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Tourism Governance and Regulation:

Institutional Collaboration in the Central Region of Ghana

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction, Problem Statement and Research Questions

Forecasts of increasing tourism growth in developing countries have seen tourism being touted as the key to economic development. It is estimated that there were 940 million international tourist arrivals worldwide in 2010, with 49.4 million in Africa. Out these arrivals 30.7 million was in Sub-Saharan Africa – representing an increase of 6.6% over 2009. This increase corresponds with an estimated US$ 919 billion worldwide (693 billion euros) in international tourist receipts up from the US$ 851 billion (610 billion euros) in 2009, showing a real terms increase of 4.7% (UNWTO, 2011).

The issue of tourism's contribution to economic development and poverty reduction in developing countries is still engrossed in endless and unresolved controversies (Steiner, 2006). However, it has been noted that the benefits of tourism accruing to developing countries depend to a large extent on the critical role played by the state – i.e. state agencies and institutions that have the mandate to govern and regulate the tourism sector (Hall, 1998; Jeffries, 2001). As with any other economic activity, the character, role, function and influence of the state determine the location and nature of tourism development activities, who gets to participate in these activities and how the benefits are (re)distributed (Hall, 1998). Thus for tourism to be beneficial to any country, the government has to be able to intervene and encourage its development through what Jeffries (2001:114-115) explains as a "complex structure of governmental and official recognised institutions ... existing at different levels within a pyramid, the national executive at the apex and the local level at the base". The degree of complexity and levels of institutions differ from state to state, as the response to the challenge posed by tourism is expressed in different organisational structures.

The current nature of the tourism industry – high fragmentation and interdependencies across geographical spaces – led to the situation where its governance and regulation are not left solely in the hands of the state but also in the hands of the many different actors and interest groups. Consequently, there is now a renewed focus on the need for coordination and collaboration between the different actors (public and private) in tourism governance and regulation in a tourist destination (Waayers et al., 2011). A number of reasons account

for the increased academic and management interest in the issue of coordination and collaboration in tourism governance and regulation in a destination. First, the characteristics of fragmentation, diffusion and high interdependencies in the tourism sector intensify the need for interorganisational relationships (Bramwell and Lane, 1999; Hall, 2008). Second, the processes of marketisation that came with the 'new public management' pursuit of effectiveness and efficiency gains in the public sector lead to new governance forms that supported partnerships, collaboration and the outsourcing of public services (Hood, 1991; Peters, 1999; Hall, 1999). Third, the redefinition of the state and its role in what has increasingly become a networked society (Pierre, 2000), has resulted in a relational interventionist model of state involvement that is accomplished through newly developing network governance frameworks (Rhodes, 1994, 1996; Stoker, 2006; Bult-Spiering and Dewulf, 2006). Within this relational interventionist framework, the state's (public sector) role is that of an initiator and convenor of collaborative ventures, that promotes participation of various actors in the governance and regulation of the general economy as a whole and the tourism sector in particular (Pierre, 2000; UNWTO, 2010, 1996). Finally, public sector agencies now have to search for innovative partnership schemes in the development and implementation of their policies and programmes due to ongoing global economic crisis, cutbacks on government spending and the privatisation of basic social services (Gamble, 2000; Hall, 2011; UNWTO, 2003).

In Ghana, tourism is considered as a significant sector of the economy and also as a tool for poverty reduction. The tourism sector is currently the fastest growing sector of the economy (UNWTO, 2010); and the third highest foreign exchange earner generating $1.8 billion as revenue in 2010, which constituted 6.2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Appaw Agbola et al., 2011; Ministry of Tourism, 2011). The Government of Ghana has identified the tourism sector as a key area to be harnessed to boost the economy, generate employment and contribute to poverty reduction efforts. However, a number of unresolved issues continue to hinder the full realisation of the potentials in the tourism sector. Principal among these issues are an inadequate human resource base, poor infrastructure (especially transportation), low investments, poor marketing and branding, underdeveloped tourist products and a low level of tourism awareness across the Ghanaian society (UNWTO, 2010; Konadu-Agyemang, 2001; Teye, 1999). The most pertinent issue that impedes the

development of tourism and the (re)distribution of accruing benefits is the high level of fragmentation in tourism governance, administration, regulation and management from the national to the local level. At the national level there are at least 85 different tourism stakeholders (public sector, private sector and civil society) who influence and are influenced by tourism policies, plans and implementation (UNWTO, 2010:54). With such a high number of fragmented stakeholders, it becomes important that a formal collaborative process is put in place in order to ensure better governance and regulation of the tourism sector especially at the regional and local levels.

With its scenic beaches, forest reserves and parks, colonial and cultural heritage of slave forts and historical edifices, the Central Region of Ghana is endowed with perhaps the biggest share of developed tourist attractions in the whole country. Home to three UNESCO World Heritage sites and considered as the tourism hub of Ghana, it is second to the Greater Accra Region in terms of tourist arrivals, only because the international airport of Ghana is in Accra. Paradoxically, the Central Region is considered as one of the poorest regions together with the three northern regions of Ghana (IMF, 2006; GoG:NDPC, 2007). Due to existing tourist resources and potentials, tourism as an economic activity is actively promoted within the region by national, regional and local governments as well as by private actors like NGOs and civil societies. The result is that there a number of key stakeholders (public and private) involved in the governance and regulation of the tourism sector in the region. The major stakeholders include: the Ministry of Tourism (MOT); the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA); the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB); the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT); the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission (WD-FC); the Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM) and the Ghana Tourism Federation (GHATOF). While there are differences and similarities in the mandates of these stakeholders with regards to tourism development, they all share a mental image of utilising tourism for local economic development and poverty reduction. Interestingly, each stakeholder while sharing the same broader policy domain – i.e. tourism sector of the Central Region – retains under its jurisdiction a specific policy domain within which it controls issues of governance and regulation with regards to tourism development.

In the face of the multiplicity of stakeholders in the governance and regulation of the tourism sector, one will expect a high and intense level of collaboration and partnership

between the various stakeholders. Theoretical and empirical research suggest that a tourist destination like the Central Region of Ghana with a diversity of stakeholders in an already highly fragmented economic sector like tourism delivers the best results when stakeholders collaborate. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) for example identify the avoidance of adversarial conflicts among stakeholders and improvement in the coordination of policies and their implementation as some of the potential benefits of stakeholder collaboration in a tourist destination. Preliminary evidence from their websites and through telephone conversations suggests that there is some form of collaboration between the various stakeholders in the Central Region. However, the existing collaboration has not as yet resulted in the economic benefits of collaboration alluded to in the literature and seen in some other tourist destination. It is therefore important to research the reality of collaboration in the tourism sector of Ghana in order to understand whether the changing notions of governance as argued in the literature can be found to be reflected in tourism sector. This research therefore will contribute to an understanding of how changes in the governance of an economy spread from one sector to the other with its varied adaptations.

Aims and Research Questions

There are two main aims of this research:

i)   To understand whether (and how) the changes in the state's role in governance are reflected in the governance of the tourism sector

ii)   To identify the form(s) of collaborative governance encouraged by the Ghanaian state in the governance and regulation of the tourism sector in general and that of the Central Region in particular.

In addressing these aims of the research, the following are the guiding research questions.

i)   How is tourism governance and regulation structured in the Central Region?

ii)   What form of collaboration exists between the major stakeholders of the tourism sector in the Central Region?

iii)   In what ways if any, does the form of tourism collaborative governance in the Central Region constitute a reflection of the general changes in governance across the Ghanaian economy?

iv)   How is the current state of collaboration in tourism governance contributing to improving tourism development in the region?

v)   How can current collaboration be made more effective – i.e. what are the challenges facing effective stakeholder collaboration in the tourism sector of the Central Region and how can they be addressed?

This research starts with a review of the relevant literature in Chapter two. Chapter three provides an overview of the research methodology that is utilized in this study as well as an overview of the case study area. Chapters four and five give an account of the research findings, discussions and analysis before the conclusion is given in Chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

This chapter reviews relevant literature on governance in general, governance in tourism, collaboration (collaborative governance) and the stakeholder concept. This review provides the theoretical and conceptual foundation on which this research will be based.

Governance: The state of issues

In recent times, the notion of the nation state, its legitimacy and institutional capacity to govern has continuously been challenged both externally and internally. According to Pierre (2000) there are a number of reasons that account for the erosion of the traditional bases of political power of the nation state. First, high volatility of transnational capital due to financial market deregulation has taken away the traditional capacities of the state to govern the economy. A second reason is the assertiveness of subnational governments at regional, district and city levels. This has resulted in a situation where subnational governments operate directly on the international scene, seemingly sidestepping national state institutions and interests. Finally, the emergence and consolidation of cohesive policy networks have come to challenge the capacity of the nation state. The general outcome of all these ongoing changes has been the questioning of the capacities and abilities of the state to address the most pressing societal problems.

The state, many have argued, has undergone a process of 'hollowing out' (Rhodes, 1994) that has fundamentally changed how the state is perceived by the public. This hollowing out of the state has come about on the back of significant external changes including increasing economic globalisation, rise of the market in resource allocation, privatisation among others (*Ibid;* Pierre, 2000; Hood, 1991). The question that remains now, as pointed out by Pierre (2000:2), is whether the changing nature of the state represents its decline or its adaptation to the challenges it faces. Arguably, the changing nature of the statue attests more to its adaptation than to its decline, as innovative ways are being introduced in the way that the state runs the economy. Kooiman (1993; 2000) for example comments on an observably shifting role of the state rather than the shrinking of roles.

Within this context of transmutation and state restructuring, the notion of 'governance' has emerged as a strategy for both politicians and academics to respectively, redefine the role of the state in society and to explain this process of redefinition. According to Gamble (2000), the popularity of the term governance in academic and policy circles is due to the decoupling of governing as a separate process from government. Where once government went hand-in-hand with governance, Rhodes (1996) notes that the governance is no longer used as a synonym for government but rather to signify a change in the way society is governed. A cursory review of the literature shows that governance as a term is used in varied ways with correspondingly varied meanings attached to its usage. Such variations in the usage and meanings attached to governance has lead Pierre (2000:3) to comment about the slight confusion in conceptualisation of the term governance. He points out a dual meaning attached to governance; firstly as the "empirical manifestations of state adaptation to its external environment as it emerges in the late twentieth century" and secondly as "conceptual or theoretical representation of co-ordination of social systems and ... the role of the state in that process". The second conceptualisation of governance – representation of co-ordination of social systems and the state's role in the process – is pertinent to this paper. This research seeks to understand how a fragmented system like tourism governance is coordinated and the specific role – initiator, enabler, leader or bystander – the state plays in this process of coordination.

The second meaning of governance is further divided into "traditional old governance" and "new governance" by Peters (2000). He argues that traditional old governance is concerned with the question of the capacity of the state (central government) to exercise control over the rest of government, the economy and society. New governance however asks the question of how the state (central government) interacts with the general economy and society in order to make policy decisions that are acceptable to all actors in the society.

Notwithstanding the varied ways in which the term governance is used, Stoker (1998) identifies a shared baseline agreement in the meaning of governance – whether within the state-centric focus of 'old governance' or the society-centred 'new governance'. The baseline understanding of governance he notes refers to "the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred" (*Ibid*: 17). It should however be noted that the particular domain (academic or

practitioner levels) in which the term is used determines where the emphasis – i.e. whether the blurring is seen more in terms of the state decline or state (re)adaptation – is placed.

Pierre (1999) provides caution to the risk of conceptual oversimplication and reduction in the definitions of governance. He notes that "if governance, loosely defined, refers to any public-private exchange, then soon everything becomes governance" (*Ibid*: 376). In order to avoid the 'bias' in emphasis, Gamble (2000:110) advocates for an understanding of governance as simply the "steering capacities of a political system, the ways in which governing is carried out, without making any assumption as to which institutions or agents do the steering". His argument is that an overemphasis and fixation on the dichotomy between the public and private as separate sphere has led to a neglect in how governance of the economy is understood. In a 'value-free' science Gamble's definition of governance may provide a useful basis to build on. However, social science research, especially in politics is not value-free but is founded on individual and/or group interpretations that in many cases have some form of value judgment in it. A useful aspect of Gamble's analysis of economic governance is his differentiation of two levels upon which to understand how a social order like the economy is governed. The first level represents the often not formalized but implicit rules of the game that constitute a constitutional framework for governing. The second level comprises the peculiar ways through which institutions and agencies govern – i.e. the techniques, tools, practices and ethos particular to each institution and agency. The second level of understanding the governance of an economy provides a useful entry point to understanding the governance of tourism as an economic activity by looking at the peculiar ways, tools, techniques, practices and ethos utilized by tourism related institutions.

Tourism as an economic activity is recognized as being a highly complex and dynamic system that comprises a multitude of actors and stakeholders (Britton, 1982; Ioannides and Debbage, 1998; Mosedale, 2011; Hall, 1998, 2000; Bramwell, 2011; Slocum and Backman, 2011). Consequently, the governance of tourism is one that is complex and dynamic, encompassing diverse centres of control and coordination. Thus, an entry point to understanding the governance of tourism – building on the second level of understanding economic governance outlined by Gamble (2000) – is to see tourism governance as what Kooiman captions as 'socio-political governance' or 'interactive governance'. Socio-political governance then is seen as the overarching pattern of interactions between and among

different societal and political actors (public and private actors) in specific sectors of the society. These interactions due to the 'diversity', 'dynamics', and 'complexities' of societal issues are aimed at solving problems or creating opportunities, and also aimed at the care of societal institutions within which these interactions (governing) activities take place (Kooiman, 1993, 1999, 2000; Kooiman, et al., 2008).

'Interactions' [in their many forms] is a major theme in Kooiman's (2000) conceptualization of governance. The focus on interactions marks a move from the traditional understanding of governance as a 'one-directional' interaction of those governing to those governed. The shifting roles of the state in society have lead to broad and systematic 'two-directional' interactions between those governing, those governed and the governing systems within which interactions occur. Thus issues, problems and opportunities within the interactive governing system are taken in consideration when attempting to understanding governance in modern society. The increasing interdependencies between actors within the governing system blur the borderline between public and private responsibilities, leaving the roles of actors being defined through interactions. These interactions are further affected by the diversity, dynamics and complexity of societal situations.

Drawing on systems thinking, 'diversity' as used here refers to the nature of the actors within a governing system (i.e. the tourism governing system of the Central Region) and the extent to which they differ from each other. This allows for the examination of the goals, intentions, capacity and power of the actors. 'Complexity' in interaction denotes the institutional architecture of how actors are related to one another, to the governing system and the external environment. By seeing the complexity in interaction, one is able to closely observe and analyze at different modes/levels the governing structure, the actors and the interdependencies and interrelations among and between them. Finally, 'dynamics' refers to the stress and tensions that exist within the governing system and the actors and allows for the examination of the problems and opportunities that the irregularity of the governing system produces. What the foregoing makes clear is that the contemporary governance of a societal phenomenon like tourism is one that is characterized by diversity, complexity and dynamics. Consequently new forms of interactions and interdependencies between different actors within tourism sector are continuously evolving as the task of governing is beyond the employ of a single actor. To wit, "no single actor, public or private, has the knowledge and

information required to solve complex, dynamic, and diversified problems; no actor has an overview sufficient to make the needed instruments effective; no single actor has sufficient action potential to dominate unilaterally" (*Ibid*: 142).

On the back of Kooiman's (2000) socio-political governance, a conceptualization of tourism governance as a diverse, complex and dynamic phenomenon creates room for a close examination of the kind of governing interactions that exist between the different actors found in the Central Region of Ghana. This examination will help to identify the current structure of tourism governance in the region and how this structure enables and constrains interactions between actors. Furthermore, the conceptualization allows a close look at how issues of power affect stakeholder interactions. This particular conceptualization of governance, like the many other different conceptualizations of governance, is used here simply as an analytic framework rather than as a reductionist way of assessing tourism governance and regulation in the Central Region of Ghana.

As argued by Stoker (1998), the governance perspective as an analytic framework does not contribute to theory at the level of causal analysis nor does it offer a new normative theory – though it can be argues that many conceptualizations of the governance perspective (including the socio-political one being utilized in this study) are partly normative. The value then of the governance perspective is in its ability to provide a framework through which the continuously changing processes of governing can be understood and thus the questions that are worthy of study can be identified. It is within this understanding of the usefulness and limitations of conceptual frameworks that this particular conceptualization of the governance perspective is being utilized for this study. As Judge *et al*. (1995:3) quoted in Stoker (1998:18) have noted, conceptual frameworks like the socio-political governance framework "provide a language and frame of reference through which reality can be examined and lead theorists to ask questions that might not otherwise occur. The result, if successful, is new and fresh insights that other frameworks or perspectives might not have yielded. Conceptual frameworks can constitute an attempt to establish a paradigm shift". Thus an initial usefulness of the socio-political governance framework is in its ability to enable a close examination of the patterns of interactions that exist in the Central Region regarding tourism governance. These patterns may include; - self- and co-regulation, public-private partnerships, collaborations, or hierarchical governance. An important pattern of

interaction (form of governance) that has been identified across many tourist destinations like the Central Region of Ghana is that of collaboration (collaborative governance) which this research will look into.

Collaborative Governance

As the state continues to undergo restructuring, new forms and patterns of interaction between the various stakeholders in society continue to emerge. One such pattern of interaction in the current socio-political governance is the formal interaction between public and private stakeholders – what has become known as collaborative governance. The idea of collaboration carries with it an inherent acknowledgement and recognition that, the problems and issues facing society cannot be unilaterally dealt with by a single body (Gray, 1985). Hence there is a need for coordination and consensus among and between the many different stakeholders in society regarding how policies are made to solve problems. As conceptualized above with regard to current understanding of governance, the nature of the state and its role in society is continuously being challenged. The state's power base and legitimacy as the only source of governance and regulation in the society has been hollowed out leading to new notions about the state. In redefining its role in society, the state has had to alter its interaction with the general economy. The resulting form of interaction has been one of collaboration between the state, the private sector and civil society.

Collaboration here is understood as; "(1) the pooling of appreciations and/or tangible resources, e.g., information, money, labor, etc., (2) by two or more stakeholders, (3) to solve a set of problems which neither can solve individually" Gray (1985:912). A more refined understanding of collaboration is that of "a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain" (Gray 1989:227). Thus the new emphasis in governance becomes the state governing *with* the other stakeholders and not simply *for* the stakeholders. Collaborative governance then as a new mode of socio-political governance aims at consensus in the making and implementation of policies by bringing together multiple stakeholders. This is done to engage with public agencies (Ansell and Gash, 2008) in order to solve an issue or plan for the future of a particular sector or domain.

Quoting Trist (1983), Jamal and Getz (1995:188) explains that a 'problem domain' is "a situation where the problems are complex and require an inter- or multi-organizational response, since they are beyond the capability of any single individual or group to solve single-handedly". The governance and regulation of the tourism sector can be seen therefore as a problem domain that requires collaborative governance – the coming together of different stakeholders to reach acceptable decisions – because the issues affecting the sector is beyond the governing capacity of a single stakeholder. Gray (1985:912) further explains a 'problem domain' to be "the set of actors (individuals, groups, and/or organizations) that become joined by a common problem or interest". Thus issues of policy, governance and regulation in the tourism sector implies the need for public, private as well as civil society stakeholders to formally collaborate in order to address these issues.

Having explored the broad framework of governance and collaboration, collaborative governance following Ansell and Gash (2008:544) is conceptualized as "a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets". An important implication of this conceptualization is that the effort and action taken to start a collaborative governance process comes from the state. This implication is in line with Pierre's (2000) explanation of governance as the representation of how society is coordinated and the state's role in this process. Collaborative governance therefore makes clear that the role of the state in coordinating society is that of an initiator. To link to Kooiman's (2000) socio-political governance framework, collaborative governance can be seen as the new pattern of interaction between the state, private sector and civil society aimed at solving problems and/or creating opportunities in specific sectors of the society that are characterized by diversity, complexity and dynamics. As Gamble (2000:111) has noted, "the state is always involved in governance, but often in an enabling rather than a directing role, helping to establish and sustain the institutions in society … which make steering possible". It is therefore important to find out how this assertion applies in the tourism sector of the Central Region of Ghana.

Collaborative Governance in Tourism

The issue of collaborative governance in tourist destinations continues to receive attention within the tourism literature, owning to the recognized fragmentation of the tourism industry (Jamal and Getz, 1995, 1999, Bramwell and Sharman, 1999, Hall, 1999). Due to the many stakeholders who influence and are influenced by tourism development policies, both academics and practitioners have alluded to the importance of coordination in the regulation of the tourism sector, as well as in the planning and implementation of policies. Collaborative governance in the tourism sector is not only about public-private-civil society coordination but more often involves coordination between various public agencies that have jurisdiction that affect the tourism sector. Good levels of coordination between public agencies provide a better environment for developing collaborative governance with public sector and civil society agencies and vice versa. Lovelock (2001) for example writes on how the contentious interorganisational relations between two federal organizations in Canada – Parks Canada and the Canadian Tourism Commission – has resulted in difficulties in policy making regarding the policy domain of tourism development in natural parks. On the other hand Jamal and Getz (1999) report on benefits of a community-based round table collaborative effort between different stakeholders in the mountain town of Canmore, adjacent to Banff National Park, Canada. They note that the collaborative processes improved the interorganisational relationship between stakeholders and helped to develop the capacities of individual stakeholders and the community in addressing planning issues within the problem domain.

The call for coordination and collaboration in tourism governance according to Hall (1994) is one of the great truisms of tourism policy and planning. Much of the research on collaborative governance in tourism is linked to tourism planning and policies (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Ladkin and Bertramini (2002), public-public partnerships (Hall, 1999; Zapata and Hall, 2012) and sustainable tourism development (Jamal and Getz, 1995, 1999). What all these researches point out is that in an increasingly networked and interdependent tourism sector, there is a need to formally bring together the various stakeholders to interact and come out with ways of achieving the mental vision of achieving sustainable tourism development and contributing to poverty reduction. As the state's role as a major stakeholder in the governance of this sector undergoes tremendous changes, there is the

need to identify who the other stakeholders are in tourism governance. Within a tourism problem domain, there a number of stakeholders who affect and are affected by the diversities, complexities and dynamics associated with the issues in the domain. However, not all stakeholders are equal in importance. Hence in order to assess and understand the interactions in collaborative governance of a tourist destination like the Central Region of Ghana, there is the need to identify the stakeholders that are involved and those that are excluded. In this regard, the use of the stakeholder concept is appropriate as it provides key insights into which stakeholders are to be considered important in the governance of the tourism sector of the Central Region.

The Stakeholder Concept

The successful socio-political governance of problem domains has been identified as being dependent on the participation of different actors who are perceived to have a stake in the domain – i.e. the stakeholders (Kooiman, 2000; Gray, 1985). The central importance of stakeholders in collaborative governance raises two important questions: 1) who should be considered a stakeholder in collaborative tourism governance?; 2) how should the state (seen in contemporary governance as an initiator and enabler) involve the identified stakeholders in the governance and regulation of the tourism sector?. The stakeholder theory provides a useful framework for answering these questions. In the tourism sector of the Central Region of Ghana for example, where there are multitudes of actors, it is important to firstly identify which of these actors can be really considered as a 'stakeholder' and hence should be involved. Even after accurately identifying the stakeholders in the region, it is of essence to understand how these stakeholders can and should interact with each other and with the public agencies of the state.

According to Byrd (2007), the roots of the stakeholder concept lie in the field of business management and public administration. The seminal work of Freeman (1984) entitled, '*Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach'* is regarded as laying the foundation for subsequent theorizing about the stakeholder concept. However Schilling (2000) argues the stakeholder concept goes back some sixty years earlier to due to the similarity between the concept and the work of Mary Parker Follett in 1918. Although interesting, the history of the

theorization of the stakeholder concept is beyond the scope of this paper. The focus of this review is based on the two questions raised above.

The issue of defining who is a stakeholder is one that raises contentions and confusion. The explosion of research into the stakeholder concept has lead to countless definitions that seek to refine Freeman's seminal definition. Friedman and Miles (2006:4-5) identify fifty-five definitions of a stakeholder from seventy-five texts from the 1960s to early 2000. While new definitions help extend the theorizing of the concept, Freeman's definition of a stakeholder as being "any group or individual who can affect and is affected by the achievement of the organizations objectives" (1984:46) is seen in the context of the current research as a broader and balanced way of understanding the concept. This is especially crucial when it comes to the governance and regulation of the tourism problem domain. As a highly fragmented sector, tourism activities affect and are affected by a range of individuals and groups in the society. That stakeholders are groups and individuals who 'can affect and are affected by' throws up the possibility that in a tourism problem domain, individuals or groups not formally recognized by public agencies may nonetheless perceive themselves to be stakeholders in the governance and regulation of tourism.

Notwithstanding the usefulness of Freeman's definition, Frooman (1999) points out that this definition is unidirectional in nature as the emphasis is on the central organization managing its surrounding stakeholders. Freeman (2004:232) admits that some of the weaknesses in his seminal work (definition) include the over-reliance on and the language being couched in the idiomatic terms of strategic planning and "consultancy-speak" as well as a tension between "academic thinking" and "managerial thinking". This explains why the focus of the definition is on how organization managers interact with their surroundings. In order to make the concept more meaningful for the current research and to move away from the unidirectional nature of Freeman's definition, the work of Donaldson and Preston (1995) proscribes the way forward.

Donaldson and Preston (1995) provide a further development of the stakeholder concept through which a better understanding of governance in the tourism sector can be achieved. They identify three aspects of the concept – the descriptive/empirical, the instrumental and the normative – which they argue reflect the various ways the concept is utilized in the

literature. By descriptive/empirical, they mean the part of the concept that is used to describe some characteristics of an organization as well as examine and explain the past, present and future state of affairs of the organization and its stakeholders. Thus this descriptive aspect can among other things describe the manifold elements of the tourism sector in the Central Region of Ghana, for example; the history of tourism development, the size of the sector, the number of stakeholders and the interactions (past, present and future) between the various public, private and civil society agencies who are involved in the governance of the sector.

The instrumental aspect as explained by Donaldson and Preston (1995) enables the examination of connections between managing stakeholders and achieving organization goals, or the lack of it. Take for example the scenario that in the Central Region of Ghana, the goal of involving all stakeholders in collaborative governance in the tourism problem domain is to allow for successful implementation of tourism policies that contribute to poverty reduction. In such a case, the instrumental aspect of the stakeholder concept provides a framework within which to examine whether and how achieving the goal is connected to how the stakeholder interactions are managed.

The normative aspect of the stakeholder concept according to Donaldson and Preston (1995) represents the fundamental basis of the concept. This normative basis of the concept means the acceptance of the two essential ideas; 1) that stakeholders as persons or groups have legitimate interests in the activities of the organization – stakeholders are thus identified by the extent of *their* interest and the organization's functional interest in *them* – and; 2) that the interests of all stakeholders are intrinsically valuable and must therefore be given due consideration. Taken further, this normative basis stipulates the need for all stakeholders to interact and determine the (future) direction of the organization. Organisation as used in here is taken to be the tourism problem domain by way of extrapolating the underlying analysis to the current research.

Donaldson and Preston (1995:74) argue that these three aspects of the stakeholder concept "are nested within each other … [the] descriptive accuracy is supported, at the second level, by its instrumental and predictive value; if certain practices are carried out, then certain results will be obtained. The central core of the theory is, however, normative. The

descriptive accuracy of the theory presumes the truth of the core normative conception, insofar as it presumes that managers and other agents act as if all stakeholders' interests have intrinsic value". Whereas much can be argued about the downsides of an overemphasis on the normative, the stakeholder concept much like Kooiman's socio-political governance concept is utilized in this research as a framework that allows one to make sense of the myriad stakeholders involved in the governance and regulation of the tourism sector.

The essence of Donaldson and Preston (1995) to this current research is the need to identify the interests of all stakeholders within a tourism problem domain. Whereas not all stakeholders can and necessarily should be equally involved in the collaborative governance of the tourism sector, the stakeholder concept makes clear the importance of identifying and understanding the interests of all stakeholders. As Clarkson (1995) notes, the failure to identify and understand the interests of a single primary stakeholder can prove the stumbling block to the success of any collaborative process. In identifying which stakeholders to involve, the work of Mitchell et al (1997) on stakeholder identification and salience provides a good starting point. They argue that individuals or groups should posses at least one element of three – power, legitimacy and urgency – in order to be considered as a stakeholder. In their various combinations, these elements of a stakeholder determine the degree to which organizations actually pay attention to the stakeholder – i.e. the stakeholder salience. These elements also identify the dynamics of interaction between and among stakeholders. Thus in a tourism problem domain, stakeholders to be considered salient are those seen to possess some form of power, have legitimacy and/or whose concerns have immediate repercussions on the governance of the tourism sector.

The use of these three elements as the defining characteristics of stakeholders can also help in delineating between primary and secondary stakeholders. Clarkson (1995) defines primary stakeholders as those individuals or groups whose support are essential to the survival and function of an organization (here the tourism sector) and; secondary stakeholders as those individuals or groups who are not essential for the survival of the organization but who in the past, present or future may influence or are influenced by the organization. With a high degree of interdependencies and fragmentation, the governance of the tourism sector in the Central Region is rightly carried out by a number of different stakeholders. However it is

imperative that in order to understand the interaction among and between these stakeholders, one has to first distinguish between the primary and secondary stakeholders.

As the role of the state in society continues to be redefined, new forms of governing interactions are emerging between public, private and civil society agencies – with corresponding academic theorizations about these changes. These new forms of governing interactions are found across various sectors of the economy, including tourism. The tourism sector is noted to be a highly fragmented sector in which no single actor including the state, has the necessary capacity for effective governance. Hence the governance of the sector calls for collaboration between various actors. The concept of socio-political governance (Kooiman, 2000) provides a framework through which to understand the changes taking place in the governing interactions of the tourism sector. The idea of collaboration and collaborative governance is seen as being complementary to socio-political governance. The stakeholder concept has provided the final piece of the tripod with which a complete picture of the governing interactions in the tourism sector of the Central Region, Ghana can be analysed. The stakeholder enables the identification of who counts in the eyes of others to be considered a primary or a secondary stakeholder in the governing process. The integration of these concepts and ideas is aimed at a comprehensive understanding of how the changes in governance in general is reflected in the governance of the tourism sector in particular, and how these changes affect institutional interactions and collaborations.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology and Overview of study area

This chapter provides an overview of the tools and techniques that will be utilized for the data collection and analysis. Short background information of the case study area and the constituent actors is also provided.

Methodology

In order to address the aims and answer the research questions of this study a mainly qualitative research methodology in the form of a case study is adopted. Odell (2001) comments on how on the basis of basic epistemological disagreement, that the terms "qualitative" and "case study" are used with diverse understanding by different scholars. This research proceeds on the basis that the case study is but one of the numerous several different ways social science research is conducted (Yin, 2009). The basis for choosing the case study approach is due to the focus of this research, which is on the contemporary phenomenon of governance within a real-life context of the tourism sector of the Central Region of Ghana. As Yin (2009:2) explains, the case study approach is appropriate in research where: i) "how" or "why" questions are being asked, ii) the researcher has little control over the research events, and iii) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life setting is being research. The case study approach is adopted also because it allows for the use of multiple sources of evidence/data needed to answer the questions. The main sources of data collection for this study include:
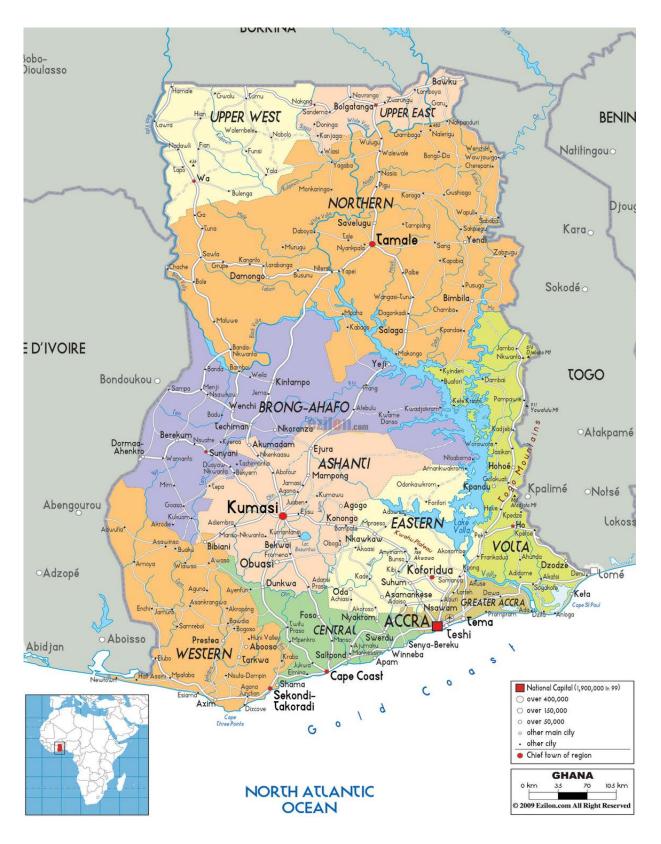
- Interviews; structured and semi-structured interviews with key personnel of the major stakeholders

- Documentary and archival records; review of all issued acts, decrees and policies that directly address the issues of tourism development and governance in Ghana generally and in the Central Region in particular. Additionally internal and external policy evaluation reports will be analysed.

- Newspaper and website survey; relevant articles in local newspapers and on websites to be surveyed.

Data collected will be analysed with the help of the Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software. This will be fully complemented with a manual data analysis through a series of pattern matching and explanation building.

The Study Area: Central Region and the actors in the tourism sector

Considered as the tourism hub of Ghana, the Central Region of Ghana is the former centre of government (Map 1 below). During the colonial period up until 1877, the regional capital, Cape Coast served as the seat of the British colonial administration. This long history of contact with Europeans notwithstanding, the formal development of tourism in the region is considered to be at the inception state of a tourism destination lifecycle. The major tourist attractions in the region include;

a) Castles and forts; two of these the Cape Coast Castle and the Elmina Castle have been designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites due to their role in the infamous Transatlantic Slave Trade.

b) Kakum National Park; this 357km^2 rainforest contains rare butterflies, birds and game (including the forest elephant). An attractive feature of the park is the 350m long and 40m high treetop canopy walkway that provides a good top view of the park.

c) Pristine Beaches; palm-fringed beaches with gentle rollers to sizeable breakers adore much of the coast of the region.

d) National and traditional festivals; the celebration of major traditional festivals in the region attracts a lot of people. The region is also the centre piece of the annual Emancipation Day celebrations and the biennial PANAFEST (Pan-African Festival) celebrations that attract largely people of African descent in the Diaspora.

Map 1: Map showing the location of Ghana and the Central Region

The major actors in the tourism sector of the Central Region include;

The Ministry of Tourism (MOT): The MOT was created in 1993 and was given the mandate to develop, promote and coordinate all tourism activities in Ghana. Since its creation, the functions of the ministry have been expanded to include the modernization of the capital city – Accra – which was later replaced with Diasporan Relations. Since the change of government in 2009, the ministry has reverted back to its original mandate and name as MOT. The MOT is the tourism policy making body in Ghana with two implementing agencies – the Hotel, Tourism and Catering Training Institute (HOTCATT) and the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) which was formerly the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB).

The Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA): The GTA was established in 2011 by a Parliament of Ghana Act 817 (Tourism Act, 2011) to be the main implementing body of the MOT. The GTA was established to replace the GTB, which was established in 1973 by the National Redemption Council (NRC) Decree 224 as amended by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) Decree 80 in 1977. The functions of the GTA include, implementation of policies developed by the MOT, regulation of tourism enterprises, promotion and marketing of tourism, facilitation of tourism product development and the conduct of research into tourism to aid policy making. The functions of the GTA are carried out through regional and district offices which are also found in the Central Region.

The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB): The GMMB is the legal custodian of the material and cultural heritage of Ghana including movable and immovable heritage. Established in 1957, the GMMB is responsible for among others, archeological sites, preserved ancient builds as well as the numerous forts and castles that line the shores of Ghana. Thus the GMMB is in charge of the governance and regulation of tourist activities that takes place in the two UNESCO designated World Heritage Sites in the Central Region.

Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT): is a non-governmental, not-for-profit organization that seeks for the preservation and conservation of the historic, cultural and biodiversity resources of Ghana. The GHCT aims for socio-economic development through the unique combination of historical and natural resources conservation activities. In conjunction with the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission of Ghana, the GHCT is responsible for the management of the canopy walkway, the visitor centre and the camping

sites situated in and around the Kakum National Park. The GHCT operates mainly in the Central Region with other projects related to support to the GMMB and the GTA.

The Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission (WD-FC): The WD-FC is one of the three divisions of the Forestry Commission and is directly responsible for all wildlife in Ghana, administering 16 Wildlife-Protected Areas, 5 coastal sites and the Accra and Kumasi Zoos. Its mission statement is to use the conservation and management of Ghana's wildlife resources for the socio-economic benefits for all segments of the society. The development of tourism and eco-tourism in the protected areas is seen as one way of providing socio-economic benefits to surround communities. Thus the governance and regulation of the Kakum National Park for example is directly in the hands of the WD-FC.

The Central Regional Development Commission (CEDECOM): Established in 1990, CEDECOM is the regional development agency set up by the Central Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) as part of the decentralization process in Ghana. CEDECOM serves as both the technical and development wing of the RCC with responsibility to attract investment and spearhead development efforts in the region. CEDECOM has as its objective the promotion of an integrated development of the region. In this regard, there is a specialized Tourism Development department that seeks to attract investment for the development of the tourism sector in the region – especially private sector involvement. CEDECOM played a key role in securing funds that were used for the rehabilitation of the Cape Coast and Elmina castles.

The Ghana Tourism Federation (GHATOF): GHATOF is the umbrella organization for all the private sector bodies involved in the tourism sector of Ghana. Its formation started in 1995 with the coming together of individual trade associations including operators of hotels, car rentals, and tour operators among others. The objective of GHATOF is to champion the cause of the private sector in the tourism sector of Ghana. Membership status of GHATOF comprises of associations registered and licensed by the GTA as well as non-registered and/or unlicensed associations that are granted affiliates status. Members include; Ghana Association of Travel and Tour Agents (GATTA), Tour Operators Union of Ghana (TOUGHA), Ghana Hotels Association, Tour Guides Association of Ghana (TGAG) and Ghana Traditional Caterers Association (GTCA). Many of associations who are part of GHATOF have regional

offices in the Central Region and hence regional representation when it comes to issues of tourism in the region.

Miscellaneous actors: Aside from the above actors in the tourism sector of the region, there are other individuals and groups who affect and are affected by tourism governance policies. These include other public agencies and bodies like local metropolitan, municipal and district governments, the regional branch of the Environmental Protection Agency, office of the Town and Country Planning units, traditional authorities like Chiefs, heads of communities, fishermen groups and local transport associations.

With many different categories of actors in the tourism sector of the Central Region, it is important to find out the governing outcomes of their interaction. The data methods being adopted in this study will enable the collection of the relevant information and data that will be analysed and presented in the proceeding chapters. The analysis will point out the answers to the questions set out at the beginning of this research.

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