate participatory action.

It is essential to indicate that while scholars uphold the usefulness of participation in ensuring sustainable development there is a disagreement as whether participation should be a means or an end itself in the development process. However, scholars such as Parfitt (2004 cited in Tesfaye, 2011) take a middle position by arguing that participation must be both a means and an end itself.

In the opinion of Parfitt (2004), participation must be a means because every development intervention must produce expected output but it should also be seen as an end because empowerment is perceived as an output. In this sense participation as a means allows the existing power structures to remain
whereas participation as an end seeks to change the inequality in power structures so as to empower all stakeholders in the development process.

Therefore, viewing participation as a means will enable the development practitioner to consider both the process and the end result in the development process.

Aside the issue of participation as a means and an end debate, there is also disagreement as to the different levels of participation. For example, some scholars and practitioners believe that participation should be regarded as a grassroots activity while others contend that participation should be practised at the broader level of local, national and international (Servaes, 2008). Some are of the view that real participation means giving communities the opportunity to make all decisions regarding a particular development project, yet others think that participation at other levels is quite relevant. Therefore, in the view of Arnst (1996) genuine participation clarifies itself within a particular structural, social, political and cultural context.

The divergent views on what constitute participation have been replicated in diverse strategies and means of practising participation in the development process. Despite the various divergent views on the concept of participation several mainstream contributors on the concept and its praxis (Jacobson, 1991, Bessette, 2004; Mefalopulos, 2008; Melkote, 1991; Servaes, 1999) all agree that genuine participation must involve dialogue, empowerment, a
horizontal/two-way communication and grassroots participation as a means of ensuring that grassroots people realise their needs and desires. Regarding the levels and authenticity of participation Pretty (1995) developed a typology of participation ranging from passive/manipulative form of participation to interactive/self-mobilisation which is considered at the authentic form of communication. By this typology of participation, the external institutions/agents power is supposed to diminished at the last two stages while that of the community level stakeholders power will increase at the last stages of the participation process.

According to Pretty (1995) self-initiated forms of participation are considered as the highest form of genuine participation, but Agarwal (2001) argued that self-initiated forms should not be regarded as the highest forms of real participation. He argued that, even though participation may be self-mobilised, there are the instance where softer voices within a self-mobilised group may feel that their view are not heard and thus move out to form yet another self-initiated group and the newly formed group could be described as the highest form of participation. See appendix 3 for illustration of the various types of participation.

Community participation, according to Paul (1987) is an active process which community people influence their own development towards enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance, or other values.
they cherish. From these definitions, participation denotes involvement in the development planning and implementation for the particular good of the people involved in the participation process.

For the purpose of this work, Paul’s (1988 and 1987) definition of community participation is adopted for the following reasons: first, this definition focuses on the active participation of community people in community development programmes. Secondly, it emphasizes that development benefits should be directed to participants’ wellbeing.

Thirdly, there is emphasis on joint action by local people in community participation, and last but not the least, the above definition addresses the issue of participation as a process toward building local capacities, thus empowering the poor to drive their own development. In the context of tourism, community participation in tourism will include the active participation of community or the self-mobilisation of the community members in the development and promotion of their community’s tourist resources for the preservation of nature and the enhancement of their own wellbeing.

This study, also, views participation in the promotion and development of tourism as both a means and an end itself. This is so because communities’ participation in the promotion and development of tourism is expected to result in preservation of nature as well as increase their power to decide what and how the natural resources that God has given them will be utilised.
2.4.1 Role of Traditional Institutions in Natural Resource Management

Traditional institutions refer to the socially accepted structures and principles of behaviour of a people developed over the years by the culture of the people (Goodin, 1996; Bebelleh, 2007). These are the Chiefs, Earth Priests and Family heads. This section examines how these institutions can contribute to the management of natural resources at the community level.

Natural resource management often occurs in a political space regardless of the levels of political organization of the society concerned. In the past, societies manage their natural resources by forming comparatively non-open management regimes which operated in the context of reciprocities and solidarities. These systems were part and parcel of the cultures of the people and took cognizance of the demands of local culture by making room for differences of power and roles. In this regard, Borrini-Feyerabend et al (2007:1) observed that:

Local knowledge and skills, built through extended historical experience was [SIC] another cornerstone. Most importantly, local communities tended to create themselves around a body of natural resources that they could manage together. In other words, in traditional societies the units of natural resource management and the units of social life tended to coincide.
The level of management of natural resources and the management of social life coincided because for most part the livelihood of traditional societies depended exclusively on the exploitation of nature hence nurturing meant also being able to live in harmony with nature. The onslaught of colonialism and its attendant nation states and their usurpation of the powers and authorities of traditional political institutions culminated in the overthrow of traditional natural resource management systems.

Also, the wave of the modernization theories of development which swept through third world countries denigrated indigenous knowledge systems thus resulting in breakdown, losses and disempowerment of indigenous natural resource management systems. With the colonial state and its post independent successors relegating indigenous systems of natural resources management to the background, the indigenous people themselves were *deresponsibilised*. Therefore mistrust between communities and state institutions managing natural resources reigned supreme thus resulting in confrontations in the court of law, through civil society movement or open street protest.

However, with the growth of democratic governance spreading throughout the world, the world has also experienced a paradigmatic shift in the approaches to natural resource management (Ribot and Larson, 2004 cited in Yelfaanibe, 2009). The conventional approach to natural resource management was top-
down and technical in its approach to solving challenges pertaining to natural resource management neglecting local knowledge and experience. But Ramirez (1999) is of the view that sustainable management of natural resources is likely to occur if the attitudes, beliefs or preference of both the managers of the NR and the local people are considered in the assessment of the NR and in the Natural resource management process itself. This view is relevant in the sense that a participatory assessment and management process will allow the local people not to perceive being alienated from their birth right but see the state institutions as complementing their effort to preserve and conserve their NR for the present and generations yet to come.

With regards to the formal approaches to natural resource management in Ghana, Kendie and Guri (2006) observed four main strands: protectionism, conservation, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and re-emergence protectionism.

Furthermore, Kendie and Guri (2004) noted that the conservation movement and the community based natural resource management approach together with the resurgent of protectionism, all portray dialectical differentiation. They explained that the protectionist ideas and strategies for natural resource management argue for a centralized approach to nature conservation, while the conservation group emphasize a participatory approach to natural resource management.
Kendie and Guri (2006) also indicated that there are some who despite the
popularity of the participatory approaches in development have made a case
for protectionist intervention in natural resource management. According to
them in many developing nations the decision regarding the fate of natural
resource lies heavily on the state. Assuming without admitting that the fate of
natural resources depended solely on the state, whatever decision the state take
regarding the exploitation or conservation of natural resources must be in the
interest of the citizenry who are the real owners of power and authority.
According to Kendie and Guri (2006) the failure of several natural resource
management programmes have been manifest in the centralized approach to
conservation which pays little or no attention to local needs. Local
communities living around protected areas are inclined to perceive natural
reserves as an extension of the excessive use of power and authority by the
state, thus NRM restrictions are deemed alienating and illegitimate. Therefore,
if ever there is likely to be a positive relationship between development-
environment relationships then the people who live around and use the
resources must take a commanding height in the conservation and
management of natural resources.

However, in tune with the changing approaches to governance and natural
resource management the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission has
developed a Collaborative Wildlife Management Policy which solicits the
active participation of local communities, civil society groups, and other
stakeholders in wildlife management. Primarily, the implementation of the collaborative wildlife management policy both within and outside of the protected area is carried out by the Protected Areas Management Advisory Units/Boards and the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA).

The cardinal philosophy behind CREMA just like any other CBNRM approach is that if natural resources are given value and the communities are given the power/authority to manage then they will be responsible for the conservation and sustainable management of the natural resource (Wildlife Division, 2004). The guiding principles of CREMA reflect four main sentiments: communities will protect, conserve and manage wildlife and other natural resources if they are given adequate incentives to do so; that people who live with and are responsible for natural resources management must be the greatest beneficiaries of the management effort; natural resource management is a legitimate form of land use.

Although these sentiments are good in themselves, they present a real motivation for communities to take the conservation of the natural resources found within their localities. The real challenge is mobility of wildlife resources which will require that the several people whose livelihoods are negatively affected by the creation of the sanctuary will have to benefit from the conservation and management of the resource even in the face of inadequate funding or revenue.
Despite the fact that the large numbers of people involved in the conservation and management of the natural resource there can be a rotational regime determined by the beneficiaries in the sharing of the proceeds accruing from the natural resource.

This study also contends that, sustainable conservation and management of natural resources must involve the traditional institutions in the assessment/diagnosis, the planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of natural resources projects. In this context traditional institution will be understood to include: the societal norms, values, beliefs and cosmovision that guide human interaction in any particular community or locality; the leadership structures within the community such as chiefs, queen mothers, elders, clan heads; the structures that form the units of organization in the community. Among them are the family, households, clans, indigenous associations and social networks and practices such as the rituals and rites of the people, the funerals, the dowry system, festivals, and the shrines or places of worship of the people (Kendie et al, 2004).

Even though the participation of traditional authority in the management of natural resources is crucial for sustainable conservation and management, it should be emphasized that some traditional authorities/institutions are non-democratic and where this is the situation the inclusion of traditional authority/institution can itself be a source of conflict.
Adjewodah and Beier (2004) for example have noted that the traditional authority in the Wechiau area is not democratic and that traditional leaders in the area perceive farmers and fishermen in and around the sanctuary as immigrants and therefore have inferior rights in taking decision regarding natural resource management. As a result of the difference in group status and the implication of group status on the social relationships of people around the sanctuary area, it was agreed that a new form of institution known as the sanctuary management board be responsible for the management of the sanctuary.

Even though the evolution of a new and all-inclusive management board is laudable it suffers a set back with the presence of the Paramount Chief of Wechiau as the Chairman of the Board. The presence of the paramount chief will affect group communication since immigrants’ members of the board will be hesitant in communicating their grievances for fear of victimization.

2.4.2 The Establishment of Protected/Tourist Sites in Ghana

The establishment of protected areas for the purposes of tourism has often been carried out in a centralized fashion thus disrupting the livelihood sources of the host communities (Akwotugu, 2006). This top-down approach to establishing tourism site is one of the reasons that explains the often resistance by host communities (Parris, 1997). Also, Akwotugu (2006) has observed that communal resistance to the development of tourist-related projects sometimes
occur as a result of the specific model of tourism development that is being used, a particularly model that gives the community the impression that they have been excluded from the operation of the tourist-related project. On the other hand Whelman (1991) is of the view that communities sometimes are hesitant or openly protest the development of tourist-related projects for fear of relocation. All these observations regarding communities’ motivation for resisting tourist-related concerns appeared to have been based on the communities’ observation of the negative consequences of the top-down approach in developing tourism projects elsewhere. In Ghana example can be cited of the establishment of the Mole National Park at Laribanga where the Frafra settlers were relocated.

In the case of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary (WCHS), Sheppard et al (2010) noted that it was established in 1998 in the heat of persistent pressures from the Government of Ghana regarding the need to conserve and protect the hippopotamus, plants and birds species found in the area. Unlike other tourist-related projects the early resistance of the communities towards government managed sanctuary informed government decision to adapt traditional authority systems, institutions, values and taboos in the conservation and management of a sanctuary located in ethnic heterogonous communities.
Therefore, when the sanctuary was finally formed in 1998 the various communities agreed to have their chiefs and opinion leaders represent them in the sanctuary management board so as to ensure that their interest (non-alienation from their land and its NRs) are catered for.

2.5 Conceptual Framework of Tourism

This section of the study reviews the various arguments put forward for the suitability or otherwise of one approach or another on tourism development for sustainable development. The section attempted to map out the evolutionary process of tourism development as a tool for sustainable development by perceiving the four stages or platforms of thinking as the starting point for a critical analysis of literature on tourism development and tourism as a tool for development. The four platforms of thinking are: the advocacy, the cautionary, the adaptancy, and the knowledge-based platforms Jafari (2001).

2.5.1 The Advocacy Platform

This platform of tourism development can be likened to the classical model of economic development and the modernization theory of development. Jafari (1989:20-21) in an attempt to categorize a number of write ups on tourism advocacy, emphasized the economic prospects of tourism. This emphasis is
based on the conviction that the industry is and will continue to remain labour intensive and has the tendency for generating large foreign exchange.

There will also be the benefits of inter-sectoral linkages due to tourism, ensuring the preservation and conservation of the built as well as the natural environment, the viability to a very large extent as an economic alternative in terms of diversification for many countries and or communities, last but not the least the ability to rejuvenate or revive traditions of the past and cultural performances. It emphasizes tourism as a business and that governments should create the enabling environment for investments in the tourism sector instead of controlling it. It also involves mimicking western tourism development paths instead of contextual and culturally sensitive development models.

The advocacy platform states that, the success and or failures of this theory depends on whether the society or societies involved are western oriented and receptive to change or traditional and (resisting change). The implication of this assertion is simply that “traditional” cultures have much to do when it comes to the failure of tourism to generate the needed development in developing countries such as Ghana. This also means that it beholds on these countries that want to successfully develop their tourism sector to prepare to invest in large-scale capital-intensive tourism facilities.
Therefore, this theoretical approach is pessimistic of the developing counties developing a meaningful or viable tourism industry without prior change of their cultural values/attitudes and without substantial capital investment within the complex tourism infrastructure with its concomitant facilities. This theoretical platform hinges on the fact that, for a successful economic development centred on tourism, the countries involved (third world countries) need to adopt the systematic Western style of tourism development followed by those European countries which first used them such as mass tourism (The Economist, 1989). It also envisioned the development of Western style socio-cultural institutions, values, norms and attitudes.

It is evident that the development of tourism by this model requires large capital investments which are unattainable by many Ghanaians but rather foreigners. This has implications for development such as: foreign invasion of the tourism sector leading to profit repatriation. The implication is that although tourism will attract foreign currency into the country, the money will not be spent in Ghana but sent to the home country of the foreign investors; many a tourist sites in Northern Ghana will not be developed in Northern Ghana for economic reasons. This is because the huge economic investments needed will not motivate the District Assemblies (the main agents of development and development financing) to develop tourist sites such as the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary and the Paga Crocodile Ponds.
This means local community members would have lost the benefits they stand to gain from the use of these tourist sites; and finally it will impede development or cause unnecessary modernization of some cultural practices and festivals and thus result in optimum resistance of those whose values and practices are subject to change.

It must however, be acknowledged that the advocacy platform of tourism development is a necessity for the optimum development of some tourist sites like the Game Reserve where sophisticated infrastructure such as airstrip, clinic, efficient communication equipment and comfortable vehicles are needed and are modestly available. Public-Private Partnership is needed for such development and there is the need for state intervention in policy formulation and the provision of basic infrastructure such as good roads and water.

### 2.5.2 The Cautionary Platform

Within the advocacy platform tourism enthusiasts, policy-makers and academics advocated for measure that will meet the growing tourism demand at all cost. This led to a reactionary and a one-sided approach to tourism development that meets only the needs of the tourists and requirements of tourism development without focusing on the negative consequences and benefits to the host environment. Recognition of this neglect gave rise to the cautionary platform (Balasubramanian, 2005). The cautionary platform calls
for some forms of control or regulation of tourism development so as to avert the negative consequences of the advocacy platform.

Cautionary platform portrays tourism from the advocacy theory point of view as an undesirable development strategy especially for third world countries because of some listed negative economic, social and cultural consequences. The message of the cautionary platform since the 1970s is mostly to remind the third world countries, (worshiping the advocacy platform views of tourism as the all-in-all or the panacea of economic development) that it will spell doom for them. The cautionary platform warns of the associated economic and socio-cultural cost of tourism to the host environment.

This message is quite relevant to the third world countries because: third world countries need to be cautious with tourism as a fast economic development tool, since it can only generates mostly seasonal and unskilled labour or jobs which cannot create sustainable source of income and these types of tourism also commoditized people together with their various cultures thus disrupts the basic structure of the host nation.

It must be noted that, the main negativity attached to the Advocacy Theory by the Cautionary Platform is that, the latter sees the argument of the former as being underlined by “mass” or conventional tourism. The proponent of this school of thought includes Seaward and Spinrad (1982) and Crick (1989).
The cautionary platform doubts and rejects vehemently the role of tourism in the development process of the third world countries. Some authors also describe the tourism industry as being neo-colonial or imperialist tool for development which only brings about elusive development to the third world countries and thus must be rejected if any third world country really wishes to develop via tourism (Britton 1989; Jomo, 1987).

Maluga (n.d), corroborates the cautionary platform, when he contends that tourism is one of the means through which the capitalist world perpetuates neo-colonialist activities and operations in the third world countries thereby making sure that these countries remain under-developed for a very long time if not permanently. Some adherents of this view cite reasons such as: the exploitative nature of advocacy platform model of tourism manifested in the centre–periphery dichotomy of the capitalist world system (Britton, 1989; Jomo, 1987).

Also, the cautionary platform believes and argues that tourism breeds vices and thus does more harm than good to the third world countries to the extent that an attempt to tie the socio-economic development ropes of the third world to this theory of tourism as a development tool will spell disaster. Some of the negative attendants of tourism development based on the advocacy platform include rebelliousness of the youth due to over exposure to the “Western life”, begging, gambling, organized crime, truancy among school going children,
drugs and prostitution (Cohen, 1983; Nicholas, 1976; Esh and Rosenblum, 1975). The main and most outstanding problem is the prostitution which is referred to as the “sex tourism” in the tourism parlance. In 1980, the weaknesses of conventional tourism development models led to the formation of the Ecumenical Coalition on third world tourism on the effects of tourism on third world countries.

The conclusion reached was that “conventional tourism wreaked more havoc than benefits to the recipients’ countries in the third world (Holden, 1984:7). During the deliberations, it came to light that, travesty of justice, the denial of human right, the erosion of human dignity and culture adulteration caused directly or indirectly through conventional tourism took the centre stage. These negative effects associated with conventional tourism called for a replacement which brought about the new and more acceptable and effective “alternative forms” of tourism which are community based, employ local resources and are relatively easy to manage and are not destructive.

The negative impact of the advocacy platform tourism on the development process of the third world as highlighted by the cautionary platform have led to a search for a more humane form of tourism which is termed the “alternative form of tourism development” (Smith and Eaelington, 1992).

In view of the concerns raised by the cautionary platform, there emerged an alternative form of tourism and tourism development often referred to as the
adaptancy platform. This approach gained currency in the 1980s and emphasized tourism that gives consideration to the effects of tourism and tourism development on the environment and its people. Since tourism based on the advocacy platform could promote the development of some negative practices such as homosexuality, prostitution and other deviant behaviours, the adaptancy platform calls for regulation and the development of alternative forms of tourism that are culturally enriching.

2.5.3 The Adaptancy Platform

This platform emerged in the 1970s as a result of the shortfalls which characterized the two previous theoretical platforms. This approach drew attention to the need for a more viable theory which became known as the “alternative forms of tourism development” (Jafari, 1989:23) which envisions some forms of tourism would have fewer negative impacts than the advocacy and cautionary models of tourism development. The basic stand of this theory is that conventional tourism cannot be said to be a viable development mechanism simply because it is unresponsive to the host community’s economic, cultural and environmental conditions or realities.

The theory argues that alternative forms of tourism will only be appropriate if tourism’s negative economic, socio-cultural as well as the environmental impact are to be reduced to the barest minimum if not eradicated completely. This new form ensures mutual benefits for both the host community and the
guest alike; it also improves communication between the host and the guest as well (Jafari, 1989:23). The alternative forms of tourism are argued to have the following characteristics economically: labour intensive; can be built on existing infrastructure; it possesses a higher multiplier effect; generate foreign exchange; complement the production of other economic activities (Jafari: 22).

The Adaptancy Platform like the Cautionary theory exposes and brings to light the cost element of the conventional tourism and goes further to propose alternatives to the conventional tourism such as: cottage tourism; small-scale tourism; controlled tourism; people to people tourism (Jafari, 1989: 23). This study agrees with this view of tourism development as a strategy for Ghana's development on the basis that the strength of the Adaptancy theory is that, tourism can be developed situational and in a culturally sensitive manner that would make its benefits retained in the community. This view is succinctly emphasised by Butler (1992:69):

Alternative forms of tourism penetrate into the personal spaces of residents, involve them to a much greater degree, expose often the fragile resources to greater visitation, expose the genuine article of tourism to a greater degree, proportionally may result in greater leakage of expenditure, and may cause
greater political change in terms of control over development than traditional or mass tourism.

Thus, alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism, community-based tourism emphasize on local ownership and control and management of tourist facilities.

It is however, noteworthy that, for alternative forms of tourism to be developed, there is the need to strengthen local institutions such as the Ghana Tourist Board, District Assemblies, the Area/Town/Zonal Councils, the Association of Chop Bar Operators and music and dance groups to match the task in the context of a global village.

The above view, suggests that tourism can be a vital tool for the development of Ghana if well managed, if well harnessed tourism-based development will go beyond Seer’s (1972) perception of development as reduction in poverty, unemployment and inequality. It is Seer’s (1972) view that if all three of these have become less severe, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development of the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result ‘development’, even if per capita income has soared.

Seer’s (1972) perception of development as in his definition falls short of how poverty, inequality and unemployment can be reduced in cultural enhancing
and sustainable manner by the poor themselves. The systematic reduction of these important variables (poverty, unemployment and inequality) of development in a sustainable and culturally-enhancing form is this study’s conception of development arising out of tourism. Therefore, the study concurs with Currey (1973 as quoted in Songsore, 2003:1) that development is seen as:

That process of change through which a society evolves the values, political leadership and other forms of social organisation necessary to mobilize and utilize resources in such a way as to maximize the opportunities available to many of its members, for realization to the fullest possible extent of their potential as human beings. Development must serve the interests of the majority; no society is perfectly homogenous, all are composed of competing interests and development must benefit some and harm others. But on chance, it must be the interests of the majority that are advanced.

Thus, this study concords that the standards of living of Ghanaians especially those in Northern Ghana can be raised through the appropriate and sustainable development of her tourist centres/sites in a culturally enriching manner to create employment, reduce poverty and inequality without jeopardizing its culture and environment. The study finally emphasizes a policy direction of
the development of tourism towards alternative forms so as to achieve greater development.

2.6 Trends and Contribution of the Tourism Industry to National Development

In Ghana the main natural tourism resources consists of 300 miles of coastline, lagoons, rich variety of flora and fauna, rivers, waterfalls, crocodile ponds and hippopotamus sanctuary. Aside these are cultural and historical monuments such as slave camps, forts, castles, festivals, church/missionary houses, mosque as well as artefacts. Such tourism potentials if harnessed can: help create job opportunities thereby reducing unemployment; bringing some form of foreign exchange into the country; open up of most of the hinterlands for development thereby ensuring income redistribution and also bring about a balanced regional development. This has the potential of reducing social vices and also tribal wars.

Outward-oriented growth development theorists argued that increased tourism may contribute to the diversification of the economic structure of developing countries particularly from an excessive dependence on traditional exports such as gold and cocoa (Brohman, 1996). In Ghana, governmental recognition of the economic significance of tourism to the economic development of the economy dates back to the 1960s. This is attested to by the establishment of the Ghana Tourist Corporation in 1962, Ghana Tourist Control Board and

It has been observed that within the West African Sub-region, Ghana possesses the greatest potential in terms of ability in benefiting from the tourism industry in the near future. This claim is rooted in the persistent improvement in Ghana's position among her sister West African nations (Akwotugu, 2004). The Ghana Tourism Board (2000) has observed, for example, that in terms of tourist destinations and income earnings on the African continent, Ghana ranked 19th in 1975; 16th in 1990, and 14th in 2000. The Ghana Tourism policy document reveals that tourism is the fourth largest source of foreign exchange earnings (estimated at US$650million in 2005) and contributes approximately 5% of the country's GDP. In terms of its contribution to formal employment, the tourism industry employs an estimated 150,000-200,000 people directly and indirectly. In terms of tourist arrivals in Ghana, it has increased steadily over the past 15 years from approximately 145,000 in 1990 to 600,000 in 2004 (MoT, 2006). There has also been remarkable success in total receipts from tourism and annual arrivals. For example, in 1988 Ghana's total receipts from tourist stood at a little over fifty-five million United States dollars (US$55m) but increased to three hundred and eighty-six million dollars (US$386m) by the end of 2000. Table 2.1 presents the annual total receipts from tourism since 1988 up to the year 2006.
It is also reported that all indicators of tourism development have shown a consistent growth trend: in terms of its contribution to GDP, contribution to foreign exchange earnings, number of tourist, total receipts, number of hotels, number of rooms, number of beds, hotel occupancy rates, number of restaurants, car hire companies, and travel and tour operators. Tourism also is said to be the fastest growing sector of the Ghanaian economy. For example, in the year 2004 Ghana recorded real tourism GDP growth of 10.3% (MoT, 2006). The sector is growing yearly as shown in Table 2.1 below:

**Table 2.1 Ghana's International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts: 1988-2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
<th>Receipts (US SM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>113,784</td>
<td>55.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>125,162</td>
<td>72.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>145,780</td>
<td>80.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>172,464</td>
<td>117.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>213,316</td>
<td>166.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>256,680</td>
<td>205.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>271,310</td>
<td>227.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>286,000</td>
<td>33.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>304,860</td>
<td>248.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>325,438</td>
<td>265.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>347,952</td>
<td>283.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>372,653</td>
<td>304.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>399,000</td>
<td>386.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>428,533</td>
<td>836.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>497,129</td>
<td>986.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** GTB Statistical fact sheet, 2000 cited in Akwotugu and GTB Statistical fact sheet 2006)
It is however noted that by the Ministry of Tourism that:

In spite of the substantial growth of the tourism industry recorded over the past 15 years, the true wealth-creating and poverty reduction potential of the sector is not fully grasped by policy-makers. Unless tourism is seen as strategically important to the development of Ghana and the necessary plans, policies, actions and resources to support this sector are put in place, tourism will remain a missed opportunity (MoT, 2006:13).

This, therefore, calls for the adoption of suitable models and strategies that will address both supply side challenges as well as demand side challenges while exploiting the potentials from both sides.

2.6.1 Strategies of Tourism Development: the Ghanaian Experience

According to Akwotugu (2004) the sustenance of biodiversity from reckless destruction has often been the main reason why governments acquire lands for purposes of protection, creation of nature reserves and national parks. Although governments normally use legislation to conserve fauna and flora, the use of legislation is based on a deterrence theory. Deterrence theory justifies why individuals or communal interest must not be allowed to pursue short-term selfish interest as is the case in rational choice theory. If states allow individual or communal short-term interest to reign supreme, then as a
seventh century poet, Hopkins puts it "after-comers cannot guess the beauty been". In the opinion of President Roosevelt of the United States preservation of nature by way of national parks must be seen as a democratic movement that will serve the interest and good of the citizenry (Sellars, 1997). This sort of political justification for the creation of national parks and reserves has positive consequence on the preservation of nature in the developing world. Others such as Chubb and Chubb (1981) have also argued that states create national reserves for the maintenance of environmental biodiversity and its concomitant provision of creation, leisure and improvement in the quality of life of the individuals.

Regardless of the fact that political rationalization/democratic and deterrence concepts have influenced the creation of natural reserves, Sellars (1997) contends that environmental policies in the developing world portrays a paradoxical model in the history of nature preservation. For example, he explains that national parks though often intended to preserve biodiversity, they also are meant to serve de facto corporate profit motives based on tourism. This view has been upheld by Butler (1991) and Young (1992) by supplying evidence where governments have emphasize the economic benefits of nature protection rather than its non-economic values such as environmental development. For instance, the Ghana draft policy on tourism states among others that:
Apart from generating foreign exchange earnings and revenue for governments, tourism has the potential to become a powerful tool in pro-poor development strategies. It has the ability to create jobs and wealth for local economies, as well as contribute to conserving natural resources. Tourism is an amalgam of visitors’ consumption of goods and services which include transportation, accommodation, food and beverage, recreation and entertainment, travel and tour operations, and souvenirs. It is envisaged that tourism will be one of the pillars of productive and sustainable source of national revenue, decent employment and poverty reduction (MoT, 2006:11).

Under the Seventh Draft Tourism Policy, Ghana’s tourism policy envisages a 20% per annum contribution to GDP by the end of 2007. To achieve this, the policy proposes a competitive and quality destination within the framework of respect for the country’s cultural, historical and environmental heritage. The tourism policy also set itself to upgrading and expanding the stock of tourist attractions, facilities, supporting infrastructure as well as tourism services. The draft policy further recognizes the need to improve the quality and standard of human resource in the tourism industry.

From the foregone and a critical analysis of the Draft tourism policy, it appears that Ghana's tourism policy is influenced by the definition -based model of ecotourism. Under this model the stakeholders of ecotourism or a
protected area are identified. Stakeholders are simply individuals or groups with legitimate interest in communal activity. They include facilitators, providers, visitors and host. Also the definition-based model has a set of guiding principles which include ethical issues and rules of conduct which direct the manner in which the purpose, setting and related activities at the tourism centre should be approached. For example, Ghana’s tourism policy document address the setting, purpose and activities and ethical issues by envisaging a competitive and quality destination within the framework of respect for the country's cultural, historical and environmental heritage.

Despite Ghana’s vast tourism resources coupled with the numerous efforts made by all the successive governments towards tourism development since the 1950s, the tourism industry in Ghana is not without challenges. Key constraints to the development and expansion of the tourism industry in Ghana have been broadly grouped as: supportive and conducive environment; quality of tourism products and services; marketing; financing of the industry; and management and administration (MoT, 2006). For example, owing to the inadequacy of funding the realization of the cautionary platform of tourism development in Ghana have only witnessed a modest success. This has often resulted in the situation where host communities are aggrieved because their common heritage is preserved for the benefits of the nation and thus take steps to destroy the environment to neutralise the system. This situation could have
been reversed if the Ghana Tourist Board were to be sufficiently endowed with both logistic and qualified personnel to carry out their mandate.

Notwithstanding these constraints the Ghana Tourist Boards regulates the tourist sector through policy formulation and development plans, by offering training to people in the Tourism Industry, ensuring standards and sanctioning poor service providers and the promotion of cultural tourism. Most of the inadequacies of tourism and its development however need the concerted efforts of Government, civil society and the private sector. The media especially has a bigger role in educating and informing people about the negative effects of conventional tourism therefore the need to promote alternative forms of tourism which would be beneficial to the Ghanaian society.

2.6.2 Contributions of Governments of Ghana to Tourism Development

In the first development plan after the country’s independence the sector received a significant attention it deserved, both the first and the second development plans officially recognized the tourism sector as one of the pillars on which the country’s socio-economic development could be built. Funds were allocated to the sector for the establishment of hotel accommodation as well as tourist sites or attraction development. Even though the second 7-year Development Plan 1963-1970 did not directly highlight tourism, it laid emphasis on the development of infrastructure and the hotel system with
which national tourism organization continued to enjoy the financial support of the then government. Again, though this development plan was short lived by the interruption of the military takeover in the 1966, the budgetary allocation to the tourism activities i.e. State Hotel Corporation and the National Tourism Organization continued. The powers that be at the time even made some changes that ultimately brought about an improvement and efficiency into the Tourism Sector at that time (see NLCD, 80).

After the coup makers handed over power to the next civilian government under the leadership of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia and his Progress Party (PP) (September, 1969; January, 1972), the Busia government also took a keen interest in the sector. For instance, the government appointed the Obuam Committee to undertake an inventory of Ghana’s tourism resources and make recommendations for the development of the industry (Obuam Committee Report, 1972). Though Busia’s government was overthrown in January 1972, the coup markers permitted the Committee to do its work and the findings and recommendations were accepted and incorporated into the National Medium Term Development plan for the period 1972-1978. Consequently, the plan allocated twenty million cedis (¢20,000,000.00) for the tourism sector development.

In 1985, tourism was designated as the forth economic pillar of the Ghanaian economy among agriculture, manufacturing, construction and mining.
(Investment Code, 1985). Since then, a number of tourism interventions have been proposed and adopted. For example, a tourism development plan covering the period 1992-1994 was formulated and under the Ghana Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II tourism was identified as a pillar of growth and poverty reduction.

2.6.3 The Extent of Support and Collaboration among Stakeholders in Tourism Development

Since the early 1990s, tourism has received considerable attention in the Economic Development Strategy of Ghana. The number of tourist arrivals and amount of tourist expenditure has steadily increased, while both public and private investment activity in the various tourism sub-sectors have expanded. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) Government under the leadership of Flt Lt. J. J. Rawlings established the Ministry of Tourism in 1993 to underscore its commitment to tourism development.

The government also received assistance from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for the development of a 15-year tourism development plan for the period of 1996-2010. Despite these plans, there still exist a lot of tourism potentials that need to be harnessed especially for the benefit of local community members. This compelled the Rawlings Government to collaborate with the United Nations Development Programme and the World Tourism Organisation to draw the Integrated Tourism
Development Programme (ITDP) (GTB, 1996). The ITDP is a comprehensive programme aimed at enhancing all players in the tourism industry to function collaboratively for the enhancement of the industry.

The National Tourism Development Plan (NTDP) 1996-2010 is one of the main components of the ITDP. The structure of the plan is to develop tourism development zones, tourist gateways, tourist stopovers, and tourist excursion routes within the country. The institutional elements include the organisation of the public and private sector organizational structures and coordination mechanisms, tourist legislation and regulations, tourism manpower planning and training and cooperation in developing and marketing tourism (GTB/NTDP, 1996).

Key in this plan is the concept of sustainable tourism and ecotourism development with the community members being important stakeholders. As a result there has been increased collaboration between the state, private sector and community members resulting in the establishment of some community based ecotourism sites (Ghana Tourist Board, 2011). With most of the tourist resources in Ghana being nature-based, a participatory development and management of these resources is imperative. Some of these natural tourist resources include: the Mole National Park, the Gbele National Park, the Paga Crocodile Pond and the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary.
With the participation of Nature-based NGOs like the Nature Conservation Research Centre and the Ghana Wildlife Society, communities are increasingly getting involved in the management of these tourist resources. The Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary, which is a collaborative effort between the Wechiau Traditional Area, Nature Conservation Research Centre and Calgary Zoo, is a classic example.

In 1992 Ghana ratified the United Nations Convention on Biodiversity Conservation (CBDC) as a sign of her commitment to international efforts aimed at conserving natural and cultural resources. However, the issue of decline in natural and cultural resource remained a challenge. This thus calls into question the efforts of state and community level institutions in conserving biodiversity (Yelfaanibe, 2009). Some scholars have attributed the failure in the management of natural resources to top-down approaches (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Groot and Maarleveld, 2000; Leach, Mearn and Scoones 1999; Lynam et al, 2007 cited in Yelfaanibe, 2007). For this group of scholars the solution to the problem lies in bottom-up approaches with a participatory, actor oriented and community-based responses to managing local natural resource stock.

Even though some scholars have advocated participatory approaches in the management of natural resources, natural resource management policy and practice have for some time ignored the cultural dimension of stakeholder
communities in the policy and practice. Even in the dawn of realization of the role of culture and cultural institutions in natural resource management, issues of spirituality and how it binds local people to the natural environment have been perceived through the lenses of Sacred Natural Site (SNS) such as sacred grooves and shrines (Yelfaanibe, 2009).

There is a dichotomy in the systems for managing natural resources in Ghana. Indigenous people in Ghana just as others the world over have evolved knowledge and practices that enabled them to co-exist with nature over the years, albeit in an unsystematised and undocumented fashion. Following the intrusion of Europe into Ghana a new structure of managing natural resources was superimposed on the Ghanaian systems, with the indigenous Ghanaian system being labelled inferior.

Formal institutions responsible for natural resource management in Ghana include the Forestry Services Division (FSD), the Game and Wildlife Division (GWLD), the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Natural Resource Management Sector. Formal institutions exist and draw their functions from their foundation laws and other statutes and edicts and thus function in almost the same manner across all cultures. Therefore, formal institutions responsible for managing natural resources are sometimes confronted with the challenge of applying their inherent rigidities to the cultural system. In some instance, the
incompatibilities between the formal institutions and the cultural system have led to unsustainable natural resource management policy and practice. For example, Whelan (1991) has observed that most discontent regarding creation of national parks often resolves around the exclusion of the host communities from the planning, administration, management of such projects whose implementation has negative implications for their livelihoods.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a profile of the Upper West Region and also a description of the study area for a better understanding of the study context. It then outlined the research design adopted by the study. The methodological approach of the study is a qualitative case study approach. Sampling techniques to be used and methods of data collection and analyses are also presented here.

3.2 Profile of the Study Area

3.2.1 Location and Land Area

The Upper West Region is located in the North-Western corner of Ghana. It lies between longitudes 1°25' W and 2°45' and latitudes 9°30' N and 11°N. Geographically, the region covers approximately 18,478 square kilometres. This constitutes about 12.7 per cent of the total land area of Ghana (GSS, 2005). The region is bordered to the North by the Republic of Burkina Faso, the East by Upper East Region, the South by Northern Region and the West by La Cote d’Ivoire. Weciau, which is the District Capital of the Wa West District, is the Study District. It is about 40km from Wa the regional capital.
3.2.2 Political Administration

The Upper West Region, with Wa as the regional capital, was formerly part of the then Upper Region which was itself carved out of the Northern Region in July 1960. In pursuance of the decentralization policy, the Government, in 1983, divided the Upper Region into Upper East and Upper West regions. Like other regions in Ghana, the Regional Co-ordinating Council (RCC), headed by the Regional Minister is at the apex of the political administration. Other members of the RCC include representatives from each district assembly, regional heads of decentralized ministries, and representatives of the Regional House of Chiefs.

Currently, there are eleven administrative districts, namely, Nadowli-Kaleo, Jirapa, Lambussie-Kani, Lawra, Nandom, Wa-West, Wa-East, Sissala-East, Sissala-West, Bussie-Daffiama, and Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region. These administrative units are headed by Municipal/District Chief Executives and supported by state departments and agencies. With respect to elections, each district is under the direct supervision of a District Electoral Officer who is a staff of the EC. Additionally, the districts are sub-divided into Zonal/Area/Town Councils, and Unit Committees which assist in the performance of key decentralized roles. Other stakeholders include the traditional leadership and Youth/Women Development Associations to facilitate efficient and effective mobilization of local resources.
3.2.3 Topography

The landscape is generally flat and about 300 metres above sea level with a central plateau ranging between 1,000 and 1,150 ft. The Black Volta and its tributaries drain the area-Kulpawn to the west and Sissili in the east (MTDP, 2006-2009). Wechiau, the study area is located alongside the Black Volta which very location complements the tourism opportunity offered by the sanctuary.

3.2.4 Climate

The climate of the region is one that is common to the three Northern regions. There are two seasons, the dry and the wet seasons. The wet season commences from early April and ends in October. The dry season, characterized by the cold and hazy harmattan weather, starts from early November and ends in the latter part of March when the hot weather begins, with intensity and ends only with the onset of the early rainfall in April. The temperature of the region is between a low of 15°C at night time during the harmattan season and a high of 40°C in the day during the hot season (Dickson and Benneh, 1988; GSS, 2005). Therefore, the hot and harmattan seasons are equally periods that foreigners particularly those from the temperate regions usually visit the Northern part of West Africa because of the sunshine.
3.2.5 Vegetation

The region is located in the guinea savannah vegetation belt. The vegetation consists of grass with scattered drought resistant trees such as the Shea, the baobab, dawadawa, and neem trees. The heterogeneous collection of trees provides all domestic requirements for fuel wood and charcoal, construction of houses, kraals and fencing of gardens. The shorter shrubs and grass provide fodder for livestock (Dickson and Benneh, 1988; GSS, 2005). The vegetation of the region offers opportunity for tourists to see drought resistant plant species in their natural environment.

3.2.6 Tourism Attractions of the Region

According to the Ghana Tourist Board (2010) prominent tourist attractions in the region includes: Gwollo Defence Wall: Remains of a wall built in the 19th century by Gwollo Kuoro Limann as a defence against slave traders for the local residents of that time; The Caves: Caves which served as refuge for inhabitants fleeing from slave raiders can be found in Bulenga and Sankana; Gbelle Game reserve: Located 17 km from Tumu in the Upper West Region is sanctuary for indigenous wildlife particularly the roan Antelope and is part of Ghana’s conservation programme; the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary: The community is a protected area consisting of 40km down the Black Volta River. It is home to many river hippopotamus, bats, chameleons, hedgehogs various types of snakes and lizards. It is an excellent place to see over two-
hundred and fifty bird species (www.ghanahippos.com). Culturally, are traditional Lobi homes in the same area (Ghana Tourist Board, 2010). This tourist attraction is the main spotlight of this study. Central among the study objectives is to investigate successful community involvement in the sustainable management of the tourist resources there.

**Summary of Profile of the Wa West District Assembly**

**Location and Size**

The Wa West District is one of the nine districts that make up the Upper West Region. It was created in 2004 by legislative instrument 1751. The District is located in the western part of the Upper West Region, approximately between Longitudes 9°40'N and 10°10'N and also between latitudes 2°20W and 2°50W. It shares borders to the south with Northern Region, North-West by Nadowli District, East by Wa Municipal and to the West by Burkina Faso. The total area of the district is approximately 1,856 square km. This constitutes about 10% of the region's total land area, which is estimated at 18,478 square km. Based on the location and the nature of the economic activities of the district, it is the food basket of the Wa Municipality.

**Tourism and Tourist Potential in the Wa West District**

The tourism potential of the Wa West District is found in its rich natural, cultural, historical and man-made attractions. These, however, have not received the needed support and development to exert their competitiveness
within the private sector. The most significant of them is the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary which is 18 km from Wechiau.

Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary is a community-based conservation initiative aimed at providing the Wechiau catchment area inhabitants with a source of revenue and improved quality of life whilst simultaneously offering protection to the flora and fauna found within the designated lands. Marketed as an eco-tourism destination, of particular interest is the hippopotamus population resident along this stretch of river. One of only two remaining hippopotamus populations within Ghana, a group consisting of approximately 20 individuals represents an important conservation priority. Management of the Hippopotamus Sanctuary lies squarely in the hands of the local residents. It consists of 40km revering forest and savannah woodland along the Black Volta and 17 communities in the District. It is worthy of note that aside the hippopotamus sanctuary there are other potential tourism sites in the District that can provide income to the district. These include the Ga crocodile pond and the Lobi Architecture. Besides, these natural and man-made sites, the culture of the people is also captivating. If coordinated well, these attractions could make the Wa West District a good tourist destination for local and foreign tourists. The major challenges the Sanctuary faces include: inadequate accommodation for visitor; lack of recreational facilities at the site; lack of canteen to serve visitors and unreliable transportation system.
Figure 3.1 Map of the Sanctuary Catchment Communities

Source: Wechiau Hippo Sanctuary Guide
Road Network

Good road infrastructure is one of the key needs for the development of any district, region or country. The nature of the road network can affect the quality of life and progress of the people and thereby influence their overall human development. Poor road conditions have the tendency to cut off population from the main marketing, health and educational centres whenever there is heavy rainfall. The total feeder road network in the district is about 456.30km. The District enjoys only about 20km of Bitumen road. Generally, a large chunk of the District is inaccessible, especially during the raining season.

Table 3.1 Road network and categorization in the Wa West District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF ROAD</th>
<th>GRAVEL LENGTH (KM)</th>
<th>EARTH LENGTH (KM)</th>
<th>TOTAL LENGTH (KM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineered</td>
<td>149.05</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>166.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially Engineered</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>74.15</td>
<td>84.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Engineered</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>205.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>456.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Feeder Roads (UW/R), 2009.

Table 3.1.1 Condition of Roads in the Wa West District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF ROAD</th>
<th>GOOD (KM)</th>
<th>FAIR (KM)</th>
<th>POOR (KM)</th>
<th>TOTAL LENGTH (KM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineered</td>
<td>72.55</td>
<td>94.30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>166.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially Engineered</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>74.15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>84.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Engineered</td>
<td>74.15</td>
<td>205.30</td>
<td>205.30</td>
<td>456.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Feeder Roads (UW/R), 2009.
The only tarred portion of the district roads are the Wechiau township roads and the Wa-Ga road. Generally, road infrastructure in the district is of average to poor quality. This can have a negative impact on economic activities and investment potentials.

### 3.3 Research Design

Research design refers to plans and procedures for a study which links the various parts of the research journey such as the literature review, the approaches and methods of data collection, data analysis and the conclusions and recommendations that arise from the research findings (Creswell, 2009). This study adopted a qualitative approach using a case study research design. The use of the case study is especially necessary for this study because as aptly put by Bacho (2001), qualitative case study design allows the researcher: “to wear wider lens spectacles that enable him to see both context specific issues and the phenomena as it exists and functions within each individual community environment and in relation to other on-going phenomena” (Bacho, 2001:78-79).

Marshall and Rossman (1995) have noted that the case study design views a phenomenon under study as a unique case within a given physical, socio-cultural, economic and political context. This study is a contextual study of how the Wechiau area has been able to conserve their tourist resource in a participatory manner. The nature of data required would be more narrative and
descriptive so as to enable the deeper appreciation of tourism development within the Wechiau region.

3.4 Sources and Methods of Data Collection

Data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources such as records of state institutions and information obtained from the interactions with individual stakeholders through a survey questionnaire and interviews. This is a widely accepted approach because various sources, tools and techniques employed by the researcher to collect data also enable him or her to cross-validate the sources of information and to detect inconsistencies in data (Twumasi, 2001; Kellaher et al, 1990). According to Leedy (1997: 101) data is primary when it lies closest to the source of the 'ultimate truth' underlying a phenomenon. Beyond the region of primary data lies the region of secondary data. In this study the primary data was first-hand information that was obtained from research participants using data collection instruments such as focus group discussion, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews which allowed both individuals and groups to recount their experiences and share their knowledge in relation to the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary.

In addition to the primary sources, secondary data such as the functions of the GTB and GoG’s contribution to the development of tourism were sourced from documents, reports, books, journals, newspapers and the internet in order
to review literature and provided other basis for examining issues during the process of data analysis and conclusions from the entire work. Also, the quality of data depends on the techniques used to collect the data. In this study, carefully chosen data collection techniques were used to cross-check data collected to ensure reliability and validity.

3.4.1 Qualitative data collection methods

Qualitative research methodology refers to a series of techniques, often used in social science research, whereby data is obtained from small group of research units and are analysed with or without statistical techniques. Usually qualitative data entailed a detailed, verbal description of characteristics, cases, and settings, themes and dimensions (Meurer, et al, 2007). Qualitative methods of data collection differ from conventional quantitative methods of data collection because the former use less of structured data collection tools.

3.4.1.1 Interviews

Interviews are well-formulated questions to probe and obtain responses from respondents (Twumasi, 2001; Karma, 1999; Panneerselvam, 2007). They can be divided into structured and semi-structured interviews. While structured interviews provide predetermined closed-ended answers for respondents to choose from, in semi-structured interviews, open-ended questionnaires are used and respondents are at liberty to give any answers (Karma, 1999; Twumasi, 2001). In this study both types of interviews were used. While closed-ended questionnaires were used to generate information on the socio-
by the use of questionnaires. This enabled the researcher to clarify views that were not clear by respondents or needed further probing done. This method was used to ascertain the level of involvement of the traditional leader in the planning and management of the hippopotamus sanctuary. In each of the six communities in the Sanctuary two in-depth interviews were conducted with the Assemblyman and the sub-chief about the processes involved in the formation of the Sanctuary. This was to enable the study tap information that exists with the purview of the institutions that they represent. Therefore, throughout the study twelve in-depth interviews were conducted at the community level while one in-depth interview was conducted with the Manager and his staff so as to validate the information on the processes of establishing the WCHS.

3.4.1.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs)

According to Sarantakos (2005:196) a focus group discussion consists of one or two researchers and several participants, mostly between five (5) and ten (10) persons, although with deviations, who meet as a group to discuss a given research topic. Similarly, Krueger (1988:18) outlines the features of a FGD as interviews: with people numbering between Seven (7) and 12 (Twelve) who; possess certain characteristics (relatively homogenous and unfamiliar but knowledgeable on the topic of concern), to: provide data; of a qualitative nature; and in a focused direction. FGDs are therefore purposive discussions with a particular group which is knowledgeable in a topic to solicit
information from the viewpoint of the focus group. These discussions were held separately and in perspective of discussants work. The FGDs was used because it is a technique that:

yield a large amount of information over a relatively short period of time and because it seeks to illuminate group opinion, the method is especially well suited for socio-behavioural and cultural specific research that will be used to develop and measure interventions that meet the needs of a given population (Mack et. al., 2005:64).

In this research, the participants for a focus group ranged from 5 to 10 and together with the researcher acting as facilitator in the discussion by asking participants to respond to open-ended questions while his research assistant took detailed notes on the discussions that ensued. Through this method the study was able to yield large qualitative data over a relatively short period of time in the field. In each of the six study communities FGDs were used to obtain qualitative information regarding the processes involved in the formation of the WCHS and in discussing with and without benefits of the WCHS. Participants in these FGDs included the chiefs and their sub-chiefs on the one hand and the Assemblyman and his unit Committees on the other hand. The Management and staff of the Sanctuary also constituted a FGD where they were allowed to discuss and review the processes that culminated into the formation of the Sanctuary. These groups were all engaged through
FGDs not just to obtain voluminous qualitative data but to ensure cumulative validity in the findings, by ensuring that misrepresentations and biases expressed in one group are cross-checked with another group and the bias weeded out. Thirteen FGDs were conducted throughout the study.

3.4.1.4 Appreciative Enquiry

Since the study sought to ascertain the successes and failures of the WCHS, the use of appreciative enquiry as an instrument of data collection to challenge community members especially to enumerate their success was deemed appropriate and as such used extensively. Appreciative enquiry is a unique life affirming research method and technique of data collection based on the principle of participation, collaboration and provocative prepositions (Elliott, 1999) which seeks to build on the strengths of a group based on the four (4) Ds Cycle of Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny (der Haar and Hosking, 2004; Murrel, 1999). As a technique of data collection, respondents’ roles in the establishment and running of the Sanctuary were acknowledged. This paved the way for the respondents to recount other successes after they were challenged that they could have done better given the circumstances. This challenged compelled them to bring out the challenges they face in trying to justify that they did their best.
3.5 Sampling Technique

Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of population for the purpose of study (Panneerselvam, 2007; Dooley, 2007). The rationale is to make generalization or to draw inferences based on the study of the samples about the parameters of population from which the samples are taken (Yin, 2003). Sampling approaches include probability sampling in which all segments of the population have equal chances of inclusion into the sample (Panneerselvam, 2007; Osuala, 2005). On the other hand, in non-probability sampling the subsets of a population to be studied are selected on unequal chances basis (Dooley, 2007). Therefore, in non-probability sampling, sampling units are chosen not by chance but for a purpose (Maxwell, 2007). Guided by the nature and study design for the study, a two-stage purposive sampling was adopted.

3.5.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is one in which “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 1997:87). Welman and Kruger (1999) assert that purposive sampling is considered as the most important kind of non-probability sampling in order to identify the primary research participants. This technique was used to identify key actors of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary. These actors include
traditional rulers and community members, government and nongovernmental partners as well as Sanctuary Committee Members in each sanctuary community. These groups were sampled purposively and some individual heads were purposively selected because of the role they play and their experiences.

**Selection of Study Communities and Recruitment of Study Participants**

The study was conducted in the Wa West District of the Upper West Region. This District was purposively selected because of the presence of the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary there. In the district the following groups of people were targets of data collection; Management of the WCHS, Traditional Leaders and representatives of the young men and women from the catchment communities. Again, these targets were purposively selected because their work border on the goal of the study. The Paramount chief of Wechiau and other sub-chiefs of communities such as Dornye, Dorgber-pare, Teme, Kpang-Fare and Tankara were purposively sampled for the data collection. This is because of their main status as the custodians of the land and users of the natural resources at the Sanctuary. These chiefs were engaged through in-depth interviews to extensively discuss their efforts in enhancing community participation in the sanctuary management in the area. Also, the chiefs were purposively sampled in order for the study to be able to unravel how they (chiefs) have been able to engage other stakeholders like the Government of
Ghana and the Calgary Zoo of Canada as well as the Nature Conservation and Research Centre for an enhanced community resource management.

All seventeen (17) communities consisting of the Sanctuary were purposively selected by virtue of their membership of WCHS. Community members resident in the area were also targets of data collection. Data were solicited from community members on their involvement in the management of the resources; livelihood changes as a result of their involvement and general perceptions about their engagement were ascertained through the individual interviews. In each of the 17 communities involved, a quota of at least 5 respondents were sampled and interviewed. Individuals were also purposively sampled for survey interviews and this ensured that respondents included at least a boatman, a ranger, a guide, a women and a youth in each study community. In all, One hundred and Thirty-Three (133) individual interviews were held in all the 17 sanctuary communities.

The research Team, accidentally met a team from the Calgary Zoo of Canada and therefore their views on level of inclusiveness in the management of the sanctuary; their motivation to partner the Wechiau community; how and form of their role in the creation and management of the sanctuary; the perceived achievement arising from the collaboration and the challenges of the collaboration were accidently collated and integrated into the study. Governmental stakeholders in the management of the sanctuary basically
included the Wa West District Assembly and the Ghana Tourist Board. Government level stakeholders were also purposively sampled to ascertain level of involvement in the management of the sanctuary, their motivation for involvement how revenue from the sanctuary is disbursed. Purposive sampling was used because the study needed to contact Department and officials of the Departments who have had long period of interaction with the operations of the sanctuary.

3.6 Sample Size

According to Mack et al, (2005) qualitative researchers usually use a subset/sample of the entire population of the study for their investigation. However, how many sample elements are included in the study is dependent on the study objectives, the size and heterogeneity/homogeneity of the population. In this study, one hundred and thirty-three (133 participants) were contacted through self-administered questionnaire; twenty-one (21) respondents contacted through in-depth interviews; and sixty-six (66) respondents were approached through focus group discussion. A total sample size of two hundred and twenty respondents was contacted throughout the study. The number of respondents contacted was not intended to generalise the findings of the study to the common views of the population but to explore into the potential and challenge of stakeholder participation in the management of the sanctuary.
3.6.1 Sample Units

Sample units are simply the elements or the set of elements considered for inclusion into the sample in a sample process (Babbie, 2005). Therefore the sample units cover the population to be studied or the working universe of the sample population. For the purposes of this study the sample units included chiefs, tindamba, heads of stakeholder formal institutions, and the youth and women opinion leaders. Sanctuary Committee members consisting of Boatmen, Rangers and guides were also part of the sampling units. These units were deemed desirable for recruitment into the study because their view represents the various clusters in the host communities and also because of their prior involvement in the management of the sanctuary.

3.7 Techniques of Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves the searching of patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups (Karma, 1999) as well as examining them for consistencies and inconsistencies between knowledgeable informants and finding out why informants agree or disagree on issues on the subject matter (Bernard, 1990). Qualitatively, all field notes from in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were re-written in much detail to reflect the views expressed by the participants ‘within 24 to 48 hours’ (Mack et al, 2005:104). The field notes also classified into themes under different case categories and
synthesized using descriptive narratives to reflect the collective opinion of each different case category for purposes of data analyses.

The study used the daily resume or summaries of findings from the field such that issues that were not clear were further investigated the following day. This is in line with Yin (2003)'s view that data analysis is not a separate stage of research and therefore can be done alongside data collection. Even though this study is largely qualitative in nature, quantitative data which were collected by structured questionnaires were analysed by the use of Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) to prepare and present graphs, percentages and tables that aided in the analysis of qualitative data.

### 3.8 Validity and Reliability

Data were managed by saving multiple copies of secondary data in secured computers. For the primary data daily summaries of finding were made and saved in both soft and hard copies for easy retrieval. Structured interviews conducted similarly were entered daily by a competent data entry person and securely saved. Validity is the extent to which a measurement technique measures what it purports to measure (American Psychological Association, 1985; Schweigert, 1998). To ensure reliability, the study adopted methodological triangulation method where multiple techniques were used to collect the same data for cross-methods analysis. Also, ten (10) trained research assistants were engaged to collect the data. Data collected were
crosschecked to ensure that it reflected respondents’ perceptions. On the other hand, for the study to achieve validity of the study results, triangulation of data sources and methods was employed in the study i.e. both qualitative and quantitative methods of obtaining the data of interest was used. This will serve to increase the validity of the qualitative inquiry and reliability of its findings (Meurer et al, 2007)
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

This chapter contains the views of research participants on the various research question of the study. The views of study participants contained in this chapter were elicited through data collection instruments such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and appreciative enquiry.

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

In order to obtain information regarding socio-demographic characteristics of respondents the study employed closed-ended questionnaires. The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents is relevant because it gives a description of the background information of respondents such as sex, age, occupation, religion and ethnicity which are crucial in the analysis and interpretation of the data for example in terms of the typicality of the study participants to the entire population of the sanctuary communities.

4.1.1 Sex Distribution of Respondents

The study revealed that out of a sample of one hundred and thirty-three respondents sixty eight percent (68%) were males and thirty-two per cent (32%) females. Males were the majority in the sampled population because of their traditional roles as leaders of families and lineages as well as owners of
cultural resources such as lineage/clan gods and land. Therefore, to understand the dynamics as a result of the creation of the sanctuary and its implications on livelihood of lineages and families, it was proper to consult the adults and household heads who are mainly men. Additionally, the sanctuary committee chairpersons were men and the associated people such as boatmen and guides are also men. There is therefore more male involvement in the sanctuary management than female.

4.1.2 Occupational Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Tourism and its development have been observed to be the source of employment for countries, regions and communities with tourism sites (MoT, 2006). Therefore, this study sought to describe the occupational distribution of the respondents by gender so as to understand how far the Wechiau Hippopotamus Sanctuary has been able to create employment for the people of the community and across genders. From figure 4.1 it can be observed that 67 percent of the respondents who worked directly as WHCS staff were men as opposed to 33 percent representing women. What this observation suggests is that even though the village level committees have women representation, at the time of the study there was no gender parity in appointing people to work at the Sanctuary. This situation deserves particular attention in the sense that supporting activity such as boat operation (as shown in figure 4.1) is an entirely male dominated activity, thus the Sanctuary and its operation risk being
a source of social and economic inequality. It can also be observed that most of the activities associated with the major occupations of the people living around the sanctuary area to a greater extent depend directly on the environmental resources of the sanctuary, requiring attitudinal and occupational transformation to meet their livelihoods as well as conserve the environment.

Figure 4.1 Occupational Distributions of Respondents by Gender

![Occupational Distributions of Respondents by Gender](www.udsspace.uds.edu.gh)

**Source:** Field survey, 2012
4.1.3 Age Distribution of Respondents

Figure 4 indicates that the ages of most respondents of the study are skewed towards the youthful age groups, i.e. between ages 20-49. Only twenty five percent of the respondents are within the aged age group. This is explained by the fact that most of the elders of the various catchment communities constituted participants in the in-depth interviews and FGDs hence the need to purposively recruit the youth into the questionnaire. The youth were also targeted to answer the questionnaire because of their ability to read, write and understand the import of the questionnaires.

Figure 4.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

Source: Field Survey, May 2012
4.2 Assessing the Processes Involved in the Establishment of the WCHS

The study sought to ascertain through FGDs the natural and social factors that motivated the establishment of the sanctuary. The common opinion of participants of the FGDs in the various communities were the hippopotami, birds and endangered traditional medicinal plants that attracted the government and the District Assembly’s attention in developing the area into a tourist site. Discussants indicated that some traditional medicinal plants like “kog-tii” and “yiela” which are considered as endangered plants in other parts of the Upper West Region are found in the area. Sheppard et al (2010) observed that the communities living around the catchment area of the sanctuary had taboos, gods and totems resident in the catchment area of the sanctuary. This was corroborated by discussants at the FGDs when they indicated that the project was well received because most of the communities have cultural attachment to the plants, animals, birds and sacred groves in the forest hence conserving them was a welcome opportunity. Aside the vision and instrumentality of the Wechiau Naa, respondents were of the view that, the over bearing influence of the Wechiau Naa over the settler communities accounted largely for the successful implementation of the ecotourism project in Wechiau. This is because he had influence in mobilizing the settler communities into accepting the ecotourism concept. At Talewona, a Birifo community a discussant extolled the pro-activeness and determination of a
former Wechiau Naa in ensuring that his people's welfare is not jeopardised by way of the establishment of the sanctuary in the following words:

but for the foresightedness of the then Wechiau Naa, Naa Bayon Doguah II, we would not have been here talking to you. We would have relocated to other places because the Game and Wildlife people wanted to make here a game area. But when the chief was approached by the Game and Wildlife Division he indicated his displeasure in losing his people to the creation of a park in the area. The chief was so proactive that he gave the Game and Wildlife Division an alternative of mobilising the people to protect the hippopotami and other species of plants, animals and birds found in the area.

Another factor that accounted for the successful implementation of the project was the research work done by the Nature Conservation Research Centre and the Calgary Zoo of Canada. For instance, the Tokali Naa in an interview indicated that the expert advice from the NCRC was what informed the model of community-governed ecotourism sanctuary. Aside this, the Tokali Naa also singled out the level of cooperation the various community leaders received from their members for commendation. In this regard, Naa Walaman I noted that:
Largely, I would say our people are generally a peaceful and co-operative people. Even though, we have had some issues with some community members, I do not think this is too much and this is what is keeping the Sanctuary going. The Sanctuary as we see it today is a result of concerted and collaborative efforts by various groups of people for about four years before it was formally formed. We held several and lengthy meetings, discussions and consultations at each stage and in fact we still need a lot of collaboration to sustain the success of the project.

The observation made by the Tokali Naa on the need for sustained collaboration brings to the fore the need for the state actors and the non-state actors to constantly review the partnership arrangement as well as the model and principles guiding the operation and management of the sanctuary so as to ensure that the needs and fears of all stakeholders are addressed at all stages of the project.

On the specific processes that resulted in the formation of the sanctuary the study held in-depth interviews with Executives of the Sanctuary Management Board and sub-chiefs and tindamba of the catchment communities.

Throughout the interviews, interviewees agreed that the trigger for the establishment of the Sanctuary was a decision by the Gbele Game Reserve of the Game and Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission to convert the
present Sanctuary area into a government protected game reserve in order to adequately protect the hippopotami in one of the only two hippopotami groups areas in the country. When the idea was communicated to the community through the paramount chief of Wechiau Traditional Area, the chief feared, with the establishment of a Game Reserve his people will be relocated outside his territory and thus rescinded the idea. However, this view was countered by some tindamba that, it was the various earth priests who resisted the creation of the National Reserve when the Wechiau Naa informed them about the intention of the government. Their reason for dissenting was the fear of losing their lands and their gods. Even though the paramount chief did not want to lose his people, the farmers in the area also persistently complained about the destruction of their farms by the hippopotami. As such, farmers hunted hippopotami thus further reducing the hippopotami population in the country.

This state of affairs at Wechiau coupled with the anticipated adverse effects that the construction of the Bui dam may have on the hippopotami in the Bui area constituted a source of worry for conservationists and the Game and Wildlife Division. It should be noted that, left onto the Tokali Naa, Naa Danyagiri Walamana I and the then Wechiau Naa, Naa Bayon Doguah II, the Government of Ghana would have taken control of the area as a National Reserve to protect the endangered hippopotami, and but the earth priests/tindamba vehemently opposed to state control of the area. This disagreement from the tindamba frustrated the state from taking over the area.
despite several persuasions and pressures on the traditional leadership to rescind their decision.

Meanwhile with the increasing threat of the hippopotami being disturbed by the construction of the Bui dam an innovative way had to be found to protect the hippopotamus in Wechiau. Therefore, in 1997, the Executives of the Nature Conservation Research Centre, the Game and Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission and the Ghana Tourist Board met chiefs and people of the Wechiau Traditional Area and discussed the possibility of establishing a community-owned and community-managed hippopotami sanctuary in order to protect the hippopotami.

Being the first of its kind in the country, a series of meetings had to be held to explain the concept to the chiefs and stakeholders about how community-owned and community-based ecotourism works and the benefits that will accrue community members. The Chiefs and opinion leaders finally accepted the concept of community-managed Sanctuary to protect the hippopotami and other plant and animal species and also improve the livelihood of the people. Hence, the concept of community-based ecotourism was embraced.

Following the agreement, the Wechiau traditional area then formally invited NCRC for expert support in the establishment of Sanctuary. Other nature conserving bodies like the Calgary Zoo of Canada and the Peace Corps were also involved. Their role remained supporting the Traditional Council with
expert advice and also supported them to source funding for the Sanctuary activities. Through consultations with the technical group the Tourist Development Committee was established in 1999 to see to the smooth implementation of the community-based ecotourism project in Wechiau. Initially the Committee was composed of only the Chiefs and opinion leaders of Wechiau and Tokali but was extended to include all present day sanctuary communities’ leadership and interest groups like fishermen, boat operators and farmers.

Also, through communal labour, an old government building was renovated in Wechiau to be used as Tourist (Visitor) centre in 1999. Peace Corps also supported a local community known as Talewona to construct a four (4) room lodge based on the local architecture of the area at Talawona the same year. With the provision of auxiliary facilities, the stakeholders saw the need to conduct a reconnaissance survey to demarcate the Hippopotamus Sanctuary area. Therefore, financial support was sought from the Calgary Zoo of Canada and the technical support of NCRC to conduct a reconnaissance survey which constituted the basis for the formulation of the Sanctuary Development Plan. As a result a development plan for the Wechiau Hippopotami sanctuary was drafted and approved by the TDC in 1999.

The Tourism Development Plan (1999) changed the name of the Tourism Development Committee to Sanctuary Management Board (SMB) to take
charge of the administration of the Sanctuary in 2000. The membership of the SMB was also broadened to include minority ethnic groups such as the Lobi. It was the SMB which established the rules and regulations for the management of the Sanctuary. These rules and regulations spelt out the guidelines to human activities in the sanctuary area such as non-timber and forest products use. According to participants at in-depth interviews and FGDs, these rules and regulations did yield the desired results because, in their view, their inability to read and write made it impossible for them to be able to interpret the rules and regulations guiding the operation of the sanctuary.

There is therefore the need to communicate these rules and regulations to the catchment communities using traditional media forms such as story-telling, dance and music. This therefore means that, sustainable ecotourism can only occur when there is good leadership, strong community commitment, genuine continuous consultation with stakeholders at all stages, technical support and public education.

4.3 Institutional Collaboration in the Management of the Sanctuary

The National Tourism Development Plan 1996-2000 envisages collaboration between private and public sector in the development and management of tourism sites.
An in-depth interview with the Manager of the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB) and the Coordinating Director of the Wa West District Assembly (WWDA) revealed that the District Assembly and the Ghana Tourist Board have been collaborating in taking policy decisions concerning the sanctuary and in providing support services for the development of the sanctuary. For example, through collaboration between the Ghana Tourist Board and the District Assembly bye-laws relating to the preservation of the sanctuary have been enacted. These bye-laws demarcate the river/area south of Talewona as no fishing zone and no perching of camps whatsoever within the core zone.

Aside the internal inter-governmental agencies collaboration, the management of the sanctuary have since its establishment, collaborated with non-governmental organisations such as the Calgary Zoo of Canada and the United States Agency for International Development. The management of the sanctuary has received diverse forms of support from the private sector partners ranging from research to the provision of logistics to promote the sanctuary.

It was revealed during one of the in-depth interviews that the Peace Corps is the pioneer external partner and that it was a research conducted by the Peace Corps that identifies the catchment area as a viable place for the sitting of the Sanctuary. It was further acknowledged that the Earth Watch Institute of United States also helped in conducting a baseline survey to determine the
usefulness of the area as a sanctuary. The Institute also provided funds and pieces of information through its numerous research works for the sanctuary to improve upon its activities.

Moreover, the Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC) and Calgary Zoo of Canada provided funds for the construction of lodges at Talawona and Tankara and continue to provide technical advice to improve the activities of the Sanctuary. These lodges were built with local materials and architecture and the lodges are still in use. They also placed the Sanctuary on their websites, provided solar electrification to some sanctuary communities, billboards to advertise the sanctuary and were also involved in the publication and distribution of sanctuary brochures, booklets, stickers and T-shirts.

Furthermore, the Wa West District Assembly (WWDA) helped in the education of the people on the need to promote ecotourism in order to uplift their lives and conserved the environment. The WWDA is also rehabilitating and constructing roads linking the communities for easy transportation within the sanctuary. More so, the filming of the sanctuary for nationwide and worldwide viewing by Ghana Television (GTV) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has opened up the area to attract more tourists and donors. Finally United States Aid for International Development (USAID) in collaboration with SNV Netherlands provided funds for the construction of a visitors’ centre and the purchase of equipment like life jackets, water filters
and rubbish containers to improve upon sanitation within the Sanctuary. Along with Friends of Wechiau, USAID awarded scholarships to brilliant but needy students within the sanctuary to further their education.

4.3.1 Traditional Institutions and their Collaboration with the Formal Institutions

Approaches to natural resource management has gone through some amount of paradigmatic shifts from purely cultural management systems to state controlled managements and with the wind of democratisation back to state-private sector and community level partnership (Ribot and Larson, 2004 cited in Yelfaanibe, 2009). Therefore, the study through in-depth interviews sought to ascertain the level of collaboration between the traditional institutions (the chieftancy institution and office of the earth pries) and the formal institutions in the management of the sanctuary. Traditionally, the Chief of Wechiau is the political administrative head of the Wechiau paramountcy.

The functions and responsibilities of the Chief regarding the management of the sanctuary include the following: mediate in disputes between residents of communities close to the sanctuary, the management staff at the sanctuary secretariat, together with sub-chiefs enacted and enforced community level by-laws on the activities related to the sanctuary and ensure the bottom-up communication by receiving and sharing information on the sanctuary from
the District Assembly, the Ghana Tourist Board and their partners with community level stakeholders.

From the FGDs and in-depth interviews, it was observed that although the Paramount Chief of Wechiau is aware of his functions as spelt out by the District Assembly by-laws relating to the sanctuary, they are hardly enforced. This is because he has little influence in terms of managing the sanctuary because he neither owns nor controls the entire resources within his jurisdiction. The main constraint for the Chief is the fact that there is no community-wide mechanism to coordinate, control and regulate the sharing of benefits from the sanctuary.

This affirms Hardin's (1968) assertion that the non-sustainability in the management of common resources is mainly because of the lack of institutional governance and coercion to enforce sustainability measures and avoid free riding.

In order for the paramount chief to be able to carry out his duties and responsibilities conferred on him by the bye laws of the Assembly, demands that he is given some amount of judicial powers to dispense justice. However, the paramount chief of Wechiau suffers a setback in the enforcement of bye laws as a result of lack of powers, contradicts Beier's (2004) observation that the traditional leadership in Wechiau is undemocratic in its dealing with the immigrant population. Hence one would have expected such an undemocratic
leadership to be able to implement bye laws that were collectively promulgated by the catchment communities and the District Assembly.

Also, FGDs re-emphasised the fact that the tindana is the custodian of the Earth god and he exercises oversight responsibility over the land and all the natural resources found on the land or ancestral property of the community. However, as a traditional priest he is responsible for all spiritual matters regarding land and all common property resources. In promulgating community by-laws, it is the Tindana who invokes the spirits of the gods and ancestors to deal with people who break the laws so enacted. Even though the tindana wields a lot of spiritual power, it appears not to be visible in the eyes of officialdom due to several years of misunderstanding of the role of the tindana as offering of libation and other sacrifices.

It can be observed from appendix IV that the level, forms and purpose of interaction among the various stakeholders is open, less structured and therefore can generally be ranked as very good by the various stakeholders.

4.4 Benefits of the Sanctuary to the Communities

The Ghana Tourism Policy (2006) indicates that tourism exist to achieve both foreign exchange earnings as well as serve as a tool for poverty reduction at the community in which the tourism site is located. In order to understand whether there are benefits accruing from the sanctuary to the communities, the
study through the use of FGDs and in-depth interviews solicited the views of individuals, community leaders and institutional heads and the common benefits which cut-across all the FGDs and the in-depth interviews include: economic, social and environmental benefits.

4.4.1 Economic Benefits of the Sanctuary

Sellars (1997) contends that environmental policies in the developing world portray a paradoxical model in the history of nature preservation. For example, he explains that national parks though often intended to preserve biodiversity, they also are meant to serve de facto corporate profit motives based on tourism. In this vein the study attempted to unravel the economic benefits that accrue to the catchment communities of the sanctuary. The study suggests that the major benefit of the sanctuary is the ever increasing tourist arrival with its attendant revenue. Apart from revenues which accrued to the sanctuary in the form of fees and licenses, many other economic benefits accrued to the community included the provision of improved road networks and creation of more employment opportunities and the upgrading of the skills of some community members. For example, the project development partners (NCRC and the Calgary Zoo of Canada) have provided two hundred (200) solar electrification units to some households within the Sanctuary at a subsidized price. The solar enabled fisher folks to smoke their fish even at night while their wards use the solar lights to read at night. Craftsmen such as carpenters...
and weavers stated that with the presence of the solar lights they are able to engage in their activities at night while they undertake farming activities in the day.

Table 4.1 is a summary of the earnings of the Sanctuary since 1999 gotten from the Sanctuary Management Board, Secretary. These revenues accrue from fees from visitors, fines and sale of souvenirs. The increasing number of visitors by the year is an indication that the Sanctuary is getting well known and is being patronized. In a discussion with SMB members, it was noted that the earnings accrued are used to defray the overhead costs of the centre such as paying the cooks, the boatmen and guides. The rest of the monies are then used for other development activities as agreed by the SMB.

More so, the study revealed that the presence of the sanctuary has created employment such as boat operation, rangers and guards for the indigenous people. Aside these direct employment activities, according a study participant the sanctuary served as a forward linkage to activities such as trading and craftwork which are environmentally friendly.

According to participants of FGDs at the community level, the opportunity to generate income in the form of direct employment (people are employed as Tour Guards, Cooks, Craftsmen/Women, Rangers, Caretakers and Boatmen) and trading activities have led to the conservation of the land, reduced the rate
of deforestation thus conserving plants, animals and water bodies in the catchment area of the sanctuary.

Table 4.1: Number of Visitors and Revenue from the WCHS from 1999-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Non-Residents</th>
<th>Total (Res/N.Res)</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>426.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>1,397.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>2,726.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>8,114.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>5,073.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>7,551.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1183</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>11,725.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>15,867.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>2270</td>
<td>25,695.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>14,493.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td>2488</td>
<td>45,914.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Secretary, Sanctuary Management Board, June 2012.
The visit or compound tours by tourists to local breweries (pito) and crafts Centre’s brings income through the buying of pito and craft, article as providing advertising through the filming of their products for wider publication in the print and electronic media.

4.4.2 Environmental Benefits of the sanctuary

Through the administration and analysis of the interviews, it was revealed that each sanctuary committee had an anti-bush fire volunteer team responsible for preventing and curbing bush fires in their respective communities. The establishment of the Sanctuary also awaken the people’s consciousness about the environmental protection. This has increased tree planting activities in the various communities as well as promoting careful use of forest resources within the various communities. These environmental activities of the community members have resulted in an improvement in the vegetative cover along the Black Volta River in the sanctuary.

The conservation of the sanctuary’s environment through ecotourism had helped in conserving some plant and animal species such as royal python, kingfisher, hippopotami and patas monkeys which were becoming extinct. This has enhanced the attraction of the sanctuary to tourists from all walks of life because of the diversity of plants, animals and birds living in their natural habitat.
Even though communities along the sanctuary support the preservation of the plant and animal species in the sanctuary for various benefits including environmental benefits, participants in the FGDs identified some problems associated with the establishment of the sanctuary. Participants across communities mentioned that their farms especially those farming closer to the core zone were mostly destroyed by the wildlife (hippopotamus) making crop yield low. There was also a growing concern about the uncontrolled fishing activities in the sanctuary by communities from the Burkina Faso side of the Black Volta, which can derail the conservation of fish species at the sanctuary. During FGDs at Talewona, participants alleged that deforestation, hunting and fishing within the reserved zone of the Sanctuary do go on by the people in the nearby communities from Burkina Faso. This poses a serious threat to the sustenance of the Sanctuary and communities along the sanctuary feared that they may be the end losers if measures are not taken to prevent the Burkinabe’s from exploiting their resources. This is because they have already lost large tracts of farmlands to the sanctuary.

4.4.3 Social Benefits of the Sanctuary

The study observed that the existence of the sanctuary had improved market opportunities for small-scale businesses such as beverage sellers, tailors and crafts business. Participants mentioned that the presence of the sanctuary has boosted the image of Wechiau at both the national and international arena as
tourist from across the world pay visit to the site. More so, the study noted that the presence of the sanctuary has led to the rebirth of some decaying cultural practices such as *bine*, a Birifo cultural dance.

It was noted that most of the Sanctuary executives such as the Tokali Naa, Naa Gore II travelled on many occasions to Canada and Spain on account of the Sanctuary. This has brought about some pride to the area.

A female participant at a FGD indicated, that, the bottom-up approach in soliciting the views of all stakeholders in the process of setting up the sanctuary has built their capacity and given them self-confidence in taking decisions that affect them. For example a woman at Teme observed that:

The approaches adopted to involve our community in the processes leading to the creation and operation of the sanctuary have made me to believe that together as a people we can achieve whatever task we set for ourselves. If for nothing, but the fact that we have been able to come together as a people to decide to eschew hunting, bushfires, fishing and harvesting of oyster shells within the sanctuary is a demonstration that we can solve most of the problems that bedevilled us if we are committed. In the beginning I was quite sceptical about it and asked myself will it work? It was my belief that this was going to give once more an opportunity for the indigenes to lord it over the settlers and deprive us of our source of livelihoods. In the end I was proved wrong when I saw both settlers and indigenes alike
perceive each other as partners in management of the sanctuary and their environment as a whole.

More so, the establishment of the sanctuary in the area has brought about a sense of pride and belongingness to the communities in the sanctuary area. But for the sanctuary not many people will dare the poor nature of the roads and insects to visit the sanctuary areas which were considered as some kind of *overseas areas*. Again, In Tokali a female discusant at FGDs noted that:

But for the WCHS the government and even you [researcher] would not have come here to dialogue with us concerning the animals and plant species that exist in our area. It is because the sanctuary has been established that, so many people now come here to visit the site and at times move around to ask several questions. Even though they just come in and ask us question, it is our hope that one day some of those who ask these questions can take some of the problems that confront us to John Mahama [the President of Ghana] for him to come to our aid. Well the presence of the sanctuary has also sent the name of our community far and near since people from all walks of life, white and black visit us daily and interact with us. This is something that we are proud of, and we believed that our sacrifice by way of not harvesting nature within the protected area is yielding fruits.
The aura of pride and collective fulfilment among residents of the sanctuary area was equally espoused by one of the chiefs within the catchment area when he observed that:

This Sanctuary has put Wechiau on the world map of ecotourism. The benefits of being on the world map of ecotourism are numerous; students, tourists and researchers have visited us not just to have a physical sight of the hippopotamus but to find out how this great novelty in Ghana was done. I myself have travelled out of the country many times because of this sanctuary. I am proud to be a party to its establishment.

The chief further noted that his excitement reached its peak when the WCHS received UN Equator Award in 2008. This award did not only bring the area a sum of Twenty-Thousand Dollars ($ 20,000) but also brought Wechiau to the limelight of the world.

Also, the study revealed that thirteen (13) sanctuary communities whose sources of water were taken over with the creation of the sanctuary have benefited from the provision of thirteen (13) boreholes. According to both male and female FGDs participants the provision of the boreholes have helped improve their health status through the reduction in the incidences of water borne diseases like diarrhoea and guinea worm. Other social amenities include schools constructed with the support of Canadian partners.
Aside the benefits enumerated above, FGDs participants especially farmers, cattle owners, and herbalists complained about the outward-expansion of the coverage area of the sanctuary to enclose areas that were hitherto farms, ranches or forest for medicinal plants. Traditional worshippers such as the tindamba have also complained that even though they are happy to have the sanctuary established in their community, the rule that people should not exploit natural resources from the sanctuary have prevented them from having unrestricted access to their gods at the river side.

4.5 Factors Militating Against Harnessing the Full Potential in Tourism

The study sought to find out from the respondents whether there are some challenges that affect the community in its bid to support effective management of the sanctuary.

As a follow up, the study employed open-ended questionnaire to solicit from the respondent some of those specific challenges. Therefore, figure 4 indicates that ninety-nine percent (99%) of the respondents were of the view that increasing migration of people from the Burkina Faso side of the Black Volta to the Sanctuary area is a factor that poses a critical challenge to the effective management of the sanctuary. These settlers from Burkina Faso perceived themselves as non-Ghanaian nationals and therefore not obliged to abide by rules that their Ghanaian counterparts have enacted. It was further revealed across FGDs that Burkina Faso nationals often migrate into the catchment area
particularly during the dry season to poach. Aside, the migration of people from the Republic of Burkina Faso, ninety-eight percent of the respondents noted that the area is home to some medicinal plants and their gods hence it is difficult for the community leadership to prevent people from moving into the sanctuary area. The prevention of community people from entering the protected area has implication on their source of herbs for their personal treatment and treatment of others for a fee. Also, the inability to move into the sanctuary to worship their gods deprived them of communicating their needs, problems and afflictions to their gods and the associated blessings that go with offering sacrifices to the gods.

**Figure 4.3 Factors Affecting Community Support for Effective Management of the Sanctuary**

![Bar chart showing percentage responses](chart.png)

**Source:** Field survey, 2012
More so, seventy-three percent (73%) of the respondents were of the view that the loss of their farm lands to the sanctuary catchment area is yet another factor that severely hinders genuine community support for the effective management of the sanctuary. Male discussants at the FGDs were of the conviction that the chiefs and their elders constitute the group which benefit most from the sanctuary even though they are not negatively affected by the creation of the sanctuary. They argued that the chief and his elders (the Wechiau Naa and his elders) stationed at Wechiau whose farmlands do not form part of the protected or restricted area of the sanctuary neither do their animals graze lands and waters from part of the sanctuary catchment area receive cola (money and other forms of gifts) from visitors almost on daily basis. A participant at the FGDs noted:

For us living around the sanctuary community anytime people come around they interact mainly with the rangers and guides and not necessarily local community leaders. It is only that when you have something to sell and they think it cheaper here that they buy it, else we get nothing.

It was also noted that the composition of the management of sanctuary is skewed towards the elites in the society such as the Chiefs of Wechiau, sub-chiefs and the workers of the sanctuary to the exclusion of lineage heads and family heads whose farmlands have been consumed by the sanctuary.
Participants at the FGDs explained that it was the Executives of the Sanctuary who took almost all decisions and receive all monies the tourist pay. Even though discussants could not tell how much a tourist pay for visiting the sanctuary it was their belief that enough money was generated from the sanctuary, because for them a boatmen charges a commission of GH¢1 per tourist just to be transported across the river then the operators of the sanctuary will receive a higher fee. They maintained that it is the executive who took decisions on the fixing of fees and the utilisation of revenues accruing from the visit of tourist without consulting the community members. It came out during discussions with the communities around the sanctuary area that Executives usually issue punishment to people who poach in the sanctuary in a manner that violate the dignity of such alleged poachers. On the contrary, in-depth interviews with the Manager and Secretary of the Sanctuary suggests that decisions-making pertaining to the running of the Sanctuary are taken by the Executive Committee in consultation with Committee members from all the sanctuary Communities. They also denied manhandling persons who are found poaching within the sanctuary.

4.5.1 Strategies for Integrated Management of the Sanctuary

At the broader management level, in-depth interviews with staff of the sanctuary revealed that the management of the sanctuary have since its inception initiated and sustained educational campaigns on environmental
conservation and ecotourism. For instance booklets with information on harmful human activities have been distributed to schools and receptions of public places such as the District Assembly Secretariat. As part of the educational drive, some community volunteers had been trained to carry out interpersonal education within their communities on environmental conservation. Also, these volunteers have been trained as anti-bushfire activist to ensure that there are no bush fires at the reserve and take immediate action to put the fire out should there be an outbreak. In respect of this, the sanctuary rangers patrol the entire boundary of the sanctuary to ensure compliance with conservation ethics.

However, in order to be able to propose a realistic and workable integrated management strategy for the sanctuary the study attempted to investigate from the respondents issues of social inclusion and exclusion in the current management strategy. In this regard, the study employed closed-ended questionnaire to find out whether there are groups in the community which in the view of respondents benefit most from the receipts from the sanctuary. Figure 4 revealed that seventy-seven percent (77%) of the respondents indicated that there exist groups that benefit most from the operation of the sanctuary.

The study elicited from the respondents the specific stakeholder groups in their communities and their level of benefit. Thus, from figure 4.6 it came to
the fore that eighty-one percent (81%) of the respondents of the study were of the view that the chiefs and their elders benefit most from the proceeds of the sanctuary. Only twenty-one percent (21%) of the respondents were of the view that the youth also benefit relatively higher from the operation of the sanctuary.

These responses served as a guide to the facilitators of the FGDs and in-depth interviews to explore and probe into the specific groups that benefit most from the operation of the sanctuary.

**Figure 4.4 Stakeholders group in the catchment communities**

Source: Field survey 2012. Note frequencies are multiple responses
During FGDs it emerged that the chief of Wechiau, his elders and the sub-
chiefs of the various catchment communities are the elites that benefit most
from the operation of the sanctuary. For instance, farmers alleged that even
though the Wechiau Naa’s farm land is not negatively affected by the
sanctuary, it is he and the Manager of the sanctuary who decides how much
tourist should pay and what the money should use for. The youth particularly
boat operators were also mentioned as stakeholders who were also reaping
from the sanctuary because they can take people on boat across the river at a
fee of GH¢1.

4.5.1.2 Towards an Integrated Sanctuary Management

The study also sought to explore strategies that can be put in place for an
integrated management of the WCHS and other community-based tourist
systems. Findings are summarised in figure 4.5 and are discussed in the
ensuing paragraph.

From figure 4.5 the study proposed a four stages integrated sanctuary
management framework as an alternative to the existing management structure
at Wechiau. These four stages include the diagnosis, planning, intervention
and the assessment stages.

At the assessment stage, the researchers of the sanctuary and the sanctuary
management team need to develop relationships with the catchment
communities which will be reviewed throughout the life cycle of the sanctuary. Therefore, the relationship between the sanctuary management and the catchment communities must evolve as a result of interactions between them but not created as in the case now.

The second phase in the process of developing a participatory management structure is to work with the various interest groups to identify and define their needs, problems and challenges that have been occasioned by the creation of the sanctuary. The identification and definition of the problem at the diagnosis stage involve the stakeholders: identifying a challenge posed by the sanctuary, discussion of its various dimensions, remote and immediate causes and offer solutions. Also, the stakeholders must together develop a common goal and the actions needed to achieve the goal. They must identify local knowledge systems, values, materials and beliefs that can be relied upon to develop the sanctuary and the people living around the sanctuary and therefore agree to carry-out whatever decisions that may be reached.

The third stage in the process of diagnosis involves the identification of the interest groups in the community who are connected negatively or positively to the sanctuary. In dealing with the catchment communities, sanctuary staff must avoid audiences such as the community, the people, and community leaders since this does not allow various segment of the community to participate in the management of the sanctuary. All groups that constitute the
catchment communities in terms of settler status, age, gender, ethnicity, occupation, and socio-economic conditions are all negatively or positively affected differently by the sanctuary hence the need to solicit their active participation in the management of the sanctuary. The fourth stage in the participatory management process and the first step in the planning stage entail the identification of management needs, objectives and materials.
Figure 4.5 A Participatory Sanctuary Management Framework

Understanding the local setting: worldviews, resource ownership and livelihood dynamics

Management Board

Existing Management system

Work with communities to define problems solutions & actions

Identify community level concern groups and stakeholders

Identifying integrated management needs, objectives & activities

Identify appropriate management tools

Preparing & pre-test management content & materials

Facilitate the building of partnership with catchment communities

Monitoring, evaluation & documenting

Producing an implementation plan

Source: Author’s Construct 2012
Development interventions usually present their own refractions therefore in an attempt to resolve will develop challenges hence the need to identify the needs relating to material resources and even communication resources required for effective management of both the main challenge and the refractions of the intervention. For example aside providing lodges for tourist and schools for the catchment communities management has to identify supporting management needs such as sharing information, influencing policies, mediating conflicts, raising awareness, facilitating learning, supporting decision-making and collaborative action. In an integrated management of the sanctuary, emphasis should be put on the communication needs and ensures that they are addressed, together with the material needs.

The communities may require material needs such as guns to demobilize armed poachers, alternative forest for their medicinal plants and access to potable water. Also, there may be other needs that border on learning different techniques or needs relating to the restructuring of the composition of the sanctuary management committee and the board. To be able to identify and find ways of addressing these needs it is necessary to organize discussions with separate interest groups taking into consideration those who are affected by the sanctuary and those who are in the position to assist in the needs identification and solutions to the fulfilment of the needs of the interest groups.
It should be emphasized that whatever need that is being identified must be linked to the problem or set of actions identified in stage two. The guiding question in the needs identification and solution may be: What do the different stakeholders need in order to ensure effective conservation and management of the sanctuary? The management objectives supposed to reflect the needs of each specific stakeholders of the sanctuary. The management must identify and prioritize the objectives together with the specific interest groups and in the order of most pressing needs. Ordinarily managers of natural resources may formulate objectives with communication functions such as raising awareness, sharing information, facilitating learning, supporting participation, decision-making and collaborative action, mediating conflicts, influencing the policy environment.

Fifthly, the management of the sanctuary must identify and appropriate sanctuary management tools. The study proposes for the adaptation of the Protected Areas and the protected management Advisory Boards and the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) approach. Under the CREMA approach the management of the sanctuary will work towards a win-win situation. Specific management tools to be adopted using the CREMA approach include: financial incentives to interest groups whose lands and cultural resources have been taken over by the sanctuary and devolving management and conservation responsibilities to the interest groups; because of the unequal social, political, economic and cultural relationship particularly
between the indigenous and the settler groups and the paramount chief and his sub-chiefs on the one hand, existing decision-making structures must be amended to include marginalized groups such as settlers and women; and the various interest groups should be guided to evolve a constitution based on their own cultural realities and experiences. This constitution should be passed by the District Assembly as a bye-law of the Assembly. The constitution should spell out the rules and responsibilities of the stakeholders as well as established specific interest groups as a corporate body that the Ghana Tourist Board and the Wildlife Divisions will be able to recognize.

The sixth stage in the participatory sanctuary management structure involves the pre-testing of the proposed management tools. Pre-testing is a way of improving ideas and prototypes for materials by submitting them to participating group representatives and obtaining their feedback before the final production stage to ascertain whether the proposed management tools are appropriate to the various interest groups. By pre-testing the proposed management tools, it will allow the implementation body to examine the reaction of stakeholders, to revise the concepts and management tools or strategies, if it appears not to be capable of producing anticipated results. To ensure that the management tools or strategies represent the interest and desires of the various stakeholders, the implementation body should invite views and inputs in the following core areas: content, materials, form and feedback.
The development of local partnership is a key factor in the success or failure of a participatory management and conservation of natural resources. But building local partnership has often remained a challenge to both NGOs and Governmental Organizations (GOs). In order to ensure the participatory framework for managing and conserving the sanctuary, the following types of partnerships should be developed: with the general assembly of the catchment communities, with local authorities, with women groups, with local technical services and specialized agencies such as the Calvary Zoo of Canada.

The eighth stage in the participatory management structure is the production and implementation of the participatory management plans. The production and implementation plan will include planning to undertake specific activities, identifying responsibilities and tasks, establishing the time line for the management strategy and preparing the budget for each activity that has been decided by the stakeholders.

The participatory management framework also proposes that the production of a monitoring and evaluation framework which will enable the stakeholders to monitor the implementation of decisions and activities taken during the planning phase of the project. By this the stakeholders will be able to ascertain what is being accomplished, what remained to be done, the amount of revenue accrued from the sanctuary and how it has been utilized. After the evaluation, all stakeholders in the sanctuary management should be able to: determine
whether the objectives that they have jointly set have been achieved and the extent to which they have been achieved; assess the degree to which the sanctuary and it related activities have produced desirable impacts in the problems that they have identified; and the outcome of the evaluation process should serve as input data for improving the management of the sanctuary.

Finally, the implementation of the participatory management strategy is expected to lead to the realization of the joint objectives set by the sanctuary staff and other interest groups. If the objectives are achieved then stakeholders will expect to benefit by way of sharing results either in the form of material or experiences/knowledge gained through the execution of the project. Knowledge sharing refers to making information available in different formats to different groups of users and asking for their feedback.
CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the main findings and conclusions of the study. From the findings and conclusions drawn from the study, recommendations are made that could lead to an enhanced community-based ecotourism management.

5.2 Conclusions

This study sought to explore how the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary can be used as a model of Community-based ecotourism in Ghana. To this end, the study attempted to achieve the following objectives: to assess the processes involved in the establishment of the WCHS; to determine the extent of collaboration between indigenous institutions and governmental organisations in the formation and management of the WCHS; to examine the factors militating against the fullest harnessing of tourism potentials of WCHS; and to determine the strategies that can be put in place to ensure an integrated management of the WCHS.

The study explored and assessed the processes leading up to the formation and the management of the sanctuary. The intention of the Wildlife Division of the
Forestry Commission to conserve the hippopotami in the Wechiau area as endangered species in Ghana given the fact that the construction of the Bui dam was likely to disrupt the natural habitats of the other remaining species of the hippopotami in Ghana triggered the establishment of the (WCHS). Therefore, the idea of a community-based ecotourism sanctuary did not come easy since it was the intention of the Game and Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission to make a protected area that will be conserved and managed by the state. The study found out that despite the widely held perception that it was the Wechiau Naa, Naa Doguah who stood against the creation of a National Reserve, it was rather the various earth priests who dissented for fear of being alienated from their lands and gods.

The study also noted that the WCHS became a reality because of the joint efforts of non-state actors such as the Calgary Zoo of Canada, the NCRC, Peace Corps, the catchment communities and the Wa West District Assembly. It needs to be emphasised that from the reconnaissance stage to the drafting of the sanctuary development plan the interest of the community took a centre stage and they participated in decision-making and implementation of all activities arising out of their own decisions. Although the processes towards the establishment of the sanctuary were quite transparent it failed to identify and plan for the problems, interests, needs, fears and concerns of catchment communities, hence the local setting was not properly understood.
Regarding the extent of collaboration between public and private institutions in the management of tourism facilities the study indicates a closer collaboration between the Wa West District Assembly and the Sanctuary Management Board on the one hand and the private or foreign governmental organisations on the other hand. The collaboration between the two ends is in the area of research or expert advisory services and provision of social services to the catchment communities. The study noted that even though the traditional leadership of the community collaborates with the other partners the only setback in that collaboration is the inability of the Wechiau Naa to implement the bye laws of the sanctuary to the letter, owing to the lack of powers to impose severe punitive sanctions against people who violate them.

However, the study observed that there is no exit strategy for the external partners of the project and implying a likelihood of severe challenges to the sustenance of the sanctuary should the external partners pull out some day.

The study identified the following as main factors militating against the fullest operation of the sanctuary: the migration of citizens of Burkina Faso into the sanctuary catchment area; the harbouring of local deities and medicinal plants in the sanctuary as well as the taking over of farm lands by the sanctuary without provision of alternative livelihood sources; the perception that the Wechiau Naa though not negatively affected by the creation of the sanctuary appears to be benefitting more than the lineage heads whose farmlands have
been encroached by the sanctuary and the skewed composition of the Sanctuary Management Board in favour of elites such as the paramount chief and his sub-chiefs. There is the need to expand the membership of the board to include particularly lineage heads whose farmlands have been taken by the sanctuary and also to define a formula for sharing of benefits accruing from the sanctuary.

The study observed wide spread perception of the exclusion of ordinary folks from benefitting from the sanctuary while the chiefly class is perceived to be enjoying all the benefits that otherwise should have been equitably distributed to the communities. Therefore, this study proposed a four stages integrated/participatory sanctuary management framework as an alternative to the existing management structure at Wechiau. These four stages include the diagnosis, planning, intervention and the assessment stages. The essence of the four stage participatory model is to allow all stakeholders to take part in decision-making, deciding on what actions to be taken monitor and evaluate the activities and thus share benefits either in the form of information or material rewards.

5.3 Recommendations

In broad terms the study recommends the adoption of a participatory management strategy that will engage the interest groups in the diagnosis,
planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation as well as the sharing of benefits throughout the life cycle of the sanctuary management.

On the processes of formation of the sanctuary the study recommends a re-diagnosis of the catchment communities in order to understand the current local setting, identify their problems and needs and to jointly define ways of achieving them. This process should be carried out in a dialogical manner as part of a holistic participatory management of the sanctuary.

It is recommended that the stakeholders of the sanctuary should develop an exit strategy for the external partners of the project so as to enable the communities, the Ghana Tourist Board, the District Assembly and the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission to take charge of providing services that were hitherto being handled by the external partners. Also, given the observation that the traditional authorities are unable to administer punishment to persons who violate the bye laws of the sanctuary, it is recommended that the communities should set up a body to constantly embark on persuasive dialogue with offenders as to why they should operate within the confines of the law instead of punish them. Punishments however are supposed to be the last resort to be meted out to offenders by the SMC; who are predominantly chiefly people and based in Wechiau.

In order to arrest the migration of Burkinabe’s into the sanctuary catchment area for hunting and fishing, it is recommended that the Sanctuary
Management Board and the Wechiau District Assembly negotiate with the Patrol Unit of the Ghana Immigration Service and ECOWAS for their services at strategic periods. The Ghana-Burkina Trans-boundary Volta Basin management team should intensify dialogue with both nationalities. On the matter of alienation of traditional worshippers from their gods, it is recommended, a joint decision is taken on how best to allow the people to periodically commune with their gods.

Also, the Sanctuary Management Board should liaise with the forestry commission to engage the communities in fashioning out ways in which medicinal plants in the sanctuary can be harvested in a sustainable manner. To address the perception of the chiefly class domination of the sanctuary management, the study recommends that the membership of the board be expanded to include all lineage heads whose land has been encroached by the sanctuary. The inclusion of the heads of lineages whose lands have been taken over for the purposes of the sanctuary will also reduce the perception that the paramount chief and his sub-chiefs are enjoying the benefits of the sanctuary to the neglect of the people who have sacrificed their sources of livelihoods for the project.

To mitigate the adverse effects of the protected areas on sanctuary community members, this study further recommends that there should be a continuous and sustainable natural resource management capacity building of residents to
Finally, the study envisages that the construction of a large-scale irrigation dam in the midst of the sanctuary communities would concentrate community livelihood activities around. This would contribute significantly to curbing encroachment into the catchment area by both community members and animals especially in the dry season.

Projects such as afforestation and sustainable farming methods are especially recommended. Sanctuary communities should also be empowered with alternative livelihood enhancement strategies such as non-farm livelihoods to reduce their dependents on land.
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APPENDIX I

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AND GENERAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to sample views of individuals on the processes that were followed in the creation of the Wechiau Community Hippopotamus Sanctuary; to determine the extent of collaboration between indigenous institutions and governmental organisations in the formation and management of the WCHS; to solicit the views of individuals the factors militating against the fullest harnessing of tourism potentials of WCHS and to elicit from the respondents strategies that can be put in place to ensure an integrated management of the WCHS.

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

1. Name of community: .................................................................

2. Sex  Male [ ] Female [ ]

3. Age: Under 15 years [ ]  16-45 years [ ]  45 and above [ ]

4. Marital status: Single [ ]  Married [ ]  Divorced [ ]  Widow [ ]

5. Religion: Christianity ( )  Islam ( )  Traditionalist ( )  Others ( )

6. Ethnicity: Wala [ ]  Lobi [ ]  Birifo [ ]  Others (specify) ........................................

7. Occupation: Farmer [ ]  Fisherman/woman [ ]

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Trader ☐
Others (specify) ........................................

8. Educational Status: Primary ( ) JSS ( ) SSS ( ) Vocational/Technical ( )
Tertiary ( ) None ( ) Others (specify) ........................................

SECTION B : PROCESSES OF FORMATION

10. Do you know about the Ecotourism activities of the Hippo sanctuary?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

11. Do you know when the sanctuary was created? Yes [ ] No [ ]
12. Were you informed about the creation of the hippopotamus sanctuary?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]
13. If yes, what were some of the reasons given for the creation of the sanctuary?
   a. ..............................................................
   b. ..............................................................
   c. ..............................................................
   d. ..............................................................
14. Was there a meeting with members of your community before decisions were taken to create the sanctuary? Yes [ ] No [ ]
15. If yes in Q14 were people allowed to speak their mind freely?
   Yes [ ] No [ ].

SECTION C : EXTENT OF COLLABORATION

16. Do you know the main stakeholders in the creation and management of the sanctuary?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]
17. If yes for Q16, mention any three of the stakeholders:
   a. ..............................................................
18. How will you assess the level of collaboration among the stakeholders?
   a. Very Good [ ]
   b. Good [ ]
   c. Average [ ]
   d. More room for improvement

19. Explain your response as in Q18.

20. Are you satisfied with the level of involvement of community level leaders in the management of the sanctuary? Yes [ ] No [ ]

20b. Explain your response as in Q20:

21. In your view what do you think should be done to enhance the collaboration among the stakeholders?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

SECTIOND: FACTORS MILITATING AGAINST EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF THE SANCTUARY

22. What benefits does the sanctuary bring to your community?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

23. What problems /cost does it have on your community?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

24. Is/are there any group(s) of people you perceive to benefitting most from the creation of the sanctuary? Yes [ ] No [ ]
24b. If yes, then who are these group(s) of people?

25. In your view are there some factors that militate against the effective and efficient operation of the sanctuary? Yes [ ] No [ ]

25b. If yes, list the factors that militate against the effective management of the sanctuary:

a. ............................................................................................................

b. ............................................................................................................

26. How can these factors be mitigated to ensure effective management of the sanctuary?

a. ............................................................................................................

b. ............................................................................................................

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX II: GUIDE FOR FGDs AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

SECTION A: PROCESSES OF FORMATION OF WCHS

1. When was the WCHS formed?

2. Did the traditional leaders in your community play any significant role in the creation of the sanctuary?

3. Was there any community within the catchment area of the sanctuary which opposed the creation of the sanctuary?

4. Was your community satisfied with the processes that led to the creation of the sanctuary?

5. Was there any individual or group of individuals who opposed the creation of the sanctuary in the catchment area?

SECTION B: EXTENT OF COLLABORATION

6. Who are the main stakeholders in the management of the sanctuary?
7. Are all the stakeholders given equal room in the management and operation of the sanctuary?
8. Is there any person or group of persons from your community who a key stakeholder in the management of the sanctuary?
9. Is there anything that needs to be done to enhance the level of collaboration among the stakeholders?
10. How will you categorise the type and form of interaction among the stakeholders?
11. Are there some stakeholders of the sanctuary who do not live in any of the catchment communities?

SECTION C: FACTORS MILLITATING AGAINST EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF THE SANCTUARY

12. Is the sanctuary of any benefit to your community?
13. Does the creation of the sanctuary impose any challenges on people sources of livelihoods in your community?
14. Do you think that the benefits accruing from the sanctuary are equitably shared?
15. Are there some people who benefit most from the sanctuary?
16. Are there some factors that militate against the effective management of the sanctuary?
17. How do these factors affect the effective management of the sanctuary?
18. Is there any way by which these factors can be mitigated for effective management of the sanctuary?
19. Who need to be consulted if these factors are to be mitigated?

SECTION D: STRATEGIES FOR EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF THE SANCTUARY
20. Do you think that the sanctuary is not being managed the way it should have been managed?

21. What is it that needs to be done for the sanctuary to be effectively managed?

22. Do you think that community participation in planning, implementation; monitoring and evaluation will present any potential for effective management of the sanctuary?

23. How do you think the sanctuary should be managed? Should the culture and needs of the catchment communities be taken on board?

24. How useful will it be if communities’ culture and needs are made central to the management policies of the sanctuary?
### X III: Typology of participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Characteristic of each type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>People participate merely by being told what will happen or has already taken place. It involves a unilateral announcement by project management without really listening to the people response. The information that is shared belonged to the external professional who know-it-all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in</td>
<td>People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire or survey instruments. People have no opportunity in shaping the information since the findings are neither shared nor checked at the level of the people for accuracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation by</td>
<td>People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. The external agents define the problem and the solutions and may modify these in the light of people responses. Such as consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professional are under no obligation to take people views.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation for</td>
<td>People participate by providing resources e.g. labour in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much on-farm research falls in this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation or process of learning. It very common to see this being called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in</td>
<td>People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development of or promotion of externally initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages or project cycles of planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators or facilitators, but may become self-dependent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in</td>
<td>People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve inter disciplinary methodologies that seek multiple objectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in</td>
<td>People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Adapted from Pretty typology of participation
## IX IV: Qualitative Assessment of the interaction among stakeholders in the sanctuary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Interaction with whom?</th>
<th>Type of Interaction</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Quality Interaction of Interaction of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Tindana</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM/UCMs</td>
<td>Consultation/ Deliberation</td>
<td>Mobilize community for projects</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External partners</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>Improve socio-economic wellbeing of people</td>
<td>Not regular</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindana</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM/UCMs</td>
<td>Deliberation</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farmers/fishermen</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>Land management &amp; protection of the gods/ ancestors</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM/UCMs</td>
<td>Lineage heads</td>
<td>Collaborate</td>
<td>Enforcement of decisions taken</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Collaboration/Deliberation/ mobilization</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td>Quarterly</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Decision making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-lobbying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-mobilizing grass root</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chief/Elders</td>
<td>Consultation/ Deliberation</td>
<td>Mobilize community for projects</td>
<td>When need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community People</td>
<td>Consultation/ Deliberation</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Actors</td>
<td>Collaboration/Mobilization</td>
<td>-lobby community &amp; implement projects</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTB</td>
<td>S/Mgt Board</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>Monitoring, decision-making, enforcement and oversight supervision</td>
<td>When the need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>Lobby for infrastructure</td>
<td>When the need arises</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign partners</td>
<td>Deliberate</td>
<td>Financial support and technical advice</td>
<td>When the need arises</td>
<td>V. Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>Solicit commitment, enforcement and review of rules</td>
<td>When the need arises</td>
<td>V. Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tindamba</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>Seek approval and blessing</td>
<td>When the need arises</td>
<td>V. Good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** FGDs with sub-chiefs and community opinion leaders.