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The Impact of Pro-poor Tourism Strategies on the Poor: The Case of Mognori Community on the Fringe of the Mole National Park in Northern Ghana

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Abstract:

It has been established in academic literature that the multidimensional nature of poverty demands equally multidimensional approaches to counter it. Also, there is agreement that a successful poverty reduction approach is that which promotes the livelihood chances of the poor rather than work against them. So therefore, the development of Pro-Poor Tourism has reinforced the argument that tourism can only have a telling impact on poverty if the Pro-Poor Tourism strategies work to enhance the livelihood chances of the poor. In this research, I examined how Pro-Poor Tourism strategies impact the poor, using the Mognori community (on the fringe of the Mole National Park) as a case study. The researcher adopted the stratified sampling approach, which is a probability sampling technique in selecting a total of 15 respondents for the study. The stratified sampling technique was appropriate to ensure that various subgroups within the community were represented. The technique was also necessary to enable the sub-groups to freely express themselves and not feel intimidated by another group. The research revealed that a number of Pro-poor tourism strategies that have been implemented by the authority of the Mole National Park in collaboration with SNV. The study concluded that, tourism development in the local community has positively impacted their lives to a greater stretch. However, issues of management, power and equity in benefit sharing and other challenges still work against the utilisation of the full potentials of tourism development in the community. It was recommended that the authorities of the Mole National Park should make financial management and accountability a key training theme in the workshops organised for the community. These workshops should include the members of the tourism management team and all key stakeholders in the community such as the chief. This would ensure that the revenue realised from tourism in the community is well accounted for, and also ensure that there is trust in the financial accountability that is rendered to the community. It was also recommended that more women should be given the opportunity to participate fully in regulating tourism activities rather than merely taking part. By so doing, the women numbers should be increased on the tourism management team and they should be encouraged to actively participate. It was further recommended that the authorities of the Mole National Park should make financial management and accountability a key training theme in the workshops organised for the community. These workshops should include the members of the tourism management team and all key stakeholders in the community such as the chief.

1. Introduction

1.1. Tourism Development

The study of tourism and of tourists' behaviour gained momentum from the 1920s, specifically in the Anglo-American Context (Hall and Page, 2005), and this has continued as the tourism sector has continued to grow (Jamal and Robinson, 2009). The tourism sector has not only gained weight in the academic circles—where it is being discussed and studied—but the development of tourism has increasingly earned a significant spot in most government priority lists, given the significant impact that the industry leaves on both developed and developing economies. This has been reflected in the growing scale of both national and international tourism with their concomitant impact on the world economy as seen over the years (see, for example UNWTO, 2013, 2012; Deloitte, 2013; Blanke, Chiesa and Crotti, 2013; Cornellsen, 2005; Eugenio-Martini *et al* 2004).

Many writers and governments recognise tourism as one of the world's most rapidly growing economic sectors and possibly the potent route to ensuring economic improvement and poverty alleviation. Although tourism takes place mostly in the developed countries, the significant role the tourism sector plays in the global South (seen by the increasing numbers of tourists from the North

to the South) has attracted positive comments (see, for example, Samimi *et al* 2011; Lansing and de Vries, 2006; ODI, 2006; Roe *et al* 2004; Binns and Nel, 2002).

While the Global North still accounts for the largest share of international arrivals, the rate of increase of tourists' numbers in developing countries has been impressive. East Asia and the Middle East have realised increased international tourist arrivals in the past decade, resulting in increased economic and social impacts (Sharpley and Telfer, 2008). In a forecast of future tourist arrival numbers, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, hereafter) projects that, given the current growth trends, the international tourist arrival is expected to increase to 1.6 billion by 2020. Out of this number, Africa and Asia, which have majority of Least Developed Countries (LDCs), are projected to realise 75 million and 416 million respectively as a share of the total arrivals (UNDP, 2011). In specific terms, three emerging economies —China, Russia and Brazil— have been making gigantic strides in the tourism industry and in 2013 these countries accounted for half of the world's increase in tourism expenditure as they increasingly become drivers of outbound markets and popular tourists' destinations in recent years (UNWTO, 2013). In fact, although in absolute terms, the developed world still musters the larger share of tourist arrivals and receipts, the developing countries have realised positive growth over the years (see, Hall 2007:1). Indeed, "while developed economies remain both the major tourism destinations and source of international tourism, developing countries are quickly catching up" (UNDP, 2011: 6).

1.2. Brief introduction to Pro-Poor Tourism

The research interest in the economic development potentials of tourism gained weight in the 1990s and that led to the promotion of tourism forms such as eco-tourism to boost the economic benefits that are received by destination communities. Recent attentions have been to promote 'equity dimension of sustainable development' (Hall 2007:2) in order to help reduce poverty. However, poverty reduction is not promised by the mere growth in tourists' numbers or economic indicators like Gross Domestic Product (Johnson *et al* 2011; Leclercq, 2010; Leblanc 2001; Lele, 1991) but rather by promoting equity and reducing inequalities (Tucker and Ludi, 2012; Ravallion, 2007; World Bank, 2006). Previously, particularly in the 1950s, the idea of relying on the overall performance of the tourism sector to benefit the poor and disadvantaged in society was much founded on the premise that the poor would benefit from the "trickle down" effects that accrue from the growth and development of the tourism industry (Harrison, 2008). However, there is a growing realization that poverty reduction could be materialized if strategies are designed specifically to promote the development of livelihood opportunities for the poor. The loopholes and deficiencies identified in the previous thinking about using tourism to reduce poverty triggered concerns about making tourism unconditionally beneficial to the poor. These concerns have ignited calls for strategies to particularly make tourism work for the poor, hence the idea of Pro-Poor Tourism (Harrison, 2008). Pro-Poor Tourism is 'defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor' (Ashley, Goodwin and Roe, 2001: 1).

1.3. Rationale and Significance of the Research

In spite of the positive comments that have embraced the concept of Pro-Poor Tourism, there are other comments that seek to disfavour the hype that is associated with it. The criticisms do not reject the potentials of PPT to alleviate poverty but they cast doubts over the efficiency of the PPT strategies in lifting the poorest in society out of their situations (see, for example, Harrison, 2008; Schilcher, 2008).

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the discussions on PPT. This would be done by assessing the impact of PPT strategies in the Mognori community, located in the south-eastern part of the Mole National Park in Ghana.

Like many other developing economies, tourism has been an important sector of the Ghanaian economy. The country is popular for its rich cultural tourism, unique historical and recreational sites and national parks for game viewing as it has become one of the favourite stops in West Africa (Ahiawodzi, 2013; Ministry of tourism, 2008). Since 1972 there have been various national tourism development plans to drive the tourism sector (Ahiawodzi, 20013), and the importance attached to the tourism sector has led to increased investments from both the public and private sectors which have resulted in increased receipts and arrivals, and contribution to employment and the GDP (Ministry of tourism *et al.* 2012; Bank of Ghana, 2007; Ghana Tourist Board, 2006). Despite this contribution, less attention had often been paid to answering the question of how tourism benefits the poor (Acheampong, 2011). However, in the last decade, there have been recognitions of the importance of tourism in poverty reduction. In particular, PPT strategies have been initiated in the country by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) including the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV). SNV particularly has been an instrumental organisation in propelling the course of making tourism work for the poor as it partnered in the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) which was established in 2002 to advance the fight against poverty through tourism (UNWTO, 2013).

One of the interventions of SNV was to partner with the Mole National Park in promoting tourism in the Mognori community. By using the Mognori community as a case study, this research does not seek to necessarily to repair a research gap, however, it seeks to contribute to the understanding of the concerns about PPT strategies and the influence they exert on the livelihood chances of the poor, as they are frequently discussed in the literature. By using a qualitative method of assessments, the research hopes to get primary evidence of how PPT strategies have been faring in trying to improve the livelihood chances of the poor by collecting data from the poor—who are supposed to be the ultimate targets and beneficiaries of such initiatives. The research seeks to find answers to the following questions.

- 1) In what ways and extent do the Pro-Poor Tourism strategies influence/affect the lives and livelihoods of the people of the Mognori community?
- 2) How are the PPT strategies managed in the community, and who is responsible for what? 3) Are these strategies being replicated in

other fringe communities of the park? If so, what are the characteristics and outcomes?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Conceptualisations of Poverty, the Poor and Sustainable Livelihoods

This sub-section does not seek to provide an exhaustive review of the concepts of poverty and sustainable livelihoods. Rather, it gives a brief background and the salient characteristics of the concepts as they relate to this research.

2.1.1. Poverty and the Poor

Poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon with a complex web of causative factors (Layte and Whelan, 2002; Alkire 2007; Fuduca-Parr, 2006; Barrett 2005; Bourguignon and Chakravarty 2003, Cattarinich, 2001) is referred to as the inability to have access to certain things which are considered as 'basic needs'. In fact, poverty has long been identified as a challenge, and has been seen by many to occupy the position of the world's greatest problem (UNDP and IPC 2006; World Bank, 2000). The emergent need to alleviate it has therefore been established, however, 'how to measure and assess progress in this crucial area remains uncertain' (Mowafi, 2004:1). The dimensions of it include not only low incomes but the low access to education, health needs and nutrition. It also encompasses powerlessness, voicelessness, vulnerability and fear (World Bank, 2000). The poor are those who find themselves in these forms of deprivations because they often lack the opportunities, the empowerment and the security to improve their livelihood chances. According to the World Bank (2000) to be poor means "to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled. But for poor people, living in poverty is more than this. Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control" (pp. 15). In whatever form it is being defined, understanding it demands a multi-dimensional approach—material and non-material dimensions to poverty (Cohen 2010). In spite of the recognition that poverty has many dimensions beyond the material well-being (AMAP, 2004) the material dimension of it has often been propagated (Mowforth and Munt, 2008; Cattarinich, 2001). The material dimensions of poverty make reference to the dollar per day per individual quotation (World Bank, 2010). Using the amount of dollar that can be found in the pockets of individuals in a day, individuals who live on less than \$2 are classified as living in poverty, while individuals who live on less than \$1 per day are also defined as living in extreme poverty (Mowforth and Munt, 2008; World Bank, 2000). The World Bank (2010) concedes that much effort is needed in particularly understanding the non-income dimensions of poverty as the income approach conceals the other dimensions of it, and therefore affects strategies to alleviate poverty. In response to understanding the multiple dimensions of poverty for effective interventions, various approaches including the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach have gained some popularity in the understanding of fundamental dimensions of particularly rural poverty (Norton and Foster, 2001).

2.1.2. Sustainable Livelihoods

The concept of Sustainable Livelihood is one of the approaches that aim at using multidimensional methods in diagnosing poverty and the measures to alleviate it. It stresses on the participation of the poor in the identification of the dimensions of poverty and solutions by building on the existing livelihood chances of the poor (Cattarinich, 2001, Carney, 1999, Ellis, 1999). The approach identifies five types of assets for the poor—human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital, and financial capital—and seeks to develop them while taking into consideration the vulnerabilities, risks and threats that the poor face (Norton and Foster, 2001). In fact, even though the approach may be adopted by institutions (in various sectors) differently, the underlying feature is that they should help enhance the livelihood chances of the poor (Kebe and Muir, 2008). Following the popularity of the concept, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework was developed to offer an open-ended approach to poverty reduction (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 1998). Although the framework does not claim a universal solution to the understanding of poverty, it does offer a background for understanding the enhancers or constraints of livelihoods. It does not seek to provide an exact representation of the poverty situation in every particular case, rather, it provides a generic approach, and therefore there is the need for specific in-depth analysis of case studies before the adoption of the framework (DFID, 1999). Going by the basic principles of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, tourism can become an effective tool for poverty reduction if it seeks to enhance existing livelihood chances for the poor. Indeed, the application of sustainable livelihoods in Namibia showed that tourism has a wide range of livelihood enhancement opportunities for rural residents in parts of Namibia (see Ashley, 2000).

2.2. Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT)

The growing recognition that tourism can only have the desired impact on poverty reduction if strategies are designed to be unconditionally favourable and beneficial to the poor (see, for example, Deloitte *et al.* 1999) propelled the idea of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT hereafter). PPT is defined as the measures that "aim to increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism, and ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction" (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2001: viii). The PPT agenda places much focus on how tourism can unlock opportunities for the poor through the implementation of strategies that positively affects the livelihood of the poor (Jamieson *et al.* 2004; Goodwin, 2004; Roe and Khanya, 2001; Cattarinich, 2001; Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000; Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001; Ashley, Goodwin and Roe, 2001; Deloitte *et al.* 1999). The benefits should not only be economic, but may also include socio-cultural and environmental benefits. A pro-poor strategy is only worth pursuing when the benefits outweigh the cost of participation of the poor in the PPT strategy (Cattarinich, 2001). PPT is not synonymous with other niche tourism. Rather, it can be applied to any tourism type (like ecotourism or community-based tourism) so long as they bring unconditional benefits and unlock opportunities for the poor (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001). PPT continues to gain wide currency since it was introduced in the

1990s (Harrison, 2008). Although PPT is relatively new (Harrison, 2008; Bowden, 2005), it increasingly becomes a checklist for various governments, NGOs and other agencies in the development of the tourism sector (Ashley and Goodwin, 2007; Hall, 2007) as it continuously earns credit as one of the most concrete ways of ensuring poverty alleviation among the poor of especially in developing countries (see, for example, Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2001; Roe *et al.*, 2004).

A collaborative partnership (known as the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership) between the International Center for Responsible Tourism (ICRT), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has been the loudest advocates of the course of promoting tourism to reduce poverty (Hall, 2007). In connection with this, the Partnership launched a website (www.propoortourism.org.uk) for publication of model PPT strategies and reports, and opens up the subject for discussion. Following the earlier work of the PPP and the progress that has been made, the UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) to promote the course of PPT in particularly developing countries (UNWTO, 2013). There are several other partnerships (e.g. see Responsible Tourism Partnership, www.propoortourism.info) and the development of academic literature (e.g. Zhao and Ritchie, 2007) that research into the applicability of PPT to ensure a better understanding on the confluence between tourism and poverty.

2.3. How Pro-poor Tourism has fared

The focus and scale of PPT interventions range from the intervention of private organisations in expanding and enhancing the livelihood chances of the poor to the intervention of a national programme that seeks to increase the participation of the poor in the development process. It has attracted interest not only from the academic circles institutions like Netherland Development Organisation (SNV), Asian Development Bank and the World Bank all support pro-poor tourism agenda (Mitchell, 2010). The growth and recognition of the need for PPT strategies have also shaped the policy directions of various governments and organisations in a bid to clamp-down on poverty in especially Africa, Asia, Central and South America (Ashley and Goodwin, 2007).

Beyond the rhetoric, there are many success stories of PPT in many developing countries (Ashley, 2002) in spite of the fact that it is new (relative to other forms of tourism such as mass tourism and Ecotourism). For any form of tourism to be regarded as being pro-poor, Jamieson *et al* (2004:3), indicate that it should have the capacity to: create employment or development opportunities; unlock the livelihood opportunities for the poor; increase the capacity of the poor to take part in decision making. In order to give an empirical basis to the desk-based study by Deloitte and Touche, IIED and ODI (see Deloitte *et al.* 1999) that spelt out a number of strategies for developing tourism in developing countries, the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership conducted a seminal six-country case study of pro-poor interventions. The results of the case studies proved that, given the right push, tourism can help alleviate poverty in developing countries. The particular characteristics and outcomes of the case studies are well reported in the country-specific reports (see, Poultney and Spenceley, 2001; Mahony and Zyl, 2001; Saville, 2001, Braman and Amazonia, 2001; Renard, 2001 and Nicanor, 2001). After the result of the six-country case study had been published, it widened the interest in the subject matter and many other case studies have been conducted since.

The recognition of the potential of tourism to help reduce poverty in South Africa, for example, influenced government programmes to promote the involvement of the poor in tourism development and benefit sharing. In spite of some challenges and cost (see, Spenceley and Seif, 2003: 10-11) such as financial costs, these programmes have chalked some successes in enhancing the livelihoods of local communities through tourism. In fact, the success stories of PPT interventions in South Africa have widely been covered (see for example Rogerson, 2006; Spenceley and Seif, 2003; Mahony and Zyl, 2001).

Several other PPT interventions have been spearheaded by organisations such as SNV. For example, before the intervention of SNV, the tourism potentials in the Humla district, West Nepal were underdeveloped, and the rich got all the little benefits that tourism could accrue. The intervention of SNV saw to the development of tourism in the district, and projection of local community involvement in the planning processes and benefit sharing. SNV also influenced the introduction of participatory action plans and the organisations of local groups to manage trekking tourism—the major form of tourism in the district. Under the Great Himalaya Trail Development Programme (GHTDP), the government of Nepal now works closely with local NGOs to train local communities on tourism development and other livelihood enhancement opportunities. All these interventions impacted positively on the lives of the locals as they received training to become cooks, tea shop and lodge owners, guides, porters and also small tour operators (SNV, 2012). As a result of the trainings, most of the beneficiaries now operate their own small enterprises and some are also being employed by big tour operators (NTB *et al.*, 2014).

2.4. Emerging Concerns and Criticisms

Although there may be challenges, interventions by governments and NGOs have chalked some success in making tourism beneficial to the poor. Indeed, the abilities of PPT to help alleviate poverty have been acclaimed; however, it has also raised some concerns, contestations and some critical debates within the academic circles (Hall, 2007). Schilcher (2008), Harrison (2008) and Chok *et al* (2007) have been the loudest in raising some pertinent concerns about the PPT agenda.

First, the ODI (2007) concedes that, seven or so years on after the birth of PPT, there have been some successes as well as daunting concerns. One of the concerns has been that most PPT interventions pay limited attention to marketing tourism products. It observes that most interventions focus on trainings and infrastructure but fail to find market demand domestically or internationally for the poor. Harrison (2008) among others also argues that, the case is so because the very ideas of PPT are conceptually blurred. He claims that the strategies do not often consider the important need for commercial viability and therefore 'its practitioners are academically and commercially marginal' (Harrison, 2008: 864). The reason for this is tied to the fact that PPT both conceptually and practically

maintains existing status quo of neo-liberal system without efforts to check power structures and distribution (Çetin, and Özgür, 2012; Hall, 2008).

Others feel that the tourism sector is still embedded in a 'neoliberal ethic' where the policy makers (such as UNWTO) implement hegemonic policies that are exploitative of the Global South, and these policies on pro-poor regulations and distribution remain the rhetoric of some United Nation Organisations (Viswanath, 2007; Schilcher, 2008; Chok *et al*, 2007). Viswanath (2007) argues that those policies that get to be implemented, do not often address issues such as rights and marginalisation of communities, as they put the Global South at a disadvantage. In fact, Hall (2007) cautions against the continuous propagation of market openness and trade liberalisation by the world institutions like the UNDP and UNWTO as a catalyst to propel the fight against poverty through tourism without the restructuring of some fundamental challenges. He argues that unless there are some structural changes, the chances of fighting poverty in many developing worlds through tourism would remain weak and far to reach.

Concerns have also been raised about how PPT strategies are interlinked with other non-tourism strategies that seek to benefit the poor. Although tourism has the potential of being linked to other sectors of the local economy such as Agriculture and construction this has often not been case. The reasons for this situation are mainly associated with the perceived quality of the local products and the consumer taste for westernised products (Deloitte *et al*, 1999). This was evidenced in an in-depth case study of Cancun, Mexico, conducted by Torres and Momsen (2004) who discovered the weak linkages that existed between the tourism sector and the Agriculture sector of the Mexican economy by drawing on a field work that was conducted in Cacun during 1997–98. The results of the study showed that there existed very weak linkages between hotels and local farmers in terms of the supply of foodstuff to the hotels. Strong linkages between sectors have the propensity to boost the success projects and programmes, but these are not often implemented. DFID (1999:3, cited in Torres and Momsen 2004), confirms this in its report by stating that, 'linkages are frequently discussed, rarely seen and particularly important but difficult to develop'.

Other concerns about the idea of PPT take an equity dimension. In relation to the dominance of neoliberal governance of the tourism industry, Schilcher's (2008) argument is that, tourism in itself ignores the equity aspects of growth but largely considers growth to be synonymous with economic growth. She adds that, this limited view of growth and development put the brakes on the depth of pro-poor interventions, which have the potential to aggravate poverty by widening the inequalities within society rather than solve it. Her arguments stem from the fact that the PPT objectives (see, for example Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001) do not factor-in the issue of equity and power dynamics. Proponents of PPT rarely consider the distribution of benefits but rather claim that strategies should be judged as being pro-poor if they deliver net benefits to the poor, even if the rich benefit disproportionately. Deloitte and Touche *et al*. (1999: 36) give credit to this argument by highlighting that 'economic benefits generated by Pro-Poor Tourism may not reach the poorest – workers and entrepreneurs are unlikely to be from the poorest quintile'. PPT in this sense does ignore distributive justice and power relations (Chok *et al*, 2007, Schilcher, 2008), although these have the potential aggravate poverty by preventing the poorest (who are the ultimate targets) from benefitting from pro-poor interventions. In fact, "irrespective the 'type' of tourism, the major question relating to equity is who ultimately benefits" (Schilcher, 2008: 184). These concerns are echoed in Blake *et al*'s (2009) case study of Brazil which reveals that income benefits from tourism were not fairly distributed among households, with the poorest (lowest-income households) being at the disadvantage. Recommendations are that PPT interventions should check power structures and redistribution of wealth and resources rather than maintaining the status quo of capitalism (Harrison, 2008) and specifically, emphasises should also be placed on protectionism—where the poorest are being protected from being exploited, and are made to benefit the most (Schilcher, 2008).

Related to the above, other writers question the level of participation and empowerment that are given to local people, a part from the economic gains that they may gain from PPT interventions. Although, theoretically, policies and programmes (for that matter PPT), do cater for issues of local participation, there is evidence to show that the practice is not often the same. Interventions by donors, NGOs and governments often are centralised, and the views of the poor are often side-lined. Sofield (2003) argues that real community participation was left out in the tourism plan that was drawn by the WTO-OMT for Sri Lanka as he adds that participation was just a form of 'window-dressing' which was meant to "assist in minimizing adverse community reaction, rather than genuine community involvement in determining for itself the role of tourism development in its community. It is more concerned, it would appear, with a public relations exercise" (pp 107). They are often relegated to the receiving end of the development equation (Smith and Duffy, 2003). This makes empowerment of the poor in decisions very central to the achievement of pro-poor's targets. Even at the local level, the decision-making process, if not checked and influenced, often does not include the poor (Schilcher, 2008). The decisions are taken by local elites or the rich within the society.

In addition to the lack of monitoring of PPT projects and difficulty in measuring impacts (ODI, 2007), other pertinent concerns have to do with the limited attention that PPT agenda pays to socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor people. The objectives of PPT makes social, cultural and environmental benefits as secondary to economic benefits (see Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001). Harrison (2008) and Chok *et al* (2007) question how any development agenda would treat environmental sustainability as a secondary issue. Schilcher (2008) argues for generational equity by indicating that the needs of host communities must be set on equal footing with the environment and the entire tourism industry.

Summarily, PPT strategies implemented in some instances in developing countries have seen some successes in improving the livelihood chances of the poor. However, PPT has also been met with a number of criticisms and concerns that question its ability to wage a much-strengthened crusade against poverty. The emerging concerns do not reject the need and importance of reducing poverty, neither do they underestimate the potential of tourism to champion a course towards poverty reduction. However, the issues, concerns and criticisms have often to do with the forms of policies, their implementation, the distribution of benefits and the need to address the challenges of other fundamental areas such as trade liberalisation, that affect tourism in attaining set targets in poverty alleviation.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The research design adopted in this research is the case study. The case study approach is one of the numerous research designs used in social science research. Apart from in social science, the case study strategy has also been used in other fields to identify distinctive characteristic of a phenomenon and 'to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (Yin 2003:2). The case study approach allows for the interview of the persons involved in the event and the researcher has variety of evidence through documents, interview, artefacts and observation. Although 'how' and 'why' questions may be used in case studies, 'what' questions are often used especially with exploratory case studies. To facilitate the case study design adopted in this research, this study also adopted a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is particularly necessary for exploratory case studies in understanding the processes by which events happen and allow for the development of explanations into social phenomena (Creswell, 2009, 2003, Hancock *et al.*, 2007; Cloke *et al.*, 2004; Ritchie, 2003; Berg, 2001). It has been conceded by qualitative and even quantitative researchers that qualitative research methods are appropriate in measuring causal change (e.g. Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002 cited in Maxwell, 2008; Baxter and Jack, 2008). In essence, the study adopted a qualitative case study approach which is appropriate to evaluate pro- poor strategies and their impact on poverty alleviation, and would therefore be necessary for participants to give causal account of the transition before and after the implementation of the pro-poor strategies. This means an in-depth exploration of the events in a particular case study would be an appropriate approach/strategy.

3.2. Conceptual and Theoretical Underpinnings

Social science research is particularly useful when theoretical underpinnings and social investigations become mutually dependent and enhancing such that social investigation 'is informed by theory and interpreted in the light of it' (Bulmer, 1982: 152, cited in Ritchie 2003). Silverman (2000: 86, quoted in Ritchie 2003) argues that "without theory, research is impossibly narrow. Without research, theory is mere armchair contemplation". The conceptual and theoretical frameworks that underpin this research include pro-poor tourism development and sustainable livelihood framework, and in the end the research should be able to contribute to the better understanding of the concepts. The concept of Pro-Poor Tourism claims that tourism has the capacity to alleviate poverty given the condition that strategies are meant purposely to unlock opportunities for the poor. The Sustainable livelihoods approach was adopted because, as indicated in the previous sections, it takes into consideration both the internal and external factors that enhance or inhibit the livelihood chances of the poor as has been confirmed in several livelihood related case studies (see, for example, Winchebach, 2013, Turton, 2000).

3.3. Sample Size and Categories of Respondents

The sample size of 15 persons was chosen from the community. The sample size was chosen because of limited resources to be able to attend to all households in the research site. The in-depth, interactive and time-consuming nature of such a qualitative research (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006) justifies this size. In addition, some key informants from the community and the Mole National Park were interviewed in order to achieve the objectives of the research. The key informants from the community included the chief and focus group made up members of the tourism management team. These informants are connected with the management of tourism in the community. Two officials of the Mole National Park were interviewed one each from the Community Resource Unit and the Tourism Unit. These institutions are responsible for community and tourism development. Table 1 indicates all the categories of respondents.

3.4. Sampling Techniques

As indicated in table 1, the sample was chosen from the youth (aged 18-35 years), men (aged 36 years and above) and women (aged 36 years and above). This stratified sampling technique was appropriate to ensure that various subgroups within the community were represented (McLafferty, 2010 and Rice, 2010). The stratified sampling was also necessary to enable the sub-groups to freely express themselves and not feel intimidated by another group.

| Category | Number of persons |
|--|------------------------|
| Community members | |
| Youth | 5 (3 females, 2 males) |
| Men | 5 |
| Women | 5 |
| Key informants | |
| Chief (male) | 1 |
| Focus group | 5 |
| Institutions | |
| An official from Community Resource Unit | 1 |
| An official from Tourism Unit | 1 |
| Total | 23 |

Table 1: The Categories of Respondents
Source: Author's Construct, 2014

This was particularly important as men are the heads of households in northern Ghana and women look up to them in terms of decision making, and often feel intimidated to speak to certain issues when the household head are present. The subgroups were therefore interviewed separately. Within each subgroup, the simple random sampling was applied. First, 15 households were sampled from the total of about 70 households in the community then one member from the household was then interviewed. This was applied to give all the individuals within the subgroups equal chances of being included in the sample (Rice, 2010; Cloke *et al*, 2004).

3.5. Data Collected, their Sources and the Techniques used

The research engaged a qualitative research approach to help explore the forms and extent to which Pro-Poor Tourism strategies impact the lives and livelihoods of the poor. Before conducting the case study research, there was the need to review literature on the concepts of Poverty, Sustainable Livelihoods and Pro-Poor Tourism. These secondary data were important to be abreast of the discussions surrounding the concepts. The secondary data collection also enabled me to find out basically how Pro-Poor Tourism strategies have fared since its inception and the emerging concerns. The secondary data were obtained from different sources including internet, journals, articles, technical reports on the development of Pro-Poor Tourism, government policy documents and other web publications. The main data used for this research was the primary data and the main included the Mognori community members—youth, men, women, chief, focus group and the authority of the Mole National Park: Tourism Unit and the Community Resource Unit. Table 2 indicates the types of primary data collected and their sources. The main technique adopted in collecting the primary data was semi-structured interview guides. This meant that there was a personal contact or face-to-face interaction between the interviewer and the interview subjects. This was applied to all the categories of respondents. The use of interviews in the qualitative data gave the research subjects an opportunity to give reasons for their responses. Cloke *et al* (2004: 169) and Hopf (2004) emphasise the abilities of interviews to enable in-depth exploration of social characteristics in ethnographic research. The semi-structured nature of the interviews also ensured that I had the chance to discuss at length with interview subjects, however, I was also guided by the interview topics (see Table 2 for the interview topics that guided the discussion between the researcher and the interview subjects) to make sure that strange topics are not unnecessarily introduced into the discussions.

| Data sources | Interview topics | Instruments used |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Chief | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The historical antecedence of the community • Role of chief in the development of tourism in the community • Role in benefit sharing of benefits of the tourism to community • Challenges faced in tourism development in the community. | Interview guides |
| Community Resource Unit/Tourism Unit | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main roles of the units in community development • Forms of tourism development in the Mognori community • Sustainable mechanism of tourism in the community • Challenges faced in tourism development in the Mognori community • Tourism development strategies in other fringe communities | Interview guides |
| Focus group | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism development activities in the community • Roles of the Tourism Management Team • Tourists visit trends • Benefits of tourism to community | Interview guides |
| Men/Women/ Youth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main forms of occupations • Interactions with the park • Role in tourism development in the community • Benefits of tourism development to community/individuals • Any draw backs in the development of tourism | Interview guides |

Table 2: The Interview Topics, Sources of Data Collected and the Instrument used
Source: Author's Construct, 2014

This technique was also adopted ahead of other techniques because of the fact that the engagement of both the interviewer and interviewee helped to ensure that the avoidance of questions by respondents was kept to the bare minimal unlike other methods (e.g. mailing of questionnaires) where interviewees can easily skip questions (Cloke *et al*. 2004). Apart from the face-to-face interviews, observation was used to complement the interviews conducted. This was important to ascertain physical manifestations of issues relevant to the subject under study. To facilitate the observation process and to have a personal feel of some of the issues (Holly, Anubhav and Patrick, n.d) that emerged from the discussions or during the discussions, I took part in a village walk, visited the site for the canoe ride and witnessed a cultural dance. Before any of these methods was used, the consent of the participants was always sought and only after permission was granted that I would proceed. Before participants were made to consent to interview, they were made aware of the aims and objectives of the research. Where there was conflict between interest of participants and the objectives of the research, that of the participants were given priority.

3.6. Analysis and Reporting

Data analysis is a chain of related activities that are carried out to obtain meaningful information from data that have been collected (Technical Assistance Center (TAC), 2006). The transcription of the notes made during and after the interviews marked the beginning of the analysis process. The information gathered was then classified into categories using the topics discussed during the interviews. The ideas expressed under each topic were carefully examined in relation to the objectives of the research.

4. Results and Analysis

4.1. Main Occupations and other Activities around the Park

The Mognori community is one of the closest of the fringe communities to the Mole National Park. The main occupation of the people of the community, like the other fringe communities, is peasant farming and the main food crops cultivated include yam, cassava and cereals (maize and Millet). The farm produce is mainly for the immediate consumption of the family and at periods of bumper harvest, some of the farm produce are sold outside the community. Damongo—the district capital, serves as a ready market for the farmers. The creation of the Mole National Park pushed the location of farms to farther distances away from their homes which hitherto were very close. The close proximity of the farms to the park resulted in the damage of farms by animals, particularly elephants from the park. These animals destroyed crops and ate up the farm produce that were stored in farm hats. Although the farther distance of farms from the park has now reduced the rate at which farms are being destroyed, there are still isolated instances of farmers losing their farm produce to the ‘farm invasion’ by elephants (Yakubu, 2012). Other occupations include trading (mainly for some women). The proximity of the community to the park and the poverty situation, have also influenced some of the community members to take up secondary activities to complement their major occupation. These activities including hunting/poaching, bush burning and the fetching of firewood from the park affect the ecosystem and the natural make-up of the park (Yakubu, 2012).

4.2. The Development of Tourism in the Community

This community like most of the fringe community of the park has a lot of tourism potentials but has never been developed until in 2007 when tourism was promoted in the community under the project ‘the Mognori Eco-village’. This was established with the efforts of the Netherland Development Organisation (SNV) in collaboration with the authority of the Mole National Park. The Mognori Eco-village was established to boost the livelihood chances of the community members through tourism. The intentions behind the project were also to help reduce the negative activities like bush burning, hunting/poaching which were undertaken by community members in name of fending for themselves. Given the poverty status and the limited communication between the community and the rest of the world, the Mognori community was unable to sell its rich culture and tourism potentials that abound it. This made the intervention of the NGOs and the Mole National Park very important. To stress the issues of market for PPT projects that ODI (2007) calls for, the situation in this community is rather positive because of its close proximity to the Mole National Park. As part of the ‘Mognori Eco-village’ project, the management of the Mole National Park plays an important role in providing the community with the needed market. The authority of the park takes the responsibility to tell visitors to the park about the community and the rich touristic features that abound it. After tourists have enjoyed their safari in the park, they are redirected to Mognori to continue with eye-catching community tourism. Community consultation was seen as central in the planning and implementation process of the project which the villages attest to by indicating they had taken part of various meetings with some officials from the park (although he could not remember the total number of meetings held) in the build-up to the project implementation. Schilcher (2008) identifies this kind of participation and consultations with beneficiary communities as one of the determining factors of a successful PPT projects. But then, consultations in themselves may not be helpful if there is no commitment and support from beneficiary community. The Mognori community gave the needed support, which the authority of the park lauded as ‘determined seriousness’.

4.3. The Forms of Tourism Activities in the Community

In addition to the foot and Jeep safari that tourists enjoy in the Mole National Park, the Mognori community offers something different to the admiration of tourists. First, is village walking during which visitors enjoy the traditional architecture of the community that manifests in their locally mud-built and thatch-roofed/flat roofed houses. Visitors also go to for a pigeon-watch. Pigeons are being reared and tamed in the community and watching them is a good form of entertainment. The community also has a local shea butter production group and visitor go to witness the production process during the village walk. Some of the visitors even buy the shea product. Other activities include visit to the traditional craft house and the traditional medicine man who serves as immediate healing point in times of accident or illness before victims are sent to the clinic or hospital.

Canoe safari is another beautiful experience for visitors to the community. Although the river lies in the territory of the Mole National Park, the authority allows the local community to use it to provide a canoe ride for visitors. Visitors are offered a 45-minute to 1-hour ride on the river. The canoes are locally made and can take up to a maximum of eight seven persons including the paddlers. The paddlers are male youth from the community and those who have received some form of training. Apart from experiencing the cool ambience while on the ride, visitors get to watch some birds that are not found in the Mole National Park. These are often sea birds.



Figure 1: Tourists on a Canoe safari in Mognori
Source: Author's Construct, 2014

The community also offers homestays for visitors. Visitors who were impressed with the village walk may choose to stay in the community for as long as they wish at a fee. The homestays take place in specific persons' houses. Not everyone in the community is qualified to offer a homestay service to a visitor. These are people who had some special training at the start of the tourism project in the community.

Last but not least is the cultural display. Visitors who stay in the community are entertained with the local traditional dance during the night. This in the Hanga language is called the 'Zungor' dance. This is accompanied by music from drums made of hide that produce clear sound to the admiration of visitors.

The development of tourism can be said to have pervaded all aspects of the community. The tourism project utilises existing tourism potentials for development to provide for tourists a true experience of typical African ambience. The project offers an opportunity to open up the community to the world through tourism. Indeed, the best way to harness tourism for pro-poor growth is to capitalise on the existing pro-poor potentials and their livelihood potentials (Ashley, Goodwin and Roe, 2001).

4.4. Management of the Tourism Activities

The community is responsible for managing the tourism activities. A tourism management team, which is made up of a total of 27 members (of which over 70% are male) of the community, has the overall responsibility of ensuring the smooth running of the tourism activities and the management of the funds that are raised thereof. It keeps a record of all the funds that come in and is accountable to the community members. These members are selected from the canoe safari group and the cultural dance group, home stay group and sanitation group of the community. However, the chief and some elders of the community serve as the ex-officio members of the groups and committees. In order to ensure a fair representation and to ensure that decisions are less opposed the committees are formed such that at least every household has member in at least one of them. Apart from ease in taking decisions, the large number of the management team has to do with lack of trust among community members and this has been confirmed by the way accountability is rendered. There are set dates when the community convenes at the town centre to listen to the accounts and proceeds that have been raised from the tourism activities. This local management style empowers the local community to have influence over decision making concerning the day to day operation of the tourism activities and imbibes in them what Lachapelle (2008) refers to as 'a sense of ownership' in community development. However, the issue of power dynamics exists in the management structures of the community. Who forms part of the management team is the prerogative of the chief and his elders, although nominated members are subjected to approval from the community. In almost all cases nominated persons are accepted because of the respect that is accorded to traditional leaders. The only portfolio that is open for election is the chairman. In fact, the leaders of the team (chief, the chairman, manager and assistant manager) were all males, reflecting the underrepresentation of the

women in decision making of the tourism team. Governance and Leadership in the community as whole is regarded as role for the man and the woman should only perform supporting duties. The men are the breadwinners and household heads and therefore regarded as the leaders in all decision-making processes. This does not help women in terms of decision making and their leadership confidence as the women revealed that they have to be content with what the men would often say and decide. Obviously, the situation does not help in maximising results from pro-poor interventions.

4.5. Impact of Tourism Development on the Community

The benefit any Pro-Poor tourism strategies should not be limited to only the economic proceeds that they yield to the beneficiary society. While economic gains are important, implementers of Pro-Poor Tourism strategies should also be mindful of the socio-cultural and environmental effects (Harrison, 2008; Schilcher, 2008). The following is the dimension of impact that the tourism development in the community has on lives of the members and on their livelihoods.

4.6. Capacity Building Workshops

It is a good thing to see authority of the Mole National Park still follow up to organise training workshops for the tourism management team. The themes of the workshops are to build the capacity of the team to be able to run the day to day activities of tourism project and to ensure there are good relations between the community and visitors to the community. One downside of the training events is that they are not regular. They are conducted as and when the authority of the park deems it important and has the capacity. The authority of the park concedes that the training workshops have not been regular because of inadequate funds to undertake such activities. The training events largely depend on external support from Non-Governmental Organisations like the Netherlands Development Organisation and A Rocha Ghana who have been so instrumental in ensuring community development through tourism. The tourism management team recounted how the training sessions have been useful to the development and sustainability of tourism in the community as they attest there has been an upgrade in their skills in relation to the management and promotion of the community tourism. Here again, the commitment and cooperation of the team in taking part in training workshops has been positive, which the authority of the park referred to as encouraging.

4.6.1. Cultural and Social Impact

A good PPT initiative is one that does not endanger the environmental, cultural and social characteristics that a community upholds (Harrison, 2008). The tourism initiative in the community has been positive in upholding the social and cultural admirations. It has actually helped in strengthening the cultural and social dimensions of community development. With support from the authority of the Mole National Park, the community is trained on how to preserve its cultural heritage to serve tourists. Community members (men, women and the youth) reveal that the cultural dances that are organised to entertain tourists have also strengthened social unity and social cohesion in the community. All the community members interviewed feel that the dances are also a constant reminder of their cultural heritage, and enhance cultural reinforcement. Although there is a dance group responsible for entertaining tourists, dance nights are an opportunity for all and sundry to go and watch, and take part in the entertainment. Apart from tourists who pay for such shows, it is free entertainment for any community member. Since it is an activity that brings the villagers together, it facilitates information dissemination. The chief revealed that cultural dance events are one of the media through which the he and his elders of the community get to deliver important information on pertinent issues usually before the actual dance. This makes the initiative socially and culturally ethical, which Smith and Duff (2003) indicate should be the aim of every development intervention in order for the beneficiaries to buy into it.

4.6.2. Environmental and Health Benefits

The tourism project does not compromise the environmental sustainability and the health of the people. In fact, one of the concerns raised on PPT (see, Schilcher, 2008; Harrison, 2008; Chok *et al* 2007) is its ability to transcend economic borders, by ensuring that they are also environmentally compatible. In this study area, the community bit of environmental sustainability starts with the setting up of sanitation group within the community that is responsible for organising clean-up exercises (although irregular) to clean the environment, clear weeds and clean marshy areas that serve as breeding grounds for mosquitoes. This is an encouraging exercise that leaves positive signs on the health of the people as a community member makes a confession that 'on days that sanitation group goes out to clean the environment, I often get a sound sleep because I would not be disturbed by mosquitoes as often as they do on ordinary days'.

On health benefits, although not directly related to the tourism initiative, the community also gains access to health facilities as a result of its close proximity to the Mole National Park. A clinic located in the park to serve the health needs of the staff also serves some of the fringe communities particularly the Mognori community because of its close proximity to the park. They access the facility at no fee. Allowing the community members to access the health facility was inspired by the belief that development activities that come to the park must be for the common good of the staff and in a large extent for the fringe communities.

4.6.3. Economic Impact and other Livelihood Enhancement Benefits

The promotion of tourism in the community was found to have immense economic benefits and other livelihood enhancement opportunities. The community gains these benefits from the tourism activities that it offers to visitors by charging fees for all the tourism activities. The fees charged vary depending on the kind of activity. The tourism management team is responsible for revising charges, and according to them they do it depending on the prevailing economic situations (i.e. cost of living). Table 2 shows the

current fees charged for the various activities. In order to ensure the monies realised are for the common good of the community, the tourism team has created a bank account to save the money. Visitor numbers to the community have not always been regular all year round. Summer and Christmas seasons are the peak periods of visitors to the community. During these peak periods, the community receives an average of 300 visitors into the community. About 90% of the visitors take part in the canoe Safari, and about 20 visitors take part in local dance within a week.

| Type of activity | Fee/Charge (GHC) | Unit of Charge |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Village walk | 8 | Per person |
| Canoe Safari | 25 | Per trip |
| Local dance | 30 | Per 1-4 persons |
| Local homestays | 10 | Per person per night |

Table 3: Fees charged for the tourism activities in the Mognori community

Source: Field work, 2014.

The revenue from the first three main activities (listed in the table 3) goes into the community treasury. The money in the treasury is used to meet three things.

First, from the treasury, the tourism management team (which manages the coffers) runs the day to day activities and pays the team members some allowance from it. The allowances are given to members at least every three months. The paddlers of the canoes, the tour guides and the cultural dancers are all paid some allowance from the community treasury. The money (amount is determined by the chairman, manager and assistant manager) that the individuals get, however little (literally referred to as *saminalagfu* 'money for soap'), has been helpful in meeting at least some of their basic necessities. Beneficiaries revealed that allowance that they get from tourism activities in the community help them to meet their basic needs and the obligations of providing for their kids' education. They appreciate any amount given them because tourism compliments their main occupation (farming). However, benefits do not cut well across the gender divide given the fact that majority of the team members are male, and only members of the team have the privilege to be given allowance. This justifies the feeling of the women that they benefit less from tourism. In fact, the operationalization of the community treasury reveals the lack of financial prudence in ensuring that funds are not embezzled in the name of running activities as there are no limits on how much the team can spend. Although there is a representative from every household in the tourism management team, not everyone is privy to the status of the account as some of them expressed distrust in the leadership of the team.

Secondly, the money from the community treasury also finances the repair of broken borehole and broken furniture of the only primary school in the community whenever the need be. The project has also aided community developmental initiatives such that the community carries out certain developmental projects on its own.

The third use the money is put to is to loan it out to community members in need so that they repay at later dates. Men, women and youth all make reference to it as the popular source of resort for parents to borrow money to fund their children education. Parents and the youth who have ever benefited expressed satisfaction at the opportunity that tourism has brought. They revealed that it has ended the days where progress of children education from Junior High School to Senior High School was stalled just due to lack of funds to pay fees. Although this is a good initiative, however, it is shrouded in complex web of politics and power which have the potentials of deepening inequality, which Schilcher (2008) accused Pro-Poor interventions of. Loans are given to community members only after the tourism team and elders are satisfied that the person in question has the capacity to repay. Only the chief, the Chairman, manager and assistant manager do the assessment. The higher the status of the person in the community and the number of connections one is able to establish with the management, the brighter the chances of being given a loan. This was confirmed by a revelation by a community member [woman] who was in need but was not granted and she felt it was because of her status in society.

Other benefits as a result of tourism in the community include gifts and donations from tourist when they visit the community. The most common form of donations and gifts are the donation of study materials to the primary school in the community. These donations usually include pens, pencils and other study materials for school children. It was revealed that this has helped to facilitate the teaching and learning process in the school, it has also lessened the burden of parents having to buy the materials for their children. This is the only benefit without any pertinent issues of power and politics as a villager said 'the donations are most often given to the children or donated to the school by the visitors themselves'. Donations, however little relieve parents of some financial burdens as one parent said [man] 'the money I would have used to buy the study materials for my wards is used for other important things'.

The only livelihood opportunity that has direct benefit for the women is the promotion of local beer, cassava processing and shea butter production for the women in the community. Although the women feel they are not effectively involved in management of tourism activities, they feel a bit consoled through the local business empowerment Visitors to the community are introduced to these local products during the village walk the locally produced beer, cassava products and shea butter. The producers also get some encouraging market from within the community and neighbouring communities. This is promising to see the tourism sector linked with particularly the agriculture sector in the community. The case in the community is a justification of Torres and Momsen's (2004) emphases that linkages between tourism and other sectors are important in order to capitalise on natural and local assets for the benefit of the poor. This small-scale venture could be expanded with financial support for these women, as they revealed that lack of credit has been their main challenge. The community treasury has not been helpful in this direction which the tourism management feel is not sufficient to cover all challenges.

4.7. Challenges Faced in Tourism Development and Benefit Sharing

Despite the numerous benefits that the community earns from tourism development, a number of challenges limit the utilisation of the full benefits that tourism could offer to the community.

First, although the revenue raised from the tourism sector is well appreciated, monies are not well accounted for. The real challenge has to do with lack of financial management skills on the part of those responsible for the management of the community account. The rural community is characterised by high illiterate population with very few persons with little education. These persons (manager and assistant manager of the tourism team) are entrusted with the responsibility to manage the funds and they are only persons (in addition to the Chairman) who are signatories to the community bank account. Given their limited education and for that matter in financial management, financial record keeping and accountability have been a problem. Even members from the management team feel that finances are not well managed and the amount that is often declared at meetings match with the expected amount of money to be realised. This situation exposes the deficiency in themes of the training workshops organised by the authority of the Mole National Park as they have failed to include issues of financial management.

Second, the issue of language barrier has not been helpful to the development of tourism in the community. Because the tourism activities involve the local people (who are uneducated at large) community members are not able to easily express themselves to tourists. Apart from the village walk which is often led by an educated person from the community, all other interactions (during homestays, cultural dance) often require an interpreter.

Third, the community suffers from poor transportation and communication services. Apart from the fact that the road that links the Mole National Park to the Mognori community is untarred, the community does not have electricity and also suffers from very poor mobile network services. Before tourists are redirected from the Mole National Park to the Mognori community there often has to be a form of communication between the authority of the park and the reception unit of the Mognori tourism management team to confirm that tourists are coming. At times, but not always, the very poor nature of mobile network services in this area prevents these communications which result in tourists not visiting the community as there is no grantee from the community.

Finally, the feeling of limited participation in tourism activities and benefit sharing has remained a challenge in isolated cases of community support. This was common from the perspective of the women and female youth. The women feel that canoe safari group, village walk and the composition of the tourism team are preserves for the men. The common excuse (from the tourism team) that went with this was that the women lack the strength (in the case of paddling a canoe) and skills to undertake these activities. In relation to this, households that are not allowed to host visitors (offer homestay services) feel that they are left out in earning extra revenue from tourism. Only five households are qualified (since they have received training) to offer these services to visitors and the fees charged remain with them. The explanation given to this number was that at the start of the project, households were requested to volunteer to host tourists and only five households came up, and have remained the only to offer such services. This has resulted in isolated cases of community squabbles and in other cases it is difficult for the tourism management team to get the support of these households that feel left out in carrying out community development projects. Due to resource constraints, the authority of the Mole National Park indicated, that this number has remained so because it is financially incapacitated to carry out another training sessions for more households on hosting visitors.

4.8. Characteristics and Outcomes of other PPT Efforts

The apart from the Mognori community, the Mole National Park authority in collaboration with SNV has also made some efforts to make tourism beneficial to other fringe communities. These have also been in the form of developing community based tourism potentials, training sessions for tour guides among others. Due to resource constraints, two more communities have been on the radars of the authority of the Mole National Park in terms of community development through tourism the Larabanga and Kpari communities. The Larabanga community also has tourism potentials including the ancient Mosque and the Mystic Stone. It is well known for heritage sites and township tourism. It has similar characteristics with the Mognori community except that Larabanga is more developed. The authority of the Mole National Park has taken the responsibility to organise training sessions for the tourist guides from this community. Just like the Mognori community, the community gets its market from the visitors to the Mole National Park. A tourist reception centre has even been built by the park authority for the community to facilitate tourism activities in the community. However, this facility is not being used because of its location due to limited consultation with the community members. In spite of the rich tourism potentials, the community benefits relatively lower compared to the case of the Mognori community. Community support and commitment are two main issues that stifle PPT efforts that the authority of the park seeks to implement in this community.

Another Pro-Poor Tourism effort embarked on by the authority of the park is the development of the Kparia falls. Kparia is another fringe community located on the North-Eastern fringe of the Mole national park. One of tourism potentials that abound the community is a waterfall. The plans of the authority of the park are to promote this waterfall in order to attractive tourists to this community. Although this project is still in its infancy stages, community consultations between the authority of the Mole Park and the community reveal an overwhelming community support and commitment for the project.

4.9. Challenges faced in Carrying out Pro-Poor Tourism Efforts

Although the authority of the Mole National Park has good intentions in developing tourism in the fringe communities, a number of factors still militate against its good intentions. First, the lack of funds to constantly carry out projects put the brakes on their efforts. The two main sources of fund for the unit include government subvention and the Internally Generated Funds (IGF). Funds from these two main sources are majorly meant for the day to day operations. They largely depend on external support from Non-Governmental

Organisations in order to carry out projects that are meant to developed tourism in the surrounding communities. The lack of regular flow of funds has also affected the rate at which capacity building training sessions are organised. This makes training programmes irregular. Also, authority of the park also highlighted inadequacy of the capacity of staff and logistical constraints (like vehicles) as the challenges in carrying their PPT intentions.

5. Discussions, Conclusions and Recommendations

As indicated in the literature review section, the discussions on Pro-Poor Tourism have been wide and varied. Discussions have ranged from the success stories of the public and private sector interventions in poverty alleviation through tourism to emerging concerns in the literature. Although this study does not claim to be the arbitrator between the proponents and critics of the idea of PPT, the findings from the study serve a great deal of information to assess the impact of pro-poor tourism on the poor.

The Mognori Eco-village case study confirms that PPT strategies have the ability to unlock opportunities for the poor (Cattarinich, 2001; Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000; Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001; Deloitte *et al.* 1999). Specifically, the Mognori Eco-village is good example of PPT initiative that capitalises well on the natural assets of a local community and develops them for the benefits of the poor. Indeed, as all the interview subjects admitted, the PPT initiative has been successful in unlocking economic and other livelihood enhancement opportunities for the community; it also offers a conducive environment for social cohesion and cultural reinforcement; and promotes environmental and health benefits (however indirectly).

Despite the case study confirming the abilities of PPT to unlock some opportunities for the poor, the findings from the study also lend credence to some of the issues that critics raised about PPT and its poverty reduction abilities. Specifically, the study confirms that issues of power structures, politics and gender subjugation hinder the effective participation of particular groups (especially women) in the decision-making processes and in benefit sharing. Harrison (2008) and Schilcher (2008) referred to as distributive injustice of PPT and argue that PPT interventions should consider issues of equity before they will impact largely on the poor.

One peculiar trend in most of the criticisms of PPT initiatives is to heap blame on the implementing institutions (see, for example Harrison, 2008; Schilcher, 2008) for what they term as the deficiencies in the PPT agenda. While admitting these are genuine criticisms, the commitment, cooperation and support of the beneficiary communities also to a large extent determine the success of PPT strategies. This study revealed that the level of success of the PPT initiative in the Mognori community has mainly been backed by the level commitment and support that the community showed. Contrary to this, the authority of the Mole National Park revealed that same cannot be said of the Larabanga community which justified the success rate between these communities.

The case study therefore confirms that PPT has the potential to alleviate poverty if strategies particularly focus on unlocking opportunities for the poor. It also confirms that pro-poor interventions in one way or the other may never be equitable. Those at the acme of power, for example, may benefit far more than the ordinary community member. However, equity is central in poverty alleviation.

6. Conclusion

Tourism is arguably regarded as the fastest growing economic sector of the world which previously was praised for its contribution to GDP growth and other economic contributions to the economies of host countries. Fast forward to the 20th century and beyond, tourism has not only been regarded as having the potential to boost economic-growth fortunes, it is also now frequently been linked with a poverty-reduction cutting edge. The proponents of this new dimension argue that tourism can only be effective in alleviating poverty if the pro-poor tourism strategies unconditionally target at unlocking opportunities for the poor. Although there are justifiable concerns and criticisms that question particularly the distribution of benefits, a literature review indicated that tourism does have an impact on poverty alleviation particularly if strategies are solely meant to enhance the livelihood chances of the poor. Indeed, this research confirms that Pro-Poor Tourism has so far been faring well. Adopting a case study approach, this research has revealed that, the Mognori community has benefited a lot from the pro-poor tourism strategies that had been embarked upon by the management of the park in collaboration with SNV. However, particularly, 'distributive justice' of PPT interventions still remains unaddressed.

7. Recommendation

Following the findings of the study, the researcher proffers the recommendations below:

The study revealed a weak financial management system in the community in which case monies realised were not properly accounted for. Going forward, it is recommended that the authorities of the Mole National Park should make financial management and accountability a key training theme in the workshops organised for the community. These workshops should include the members of the tourism management team and all key stakeholders in the community such as the chief. This would ensure that the revenue realised from tourism in the community is well accounted for, and also ensure that there is trust in the financial accountability that is rendered to the community.

The study also revealed a skewed loan-access structure albeit the livelihood enhancement chances that tourism offers to the community. The access to loan by community members should be based on merit of need rather than by social status and alienation. In doing this, the trio (the manager, assistant manager and the chief) should do an in-depth assessment of the situation of persons seeking loans without any bias.

The survey equally revealed limited participation of women in the tourism activities that have been dominated by men such as the canoe paddlers and the tourism management team. More women should be given the opportunity to participate fully in regulating tourism activities rather than merely taking part. In doing, the women numbers should be increased on the tourism management team and they should be encouraged to actively participate. Women who wish to be part of the canoe paddlers should be identified, trained

and integrated into the male-dominant canoe paddlers group. These would ensure not only participation in the tourism activities but also in the benefit sharing process.

The study further revealed a serious communication gap between the Mole National Park and the Mognori community before tourists are redirected to the community. In the short term, the park relies on sending a messenger to the community to deliver the message of tourist arrival. In the medium to long term, the network service providers should be consulted to expand their network to this community and others such as the Murugu community.

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