Exploring the Tourism Development Trajectory in a Post-colonial Region Through the Lens of Evolutionary Economic Geography: *The Case of Central Region of Ghana*

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Over the past decade, geographers have used an evolutionary approach to understand how path-dependent resource communities in the global north diversify by adding new tourism trajectories (e.g. Brouder, 2017; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b). At the same time, geographers have documented the growing involvement of in-migrants (including counterurbanites and returnees) in the tourism industry of transitioning regions. This study combines these two foci to analyze the involvement of in-migrants (and others) in tourism trajectory development in one region of the global south: Central Region of Ghana, West Africa.

The research is guided by five objectives, which are: 1) to describe the changing functionality of the three major tourist destinations in the Central Region of Ghana; 2) to identify who is involved in tourism trajectory development and to assess the nature of their involvement; 3) to uncover the types of mechanisms (recombination, layering, or conversion), heritage (colonial and non-colonial), and heritage products (artefactual, crafted, replica and/or symbolic) used by in-migrants and other stakeholders in tourism trajectory development; 4) to determine the direct and indirect impacts of this development in select tourist communities; and, 5) to identify perceived deficiencies in the tourism trajectory of these areas, and potential remedies for addressing these deficiencies.

To meet these objectives, key informant interviews were conducted with tourism and community stakeholders. Questionnaires were distributed to tourism proprietors, and interviews were conducted with these entrepreneurs at three major tourist areas in the region: those focused on Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle, and the Kakum National Park. The study is guided by a critical realist ontology, which recommends three stages in the research process (demi-regularity identification, abduction and retroduction; Fletcher, 2017).

The findings reveal that Central Region of Ghana is a path-dependent productivist economy; however, also present are diversified activities that resemble those of post-productivist regions, particularly seen in developed countries (Geyer and Geyer, 2017) including Canada (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). While the region continues to rely on the primary sector activities of fishing, farming, mining, and forestry, tourism contributes significantly to its economic diversity. This industry arose from public (government) and civic (not-for profit) initiatives that were introduced as a result of economic decline in the 1980s. The industry initially capitalized on the region's natural heritage (Kakum forest) and cultural heritage assets (forts and castles), which had been developed by Europeans over a 400-year period to facilitate the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Later, private sector entrepreneurs (most with external living experience) used their capital assets (social, financial, human, and physical) to enhance the tourism pathway through their activities of recombination, layering, and conversion in the tour, accommodation, food, and retail sectors. In-migrants, particularly counterurbanites, have been found to play a key role in diversifying the tourism trajectory and contributing to neo-endogenous development in the region. The impact of their activities is evident in increased visitation and capacity building. Despite these impacts, some deficiencies (e.g. limited diversification) are identified, which are traced to several local liabilities (i.e. tourism' low income potential, limited tourism asset knowledge, and unwillingness of locals to engage in state initiatives). The study concludes that these liabilities must be overcome before additional layering and conversion mechanisms can be applied to renew and extend the region's tourism trajectory.

This study contributes to the evolutionary economic geography, tourism and migration literature and provides a new heritage tourism development framework that is applicable in a post-colonial African region and in any context where the conditions for tourism development are present. It also contributes to our understanding of socio-economic development in the Central Region and the role of the tourism development trajectory in the region's economy.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Hajia Halima Bilal, for her unconditional love and support. Grandma Abombom (as we fondly call you), thank you for teaching me to have faith, believe in myself and love humanity, to persevere and be resilient in the face of challenges. I am blessed to have you here to witness this milestone and share this moment with me.

I LOVE YOU!!

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List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCMA	Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly
CEDECOM	Central Region Development Commission
CR	The Central Region
CR	Critical Realism
CRAAG	Central Region African Ascendants Association
ECHMP	Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Program
EEG	Evolutionary Economic Geography
GHCT	Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust
GMMB	Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
GTA	Ghana Tourism Authority
GWD	Ghana Wildlife Division
KEEA	Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem
KEEAMA	Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipal Assembly
KNP	Kakum National Park
LGS	Local Government Service Ghana
MOTAC	Ghana's Ministry of Tourism Arts and Culture
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NRCHP	Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation
NSBT	Nduom School of Business and Technology
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PANAFEST	Pan African Festival

PDT	Path dependence theory
TALC	Tourist Area Life Cycle
THLDD	Twifo Hemang Lower Denkyira District
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Context

Rural regions in developing nations have historically relied on primary sector activity (e.g. mining, forestry, farming, and fishing) to sustain their population (McCarthy, 2008). As shifts have occurred in both the supply and demand for global commodities, this dependence has become problematic for resource-based regions that are unable to break away from their "productivist" economic trajectory (Brouder et al., 2017). In this state of "lock-in" (David, 2005, p.151), rural regions lack capacity to diversify their economy (Boschma and Lambooy, 1999), placing them in a somewhat precarious position.

Evolutionary economic geographers, like Steen and Karlsen (2014), believe that places can diversify even if they are path-dependent. This may occur if dependence is seen as enabling rather than constraining, i.e. if history is seen as "vital heritage" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 134). If this is the case, then diversification can be achieved by recombining existing historic regional resources with new capital. This action (i.e. mechanism) will create a new economic pathway (e.g. heritage tourism; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a), in the form of a "branching-innovating trajectory" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 134). Over time, this trajectory may evolve as other mechanisms are employed. Layering, for example, adds new, related ventures which may renew the pathway (Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014), while conversion extends the new path by introducing innovative products or economic activities that serve new markets (Martin, 2010; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). These mechanisms, combined, thus contribute to economic diversification in what were once formerly path-dependent regions.

New path creation, renewal and extension arise from the introduction of new resources and competencies. According to Steen and Karlsen (2014), these may emerge from either endogenous or exogenous activity. In rural spaces, internal assets may be lacking, meaning that new paths are more likely to rely on external assets (Brouder et al., 2017; Shucksmith, 2018). In some cases, these assets are introduced by in-migrant entrepreneurs. These may include returnees and counterurbanites – individuals who have moved down the settlement hierarchy from larger to smaller settlement areas (e.g. Mitchell, 2004; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b). In developed countries, in particular, in-migrant investments have been linked to these "selected populations

of wealthy, older and highly educated" individuals (Geyer and Geyer, 2017, p. 1586). However, according to Geyer and Geyer, counterurbanite investments are not limited to the global north, but occur wherever sufficient conditions for post-productivist (e.g. tourism) development occur (Geyer and Geyer, 2017). As demonstrated in the following section, these conditions are found in Ghana, making it an ideal site to explore the potential contributions of in-migrants to heritage tourism development, through the lens of evolutionary economic geography.

1.2 Central Region of Ghana

The Central Region (CR) is located in the southern part of the West African country, Ghana (Figure 1.1). CR was formerly part of the Western Region until 1970, and today it is one of the sixteen (formerly, ten) administrative regions in Ghana with Cape Coast as the capital (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012; 2013; LGS, 2021). The region is bordered by the Ashanti and Eastern Regions on the north, Western Region on the west, Greater Accra region on the east, and Atlantic Ocean on the south (Central Region of Ghana, 2018; LGS, 2021).

Central Region is the fourth largest region in Ghana in terms of population, and the fifth smallest in land area after Ahafo, Greater Accra, Bono East, and Upper East regions, covering approximately four percent of Ghana's land area (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021, 2013; Government of Ghana, 2014; LGS, 2021). According to the 2021 preliminary census data, the region has 2,859,821 residents (9.3% of Ghana's total population), an increase of 657,958 residents from 2010, with 52 percent living in rural areas and on agricultural lands (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021, 2012; Government of Ghana, 2014).

Central Region's economy is very much tied to its natural heritage resources (Table 1.1). These include the marine life of the Atlantic Ocean, fertile soils, a vast forest, and various minerals (Government of Ghana, 2012; LGS, 2021). As a result, fishing, farming (including cocoa, palm, and cassava crops) and forestry are the main economic activities. These provide employment for 42 percent of the local population, with only 0.9 percent employed in mineral extraction (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The informal and formal sectors of manufacturing, employing 11.7 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012), and wholesale and retail services providing employment for 17.5 percent of the population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012), also contribute to the region's socio-economic structure (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012; LGS, 202).

In addition to sustaining its productivist workforce, the region's heritage contributes to its tourism industry. Natural heritage features, including Kakum National Park, the canopy shaped rock, the Buraso archaeology site, and the Mbem waterfalls, are among the most popular tourist destinations (Akyeampong, 2011; Bruner, 1996). According to Addo (2011), though, tourism in Ghana (including the CR) is most heavily dependent on cultural heritage, particularly the forts and castles that were built by Europeans to facilitate the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Being the first area in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) to be discovered by European traders and colonists (first by the Portuguese in 1471, then the Dutch and British), the region was home to Europeans for about 400 years (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980). By 1880, European settlers had constructed 37 forts and castles in different coastal cities of Ghana. These included the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, and Fort St. Jago in the Central Region, which became UNESCO world heritage sites in 1979 (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Ghana Government, 2012). After Ghana gained independence from the British in 1957, the region inherited these historic heritage assets, in addition to schools and hospitals built by the former colonial masters (Arthur and Mensah, 2006).

Since the establishment of Ghana's Ministry of Tourism in 1993, Central Region has marketed its natural and cultural heritage attractions locally and internationally (Araujo, 2010), attracting well over 100,000 visitors annually (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). Tourism scholars demonstrate that the industry is also attracting private sector entrepreneurs who have invested in tourism ventures. Some of these entrepreneurs are African American and Afro-Brazilian expatriates, who are particularly interested in promoting the region's slave heritage (Addo, 2011; Agyei-Mensah, 2006; Yankholmes and Timothy 2017) to conserve the memory of their ancestors (Yankholmes and Timothy 2017). Although attracting some academic attention, studies about the region have largely focused on the economic implications of tourism development (e.g. Acheampong, 2011; Adu-Ampong, 2018; Agyei-Mensah, 2006). Little is known about the characteristics of private sector proprietors, who they are, how they became involved in tourism, the activities they are involved with, and their direct and indirect impacts. These deficiencies make the Central Region suitable for investigating the role of in-migrant entrepreneurs in tourism trajectory development. The next section describes the theoretical framework used to investigate the process of change in this transitioning region.

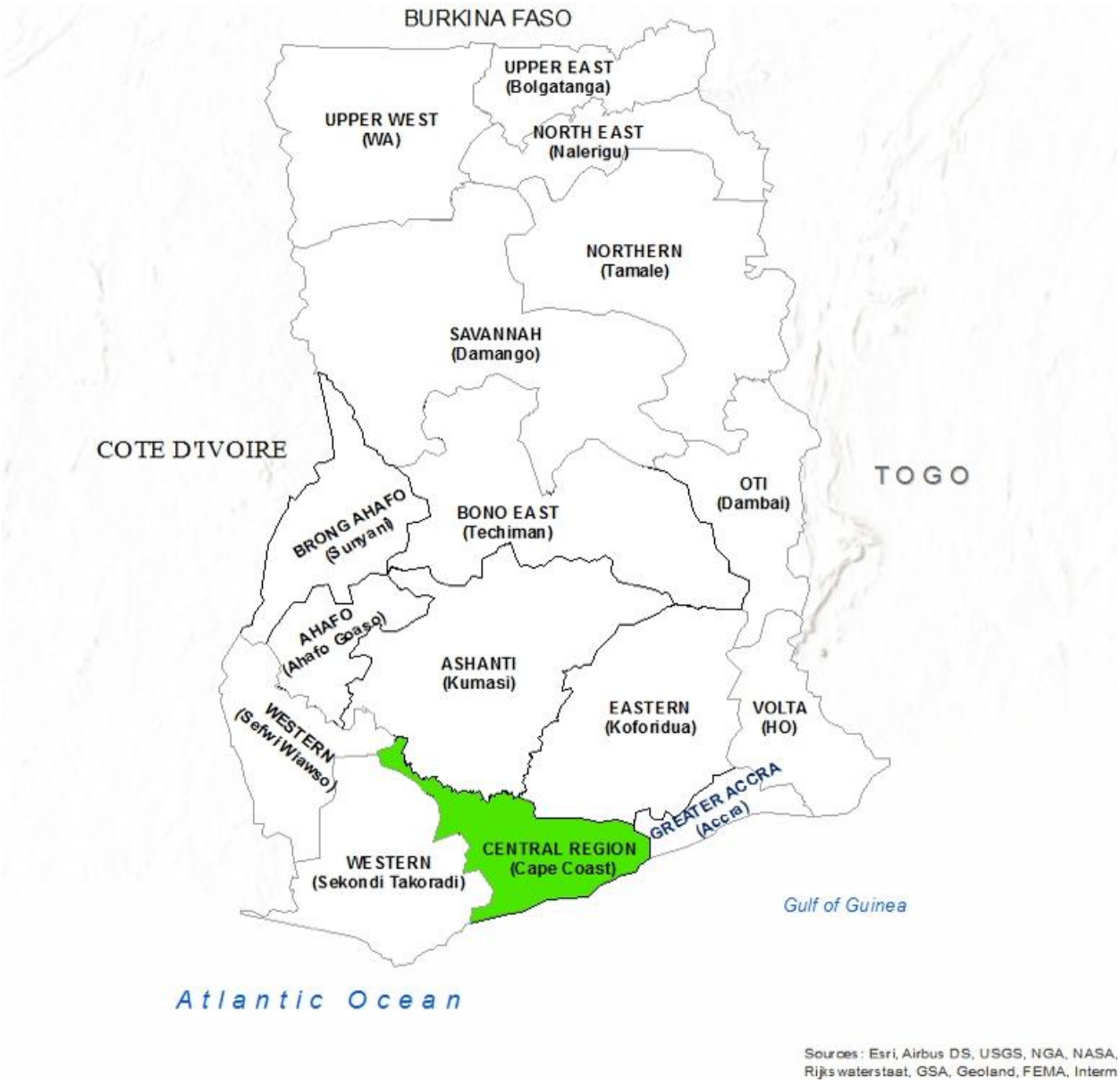

Figure 1.1 Map of Ghana showing the Central Region
Source: ArcGIS, 2021. Environment Computing, Mapping, Analysis and Design, University of Waterloo.

Table 1.1 Economic activities by industry for population 15 years and older, Ghana & CR

	Ghana		**Central Region (CR)**		**CR Industry Rank**	
Industry / Sector	*# of economically active population*	*%*	*# of economically active population*	*%*	*CR*	*Ghana*
Agriculture, Forestry and fishing	4,311,735	41.6	375,798	42.2	1st	7th
Wholesale and retail; repair of motor vehicles & motorcycles	1,957,514	18.9	155,235	17.5	2nd	4th
Manufacturing	1,120,122	10.8	104,073	11.7	3rd	5th
Accommodation and food service activities	566,587	5.5	56,740	6.4	4th	4th
Other service activities	472,177	4.6	35,714	4.0	6th	5th
Education	406,200	3.9	42,257	4.8	5th	4th
Transportation and storage	367,294	3.5	31,038	3.5	7th	5th
Construction	317,525	3.1	29,666	3.3	8th	3rd
Administrative and support service activities	67,408	0.6	28,643	3.22	9th	5th
Public administration and defence	153,630	1.5	9,950	1.1	10th	7th
Human health and social work activities	124,391	1.2	9,443	1.1	11th	6th
Mining and quarrying	114,205	1.1	8,125	1.0	12th	5th
Professional, scientific and technical activities	95,481	0.9	7,699	0.9	13th	4th
Activities of households as employers	77,933	0.8	5,162	0.6	14th	7th
Art, entertainment and recreation	57,610	0.6	4,364	0.5	15th	4th
Financial, insurance	72,248	0.7	3,993	0.5	16th	6th
Other services[1]	91,618	0.9	5,730	0.6	-	-
Total	**10,373,678**	**100**	**889,465**	**100**	-	-

Source: Adapted from Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 76

[1] Other services include: information and communication technology, water, electricity & gas, real estate, and international NGOs; each of which account for 0.5 percent or less of all economic activity.

1.3 Research Objectives and Conceptual Frameworks

This study seeks to understand the evolution of path dependent resource regions; specifically, to uncover how in-migrants have impacted the evolution of three locations within the Central Region of Ghana. The study is structured around five objectives:

1. To describe the changing functionality of communities located in proximity to three of Ghana's major tourist destinations (the Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park). Specifically, to determine how the heritage tourism trajectory first evolved.

2. To identify who is involved in tourism trajectory development and to assess the nature of their involvement. Specifically, to determine if, why and when in-migrants (i.e. returnees and newcomers; counterurbanites and lateral migrants), injected new entrepreneurial capital in these transitioning places.

3. To uncover the types of mechanisms (recombination, layering, and/or conversion), heritage (colonial and non-colonial) and heritage products (artefactual, crafted, replica and/or symbolic) used by in-migrants and other stakeholders in tourism trajectory development.

4. To determine the direct and indirect impacts of tourism trajectory development in the three study areas.

5. To identify perceived deficiencies (e.g. infrastructure) in the tourism trajectory of these areas, and potential remedies for addressing these deficiencies.

To meet these objectives, the study combines ideas drawn from three fields: evolutionary economic geography (including the mechanisms responsible for new path creation); tourism geography (including evolutionary models); and migration studies (including the routes taken by in-migrants to tourism proprietorship). Building on existing literature, Mitchell and Shannon (2017, 2018a) have conceptualized these ideas in two frameworks. These are presented in chapter two and briefly summarized here.

The first, *Heritage tourism path development framework*, demonstrates that the creation of a new heritage tourism path can be triggered by three enabling conditions: public policy, innovative consumers, and new entrepreneurial capital (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). The outcome is the commodification of existing heritage (of various types), which results in a branching innovating (path-dependent, path-emergent) trajectory, through the recombination

mechanism. It further outlines that recombination may lead to the conversion and/or layering mechanisms through incremental changes that extend or renew the path, to meet changing consumer needs (see Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Once activated, these mechanisms may then impact a local community by generating employment and reducing out-migration.

The second framework, *In-migrants' routes to proprietorship*, conceptualizes the potential pathways that in-migrants take to tourism proprietorship. It shows that in-migrants' destination choice may be influenced by economics, family, and/or rural amenity. It also suggests that in-migrants' business motive is either livelihood (need) or lifestyle (want) driven, resulting in four major routes to tourism proprietorship (livelihood-enabling, livelihood-enhancing, lifestyle-enhancing, or lifestyle-enabling), with each being either early-stage or late-stage, depending on the timing of tourism business opening (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017).

These two frameworks are related because new path development can be triggered by external factors (Brouder et al., 2017; Martin and Sunley, 2003, 2010), which include the externally-accumulated capital assets introduced by rural in-migrants (e.g. Mitchell and Shannon, 2018 a, b). Although related, these frameworks were originally developed separately to understand the evolution of heritage-tourism trajectories, and the pathways to, and motivations for, tourism proprietorship in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. This study builds on the work of Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) by applying the two frameworks simultaneously in the Central Region of Ghana. In doing so, this study fills a conceptual gap by applying the evolutionary economic geography lens in a tourism study in an African context; since the majority of tourism studies that have used this lens have been concentrated in the global north, with very few in the global south, particularly, Africa.

The researcher chose the Central Region of Ghana because of her prior experience in executing capacity-building projects with rural communities of the region between 2006 and 2009. After eight years, the researcher returned to the region and noticed that despite the historic and natural heritage resources and community development initiatives, the region continues to face limited economic opportunities. The researcher particularly observed this in rural communities of the region and settlements around tourism destinations. Consequently, she decided to investigate how these places are using their existing heritage and natural resources to advance socio-economic development.

Three places in this region were chosen for study: Elmina, Cape Coast, and Twifo Hemang Lower Denkyira District (THLDD) /Assin South District. Similar to those in rural Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b), each is very dependent on fishing, but in these cases, also on farming and forestry. Each of these places is also transitioning along a tourism path. For example, since becoming tourist destinations, Elmina and Cape Coast Castles have grown to include tourism ventures in the retail-artefact sector. The destinations have also facilitated the opening of tourism businesses in communities in and around Elmina and Cape Coast, particularly in the accommodation and food sectors (Boakye et al., 2013). Similarly, the Kakum National Park in TTHLDD, has been expanded since 1994 to include a canopy walkway, a visitor's center and souvenir shops, to diversify the park, increase tourist traffic and to create employment and revenue (Akyeampong, 2011; UNESCO, 2021). Thus, the conceptual frameworks will be applied to these locations. In doing so, this will promote understanding of the motivations of tourism entrepreneurs, the mechanisms they use to create tourism businesses, and the impacts they have in several locations undergoing tourism trajectory development. The method that guided this inquiry is described in the following section.

1.4 Method of Inquiry

This study is guided by a critical realism stratified ontology. In brief, critical realists claim that the entire truth of an observable event may not be apparent at the empirical level, hence, it offers three ontological dimensions to understand social events: empirical (experienced and observed events); actual (events that occur whether experienced or not); and real (the causal mechanisms responsible for these events; Fletcher, 2017). It further offers three stages to facilitate this understanding: identification of demi-regularities (e.g. empirical/actual event tendencies and patterns); abduction (a re-description of identified demi-regularities using existing knowledge and theory); and retroduction (the identification of causal mechanisms and conditions – beyond theory - to explain the observed regularities; Bhaskar, 2014; Fletcher, 2017). These dimensions and stages are described in greater detail in chapter three and are operationalized in chapter seven.

Critical realism research is not restricted to a specific method. Indeed, according to Fletcher (2017, p. 182), critical realism "functions as a general methodological framework for

research but is not associated with any particular set of methods". In natural science, it provides an alternative to empiricism and positivism, and in social science, its methodology shifts the focus from interpretivist reductions to interpretation of meaning (Sayer, 2000). Therefore, critical realism methodology embraces both epistemological and ontological approaches, providing "an ontological justification for triangulation that is mixed methods" (Downward, 2005, p. 314) or multiple methods associated with qualitative and quantitative research (Bachiochi and Weiner, 2004). Although qualitative methods dominate tourism studies that employ critical realism (see Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b; Roberts, 2014; Sayer and Morgan, 1986; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018), increasingly, tourism researchers are recognizing the importance of using both qualitative and quantitative methods in critical realism research (e.g. Downward and Mearman, 2004; Downward, 2005; Shannon-Baker, 2016). In the field of tourism geography, only unpublished critical realism studies appear to have used both methods (see for example, Seeler, 2018; Shannon, 2018). This study, of the evolution of tourism in the Central Region of Ghana, adds to this body of literature by employing multiple methods (qualitative and quantitative) of data collection and analysis - topics that are discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis is structured into eight chapters. Chapter one has provided the context of, and rational for, the study, including background history and tourism development in Ghana's Central Region. The second chapter provides a review of literature on three topics related to smaller settlement areas: evolutionary economic geography, tourism destination evolution, and in-migrants' routes to, and role in, tourism destinations. The third chapter discusses the research methodology (critical realism), and methods used in data collection and analysis. Chapters four to six present the findings of the study, organized by objective, for the three tourist destinations in the Central Region: Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and the Kakum National Park. Chapter seven applies the three stages of critical realism research (demi-regularity identification, abduction, and retroduction) to the key findings from the three study sites, combined. The final chapter presents conclusion, academic and applied implications, the challenges and limitations of the study, and recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature reviewed for this study, which covers three main topics. It begins with a discussion of evolutionary economic geography, focussing largely on the topics of path dependence and path creation. It then considers literature dealing with heritage tourism geography, with a particular emphasis on evolutionary models and the application of evolutionary economic geography concepts. Finally, it addresses the migration literature, specifically, the role of various in-migrant cohorts in the evolution of tourism destinations. The review is not exhaustive of these topics; however, it provides a sufficient overview to set the context for the present study and to identify gaps in current scholarship.

2.2 Evolutionary Economic Geography

The field of evolutionary economic geography (EEG) is a relatively recent sub-discipline of geography, whose roots are found in the discipline of evolutionary economics (Boschma and Lambooy, 1999; Witt, 2006; Boschma and Martin, 2007; 2010; Boschma and Frenken, 2011). In this section, the main thrust of evolutionary economics is explained and the link between evolutionary economics and EEG is established. Then, the three theoretical pillars of EEG are examined to explain how economic systems evolve, specifically, what enables and constrains growth in regional economies. Finally, mechanisms for introducing innovations into existing firms or economic sectors to create diversified economies are explored.

Evolutionary economics emerged through the work of Thorstein Veblen (1898); “Why Is Economics Not an Evolutionary Science?". In his paper, Veblen argued that economics can be perceived as an evolutionary science because upstream (production) and downstream (distribution and exchange) economic processes are embedded in real-time developmental changes (Veblen, 1989). Using the principles of Darwinism, Veblen (1989; 1965) further emphasized the importance of institutional economics arguing that "social structure is submitted to a process of evolution, in which a natural selection of institutions occurs" (Domingues, 2015, p. 3). Veblen and his proponents believe that institutions emerge from knowledge and processes produced from the past and human beings act as agents of change, which influences socio-

economic systems (Domingues, 2015). According to Veblen (1989) "evolutionary economics must be the theory of a process of cultural growth as determined by the economic interest, a theory of a cumulative sequence of economic institutions stated in terms of the process itself "(p. 393).

By the 1970s, evolutionary economics had gained popularity as a field of economics that focuses on the "processes and mechanisms by which the economy self-transforms itself from within" (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 5). Its proponents suggest that firms and organizations transform endogenously, driven by innovation and adaptation within socio-economic systems (Boschma and Martin, 2010). As Boschma and Martin (2010) note, to facilitate this endogenous development, evolutionary economic theories must meet three basic conditions. First, they have to be "dynamical", which focuses on facilitating change and eliminating "any kind of static or comparative-static analysis" (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 5). Second, an evolutionary economic analysis must entail "irreversible processes" that rely on real-time historical trajectories like emergence, divergence, and convergence (Boschma and Martin, 2010) - a shift from mainstream neoclassical economics (Boschma and Lambooy, 1999), whose "dynamical theories describe stationary states or equilibrium movements" (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 5), rather than providing a comprehensive understanding of economic trajectories (Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010). Third, in evolutionary economics, "novelty" must be rooted in self-transformation (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 5). As Witt (2003) asserts, novelty is "crucial to any theory of economic evolution" because it is the ability of individuals and firms and markets to innovate that drives evolution and adaptation in economic landscapes (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 5). Therefore, crucial to evolutionary economics is constant innovation and knowledge creation to "understand the dynamic processes that jointly influence the behavior of firms and the market environment in which they operate" (Boschma and Martin, 2010; Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010, p.45; Schlaile et al., 2018).

The evolutionary focus adopted by economists migrated into economic geography through the works of Boschma and Lambooy (1999). In their paper, "*Evolutionary Economics and Economic Geography"* they argued that key concepts in evolutionary economics (some of which are considered in detail below), could be applied to a variety of spatial topics considered by economic geographers. This recognition heralded the rise of evolutionary economic geography (EEG) as a sub-discipline of this diverse field (Boschma and Martin, 2010).

Evolutionary economic geography analyzes "the processes by which the economic landscape—the spatial organization of economic production, circulation, exchange, distribution and consumption" is transformed over time (Boschma and Martin, 2010, p. 6). Thus, like evolutionary economics, EEG deals with real-time historical trajectories and "economic novelty (innovations, new firms, new industries, new networks)" (Boschma and Martin, 2007; 2010, p. 7; Henning, 2019; Zhu et al., 2019). It borrows three constructs from economics to facilitate understanding of economic landscape change: complexity theory, generalized Darwinism, and path dependence theory (Brouder, 2017; Boschma, 2022; Boschma and Martin, 2010; see figure 2.1). Given the focus of this thesis, only the latter is described in depth here.

Complexity theory is focused on the "creation of variety" (Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010, p. 1) and on "emergence, self-organization, adaptation and hysteresis" (Ma and Hassink, 2013, p. 91; Martin and Sunley, 2007). The theory has been explored in a few evolutionary economics studies to understand adaptive systems, as it explains diversification in complex economic systems (Ma and Hassink, 2013; Martin and Sunley, 2007). Complexity theory also recognizes that the economy is an open system that interacts with different agents in different ways, resulting in a complex system that adapts and changes incrementally. These incremental changes "occur in firms or sectors within a region while the region itself still exhibits path dependence and continuity" (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a, p.374). Martin and Sunley note that in complexity theory, a system is likely to be far from equilibrium but may still exhibit stability or inertia. Thus, as Brouder and Eriksson (2013a, p. 374) suggest, "the complexity of paths and variety of interactions between agents also influences the possibility for new technological and industrial paths to develop endogenously and co-exist with the already existing paths" (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a, p. 374). Unlike complexity theory, generalized Darwinism is a widely used term in EEG studies (Brouder et al., 2017).

Generalized Darwinism provides a general framework for understanding complex changes in economic landscapes based on the core principles of evolution (Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010). Thus, it emphasizes variety, selection, novelty, retention, continuity, mutation, adaptation, and co-evolution, to understand how knowledge and processes are produced and reproduced at regional levels (Boschma, 2022; Boschma and Martin, 2010; Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a). In a competitive capitalist economy, firms are forced to innovate, develop new production processes, organizational routines, products, and markets, and adapt and change over

time (heredity), to increase profit and boost economic growth (selection) (Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010). Market selection "alters the environment within which future decisions are made: it pushes some firms out of the market, encourages others to enter, and reshuffles the relative efficiency of competing agents" (Essletzbichler and Rigby, 2010, p. 45). Thus, evolutionary economic geographers see the principles of generalized Darwinism as a novel approach to analyze and understand the evolution of economic systems. Although generalized Darwinism is the "most obvious marker of EEG", path dependence is also an established theory (Brouder, 2014; Brouder et al., 2017, p. 3).

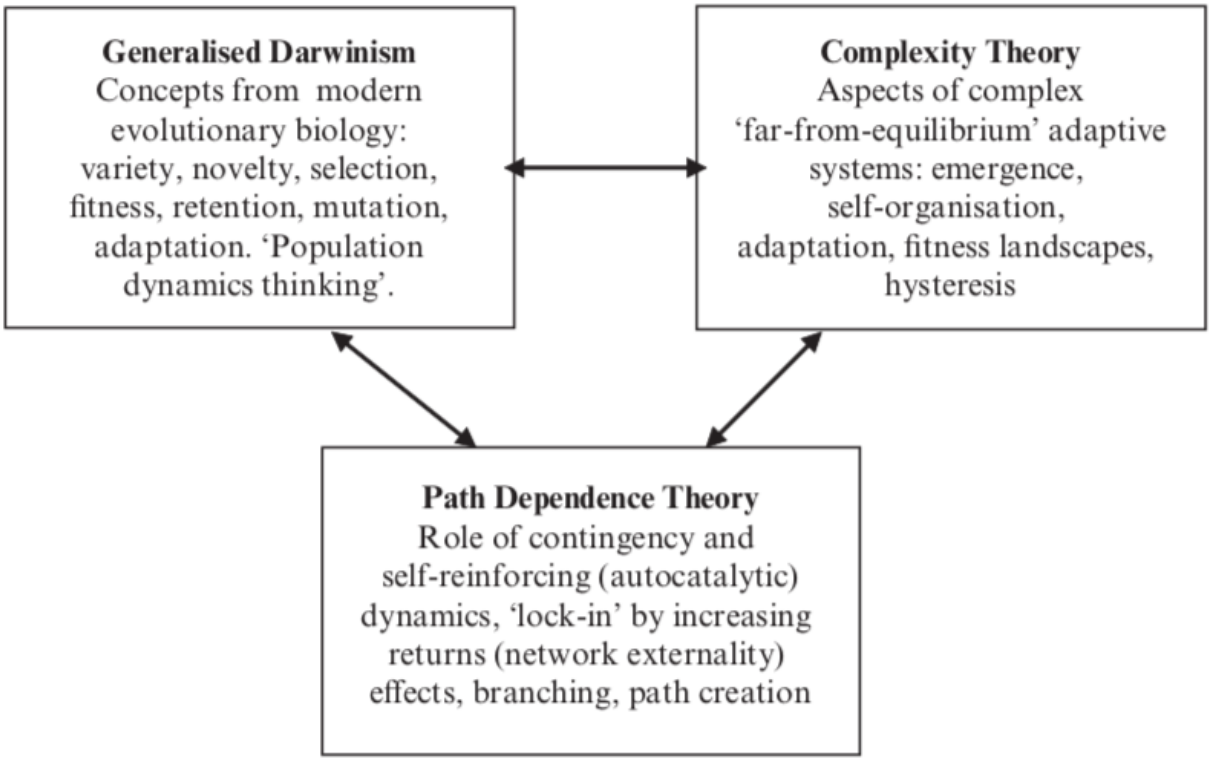

Figure 2.1 Three theoretical frameworks for evolutionary economic geography
Source: Boschma and Martin, 2010, p. 7

Path dependence theory (PDT) was introduced to the field of economics by Paul David (1985) and Brian Arthur (1989) about three decades ago (Boschma and Martin, 2010). It has since been applied by economic geographers to explain regional economic systems (Martin, 2010) and the "uneven distribution of economic activities across space" (Brouder et al., 2017, p.1). In explaining regional economic systems, proponents of PDT assign significant importance

to history and historical institutional structures (Boschma, 2022; David, 1994; Hassink, 2005). As Gill and Williamson (2014, p. 549) observe, "at its core is the assumption that commitment to a path is determined by the cumulative results of small and impersonal historical events from which it is difficult to deviate". This inability to diverge results in a region putting all of its "eggs in one basket" (Brouder et al. (2017) p. 2). As explained below, this situation is often accompanied by regional "lock-in" (David, 2005).

The concept of lock-in is significant to PDT. It involves "a range of structural, cognitive and political elements that serve to maintain commitment to the established path" (Gill and Williams, 2017, p.45). Structural elements refer to "dependency on increasing returns on investments" (Gill and Williams, 2011, p. 633). These include initial start-up cost or a fixed asset expense, institutional arrangements and social networks that become a "strong incentive to stick with the initial path in order to benefit from increasing returns over time" (Gill and Williams, 2017, p. 50). Cognitive elements are those structures of social relationships that connect people to institutional environments (Gill and Williams, 2017). Finally, political elements are similar to cognitive elements; they "exhibit thick institutional tissue that includes networks such as political administrations, large enterprises and business support agencies" (Gill and Williams, 2017, p. 50; Strambach 2010). Both political and cognitive lock-in elements tend to maintain the status 969quo of existing traditional and institutional structures, which inhibit rather than enable innovation or heterogeneity (Gill and Williams, 2017; Hassink, 2010; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). Thus, in a state of regional lock-in, "processes of knowledge creation and sharing, and regional institutions and political support for the dominant path tend to reinforce that path over time" (Brouder et al., 2017, p. 2).

Regional lock-in is particularly apparent in rural resource-based regions that do not have the capacity to create new trajectories (Boschma and Lambooy, 1999; Brouder et al., 2017). Many are susceptible to external shocks (Sofer and Saada, 2017) and may lack appropriate technology, information, accessible roads, political stability, human and financial capital, to successfully create or branch to new paths (Brekke, 2015; Hall and Boyd, 2005). As a result, out -migration of young people due to limited employment opportunities may occur, slowing economic growth (McCarthy, 2008). This situation has plagued older industrial regions in developed countries (e.g. UK, US, Canada, and Japan), and resource-based or rural regions of developing and emerging economies (e.g. China, South Africa), which have experienced a

boom-bust cycle due to dependence on dominant industries or knowledge (Brouder et al., 2017; Li et al., 2019; Rocket and Ramsey, 2017).

The concept of lock-in and PDT have gained recognition in EEG and are increasingly being explored to conceptualize the evolution of regional economies (Brouder et al., 2017; Gill and Williams, 2017). Despite this, some economic geographers have argued the limitations of using PDT in evolutionary studies. For example, Martin and Sunley (2006) point out that the state of lock-in or equilibrium associated with path dependence as described by David (2005) contrasts with the concept of evolution. While these authors recognize the relevance of using PDT as an explanatory framework for understanding historical processes, they argue that economic systems change at different rates, which implies the "existence of different degrees and types of path dependency" (Martin and Sunley, 2006, p.405). They further support their argument with the example of QWETRY typewriter keyboard that David (2005) used to illustrate path dependence and the notion of lock-in (Martin and Sunley, 2006):

> Although the QWERTY keyboard configuration has remained constant, other aspects of typewriting, such as the electric typewriters and then computers, have changed dramatically. General theory is necessary to explain why some aspects of typewriter technology seem to be strongly path dependent and others do not (Kiser, 1996, p. 263).

Boschma and Martin (2010) further argue that economic systems must not lean towards a predefined state of equilibrium, rather they must evolve and change overtime, influenced by their past development paths. Therefore, path dependence should facilitate "change rather than continuity" (Martin, 2010). In response to a critique of his "*Roepke Lecture on Rethinking Regional Path Dependence: Beyond Lock-in to Evolution*", Ron Martin emphasized:

> …we need to widen and revise the concept of path dependence if it is to function as an evolutionary concept, to set it free from the overly restrictive and conservative interpretation (of 'lock-in') that it has all too often been given in economic-geographic applications (Martin, 2012, p.179).

Path dependence, therefore, must allow for continuous adaptation of "technologies, industries, and regional economies", and the potential emergence or development of new path(s) (Boschma and Martin, 2010 p. 9). This situation creates a state of "path plasticity". Coined by Strambach (2008, p. 3), plasticity "describes a broad range of possibilities for the creation of innovation

within a dominant path of innovation systems". Hence, it recognizes that possibilities for innovation may be present within a dominant path, suggesting that "there are always opportunities to move in new directions" (Vissers and Danbaar, 2015, p. 85). Path plasticity thus provides a "broader interpretation of path dependence that is more flexible and can accommodate innovations" (Gill and Williams, 2017, p. 45).

Creating alternative pathways, or a diversified economy, then becomes crucial to breaking dependence on the dominant path(s) (Li et al., 2019), and preventing lock-in (Boschma and Lambooy, 1999). As Schumpeter (1934, 1942) claims, entrepreneurship drives this creation of new economic pathways or the introduction of innovations (Malerba and McKelvey, 2020). Building on Schumpeter's (1942) creative destruction (which sees new innovations displace older forms of innovation), Mitchell (2013) coined the term "creative enhancement" to describe the process of introducing new innovations into a space that may create new economic paths without displacing existing innovations. Rather, "these innovations co-exist with those that emerged during earlier rounds of accumulation" (Mitchell, 2013, p. 376). This scenario is captured by at least two of the five regional development scenarios identified by evolutionary economic geographers (table 2.1).

The first three trajectories shown in table 2.1 are path dependent. The first, path exhaustion, occurs when innovation in industries or regional economies is lacking, what Boschma and Lambooy (1999) describe as a state of "inertia or negative lock-in" (p. 415). Although path exhaustion is equated with negative lock-in, path dependent trajectories can also be enabling rather than constraining (Steen and Karlsen, 2014).

In this second case, a situation of positive lock-in exists, which acts to extend the dominant or exhausted trajectory (Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014, Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Path extension stems from a conversion mechanism, which refers to "processes of change and innovation in firms" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p.135). These innovations may include new technology, business organization, or activity which are introduced into existing firms to serve new markets (Martin, 2010; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). It thus entails a "radical reorientation of an institution's form or function and may result from either layering or as a result of external pressures or developments" (Brekke, 2015; Gill and Williams, 2017, p. 50).

Table 2.1 Path development trajectories

Path development process	Key mechanism	Trajectory Types	Regional characteristics
Path exhaustion	Lock-in	Path-dependent	A negative lock-in characterizes the region, as new investment is likely to follow existing innovation practice; firm formation, labor mobility and network-based collaboration are weakened (or non-existent) due to external shock and/or purposive decision-making
Path extension	Conversion	Path-dependent	A positive lock-in characterizes the region, as more of the same keeps the industry going. Start-ups, mobility and interactive learning increase within the existing industry leading to expanded knowledge base.
Path renewal	Layering	Path-dependent	Entrepreneurship, interactive learning and labor mobility increase within existing industrial sectors. Changes take place within old industry, widening the region's knowledge base.
New path creation	Combination	Path-emergent	New radical scientific knowledge stimulates the formation of new entrepreneurial firms that are unrelated to the existing industry.
Path-dependent, path-emergent	Re-combination	Branching–innovating	Recombination of assets (often external entrepreneurial capital with existing resource) occurs as a result of external shock.

Source: Adapted from Brekke, 2015; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a

Layering involves "changes in the composition of a firm (or non-firm) ecosystem resulting from firms' entry, exit, and survival" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 135). Layering may lead to path renewal, the third trajectory type. In this case, entrepreneurs introduce new ventures that may draw on the regional context in which they operate (Gill and Williams, 2011; Isaksen 2011). This may result in the transfer of routines and knowledge "in an evolutionary manner from parent firm to spin-off firms, which spur growth and diversification of local economies" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 135).

The last two trajectories deviate from the first three in that they are new paths, which emerge from "radically new innovation" (Brekke, 2015; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 22). They each may reflect creative enhancement (Mitchell, 2013) and new path creation – a concept

introduced by Garud and Karnøe's (2001) to provide "a distinctive lens for understanding evolutionary processes by focusing on human agency and the role of entrepreneurs operating under real-time influence" (Garud and Karnøe 2001; Gill and Williams, 2017, p. 45). Thus, as with the layering mechanism, entrepreneurs, individually and collectively (Gill and Williams, 2017), are "key agents of path creation" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 135).

The first of these is a path-emergent trajectory. These arise when entrepreneurs merge resources and capital assets that are unrelated to existing industries, through a combination process - what Garud and Karnøe (2001, p. 7) describe as "mindful deviation." This leads to the creation of new paths that are not path dependent but reflect a "truly path-breaking" trajectory (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 22). This phenomenon can be seen in old industrial regions or single-industry economies that have "limited heterogeneity in resources" or lack the capacity to introduce innovation to extend or renew the existing path (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 133). For example, in Verdal, Norway, the development of a yard for steel structure fabrication for offshore oil and gas industry became the backbone of Verdal's economy and a major industry in Norway for over 40 years. After experiencing a second market shock in 2009, 10 years after the first shock, the region responded by initiating a project to create a new industry based on the production of wind energy (Steen and Karlsen, 2014).

In contrast, the second trajectory, i.e., path-dependent, path-emergent (or branching innovating), emerges from a recombination mechanism by drawing on regional assets (Steen and Karlsen, 2014; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Recombination refers to "how historically developed resources and competencies may be recombined with new ones to form purposeful deviations onto the new path" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p.135). This is demonstrated in Sofer and Saada's (2017) research on women entrepreneurship in rural Israel. Here, the authors found that new non-agricultural businesses were created by entrepreneurs, who merged new capital assets with existing agricultural resources, to supplement declining farm income. This gave rise to a trajectory that was both path emergent and path dependent.

This discussion reveals that EEG provides a useful lens to understand the evolution or change processes in regional economies. It has revealed that entrepreneurs may introduce new innovations that extend (through conversion) or renew (through layering) the original dependent path (Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). It has also revealed that entrepreneurial actions may create radically new pathways through the combination or recombination mechanisms

(Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). Both demonstrate that economic diversification can occur in formerly path-dependent regional economies in the presence of entrepreneurial initiative (Brouder et al., 2017). As described in the next section, this may result in the creation of new tourism trajectories that capitalizes on a region's heritage assets.

2.3 The Evolution of (Heritage) Tourism Destinations

Heritage tourism has been promoted as a diversification strategy in both developed (e.g. Bosworth and Farell, 2011; Brouder, 2013b; Camarero and Oliva, 2016; Ma and Hassink, 2013; Mair and Reid, 2007; Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell and O'Neil, 2017; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b; Nepal and Jamal, 2011; Rocket and Ramsey, 2017) and developing (e.g. Addo, 2011; Akyeampong, 2011; Boakye et al., 2013; Holden et.al, 2011, Hoogendoorn et al., 2009; Lane, 1994; Nepal, 2007; Timothy and Boyd, 2006) nations. Consequently, academics have spent considerable effort trying to understand how this economic activity evolves over time. In this section, early evolutionary tourism models are considered and evaluated, and an alternative approach for conceptualizing heritage tourism development (EEG) described. Before embarking on this discussion, a brief description of heritage, heritage production, and post-colonial heritage tourism is provided.

Definitions of heritage abound in the literature, with many viewing heritage as a product of present day interpretations. Timothy and Boyd (2006), for example, define heritage as tangible (e.g. museums and monuments) and intangible (e.g. festivals, traditional beliefs) representations of the past, today. In a similar vein, Porter describes heritage as "re-imagining of the past in terms of the present" (Porter, 2008 p. 267). Lowenthal (2015), too, provides a comparable interpretation suggesting that heritage, as the past, has become "cherished for validating and exalting the present" (p. 4). Harvey (2008, p. 19) adds that "heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself – it is the process by which people use the past". Some observers (e.g. UNESCO) have extended the definition of heritage to include the natural environment, such as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (Newland and Taylor, 2010; Post, 2013). Heritage, often referred to as cultural heritage, is therefore embedded in the history and culture of people and places (George et al., 2009; Newland and Taylor, 2010; Post, 2013).

Heritage production involves turning tangible and intangible cultural (e.g., historic sites, customs, artefacts) and natural (e.g., national parks, waterfalls) assets into consumable products and services (MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2003). As Graham and Howard (2008) explain, heritage production refers to how "very selective past (artifacts), natural landscapes, mythologies, memories, and traditions become a cultural, political, and economic resource for the present" (p. 2). Similarly, Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1998) points out that "heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past" (p.149; Schramm, 2004).

Heritage production is a social process that is undertaken by stakeholders for various reasons. Some suggest that heritage is produced to serve as symbolic representation of national identity (George et al., 2009; Yu Park, 2010) or as an emblem "of communal identity, continuity, and aspiration" (Lowenthal, 2015, p.4). Others purport that heritage production builds "patriotism at the domestic level," and spreads "propaganda to international visitors" (Timothy and Boyd, 2006, p. 3; McLean, 1998) sometimes to "highlight the virtues of particular political ideologies" (Timothy and Boyd, 2006, p. 3). Heritage, particularly colonial heritage (Addo, 2011; Lowenthal, 1985) may also be produced for other purposes, including remembrance, healing, conservation, and tourism (Amae, 2011; Timothy and Boyd 2006).

In the 1990s, tourism researchers began to connect tourism and post-colonial (heritage) studies (e.g., Carrigan, 2014; D'Hauteserre, 2004; Hall and Tucker, 2004; Palmer, 1994; Winter, 2007), particularly in countries where cultural, political and economic encounters were inherent in the tourist experience (Tucker and Hall, 2004). According to Lowenthal (1985), these states inherited colonial structures after gaining independence from their colonizers (for example, plantation houses in North America, the Nazi concentration camps in Europe, and slave trade sites in Africa; Timothy and Boyd 2006; Yu Park, 2010). After the colonial era, many of these sites were preserved by the inheriting states as tourism destinations (Addo, 2011; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). Most maintain some connection to former colonial states, as Hall and Tucker (2004) explain:

> Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations (sites) for tourists (the Pacific Rim; Asia; Africa; South America); while the detritus of post-colonialism has been transformed into tourist sites (including exotic peoples and customs; artefacts; arts and crafts; indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories) (p.2).

Colonial heritage is thus embedded in post-colonial tourism. There is some debate, however, about the nature of this tourism variant. Jørgensen (2019), for example, argues that while colonial heritage is portrayed as a "phenomenon consumed by tourists from former colonial powers" it excludes the consumption of colonial heritage by domestic tourists (p.118). Others, like Amae (2011), distinguish between pro-colonial and post-colonial heritage, explaining that unlike the former, which preserves and interprets colonial past with a more positive outlook, the latter refers to colonial structures that are not "restored and preserved in their original form but in a deformed/ transformed one" (p. 19). For this research, these ideas are combined to describe post-colonial heritage tourism as the production of colonial heritage to preserve colonial artefacts and promote tourism (Amae, 2011; Hall and Tucker, 2004; Jørgensen, 2019).

Social conflict sometimes accompanies heritage production. This is the case in many states (see for example, Middleton, 2009; Porter and Salazar, 2005; Zheng et al., 2020), including Ghana (e.g. Teye et al., 2002; Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017). Here, African American tour guides (in Elmina) perform 'rituals' for tourists at former slave trade sites (e.g. castles and forts) to attract African Americans and Europeans who are interested in learning about colonial history and their personal connection to Africa (Addo, 2011). Yankholmes and Timothy (2017) report, however, that these entrepreneurs lack the support of local residents who do not believe the memory of slave trade should be preserved. This situation confirms Porter's (2008) suggestion that, "the sense of stewardship that is tightly woven into the notion of heritage tourism sets up potential conflict between groups over how sites are to be presented, preserved or accessed" (p. 274). Porter and Salazar (2005) also note that "often, the pretext of heritage consists of inalienable value coupled with select stewardship" (p. 363). However, they argue that not all heritage tourism destinations are contested, as conflicts may arise depending on how the value of heritage is perceived and marketed (Porter and Salazar, 2005).

Tourism scholars have long been interested in the evolution of tourist destinations, including places that commodify heritage. According to Butler (2015), Jones (1933) was among the first to examine evolutionary change in a study of two mining towns of Canada: Banff and Canmore (Butler, 2015). In this study he concluded that both towns evolved into tourist communities due to their natural mountain resources, giving rise to cultural landscapes with aesthetic appeal, summer cottages, fine stores, and recreational activities that made ideal

vacation destinations in the two neighboring mining towns.[2] Several years later, Gilbert (1939) introduced a framework to understand the spatial and economic changes that arise from visitor or tourism demands (Brouder et al., 2017). His paper, *"The growth of inland and seaside health resorts in England,"* described the "discovery, growth and expansion stages of tourism areas", based on changes in tourist numbers and the dynamics of tourist destinations (Gilbert, 1939; Ma and Hassink, 2013, p. 92). In this, and subsequent papers (1949, 1954) Gilbert further contributed to the literature on destination models (Butler, 2015), providing considerable insight on the growth of tourism in Brighton, a seaside resort (Gilbert, 1949).

More recently, scholars have extended this framework to show the connection between tourism impacts and "specific stages of destination development" based on the premise that the success of destinations depends on their ability to adapt to changing visitor needs (Brouder et al., 2017, p. 4; e.g. Christaller, 1963; Plog, 1973; Doxey, 1975; Miossec, 1977; Stanfield, 1978; Cohen, 1979). Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC), for example, was inspired by the earlier frameworks and the Product Life Cycle (Brouder et al., 2017; Ma and Hassink, 2013). It builds specifically on Stanfield's (1978) stages of socio-economic change: development, expansion, changing consumer, and decline; Ma and Hassink, 2013, p. 4). In his adaptation, Butler describes visitor numbers through six stages of change - "exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline."

This model has been widely applied in destination evolution studies since its introduction (Brouder et al., 2017; e.g. Strapp, 1988; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Getz, 1992; Ioannides, 1992; Agarwal, 1997; Douglas, 1997; Hovinen, 2002; Russell and Faulkner, 2004; Butler, 2006; Zhong et al., 2008). Most studies verify the six stages; however, some suggest that the final stage (decline) should be replaced by a "rejuvenation stage or an extensive maturity stage" (Ma and Hassink, 2013, p. 5). This phase has been introduced because research finds that tourism stakeholders learn to adapt to change by adding innovations or diversified attractions before decline occurs (See Agarwal, 1997; Getz, 1992; Hovinen, 2002).

While Butler's stages are embedded in ongoing evolutionary processes (Brouder et al., 2017), critics argue that there is a need to shift from the "notion of change stages, to focus on

[2] Butler reports that prior to these papers, discussions about tourism destination evolution occurred outside the academic sphere. For example, in their paper, Gilbert referred to a Times news article from 1860 about the development of resorts or coastal destinations (Butler, 2015). A similar theme also appeared in the American newspaper, "The Nation" from the "1880s to the first decade of the next century" (Butler, 2015, p. 22).

actual processes of change" (Brouder et al., 2017, p .4; e.g. Haywood, 2006). Others, like Ivars-Baidal et al. (2013), also suggest that the model does not take into account the multiple and complex nature of local and regional tourism. Recognizing these weaknesses, subsequent models (see for example, Haywood, 1986; Chadefaud, 1987; Smith, 1991, 1992; Gill, 2000; Papatheodorou, 2004; Clivaz et al., 2014) have been put forward to provide a more nuanced understanding of tourist destination evolution (Brouder et al., 2017).

Authors, like Haywood (1986), for example, have suggested using expenditure or revenue as an indicator of change instead of tourist arrivals (Ma and Hassink, 2013). Others find that destination changes are not homogenous, as influencing factors vary from one destination to another (Brouder et al., 2017; Ma and Hassink, 2013). Smith (1992), for example, considered how natural beach resorts evolve into urban coastal cities in Pattaya, Thailand. Rather than evolving through six stages, Smith's model describes eight phases of resort development (pre-development, explorative, initial development, strip development, resident displacement, loss of natural environment, urbanization, and maturity phase). His findings show that changes at resort destinations are influenced by five factors: "physical, environmental, social, economic, and political" (Smith 1992, p. 308). In a similar vein, Gill's (2000) research in Whistler, British Columbia, suggests that the development of resort destinations can be influenced by a number of political and social factors. In a more recent study, Clivaz et al. (2014) also argue that destinations go through "transformation of place quality during their development" (p. 6). They developed the concept of "touristic capital" to show how collective agency could facilitate the discourse of resorts becoming urban places (Brouder et al., 2017; Clivaz et al., 2014, p. 4). What these recent models have in common is that they acknowledge the dynamics of internal and external influences, including social, economic, environmental, physical, political, and cultural impacts on tourism area evolution (Brouder et al., 2017).

Despite this, tourism destination research conducted during the 20th century rarely provided a complete understanding of how and why tourism destinations evolve. This situation recently has been acknowledged by tourism scholars (e.g. Gill & Williams, 2011; Haywood, 2006; Ma & Hassink, 2013; Brouder & Erikson, 2013a,b), with some (e.g. Brouder, 2014) suggesting that EEG can provide a more nuanced understanding of tourist destination evolution. Recognizing this, tourism scholars are increasingly using an EEG lens to understand how tourism regions evolve over time (Table 2.2). The majority of these studies employ a path

dependence approach (e.g. Brouder and Eriksson, 2013b; Gill and Williams, 2011; 2017; Halkier et al., 2019; Halkier and Therkelsen, 2013; Randelli et al., 2014), with at least six different aspects of the theory applied. These are described briefly below, with examples drawn from Table 2.2 used to illustrate each application.

The concepts of structural, cognitive, and political lock-in have been used in economic geography to explain dependent economic pathways (Hassink, 2010; Wilson, 2014). In a tourism context (the first aspect), "path dependency points to evolutionary patterns whereby accumulated knowledge provides a critical mass for innovation and related tourism entrepreneurial processes" (Debbage, 2019, p. 82). In Canada, Gill and Williams (2017) demonstrate that the resort town of Whistler, B.C. experienced positive cognitive and political lock-ins. Despite this, they report that incremental growth occurred due to Whistler's decision-makers' (the municipality, the provincial government, and mountain operators) commitment to sustainable growth (Gill and Williams, 2017). Gill and Williams (2017, p. 57) describe the changes in this resort community as "path plasticity within established path-dependent" destinations (Gill and Williams, 2017 p. 57).

Plasticity is a second aspect of path dependency explored by tourism scholars (Clavé and Wilson, 2017; Halkier and Therkelsen, 2013). Halkier and Therkelsen (2013) for example, employ the concept of path plasticity in two rural coastal destinations of North Jutland, Denmark, and find that incremental change and tourism path creation can be facilitated by institutional and stakeholder collaboration. Others, like Clavé and Wilson (2017), apply the concept in a coastal resort region of Spain, Catalonia, and find that tourism regions can break path dependency and gradually create new paths through incremental changes (Clavé and Wilson, 2017). They argue that path plasticity is recognized as an "alternative framework for understanding economic evolution as incremental change in institutions and systems stemming from external and/or internal events" (Strambach, 2010; Clavé and Wilson, 2017, p. 99). Hence, the creation of a new tourism path can be influenced by a number of formal and/or informal policies (Clavé and Wilson, 2017).

Table 2.2 Select examples of EEG case studies in tourism research

Authors	**Publication Year**	**EEG Concept Description**
Gill and Williams	2011	Case study of path dependence in Whistler's mountain resort, British Columbia, Canada
Ma and Hassink	2013	Case study of path dependence and co-evolution in Gold Coast's tourism destination, Australia
Halkier and Therkelsen	2013	Path dependence and 'path plasticity' in Denmark's coastal tourism regions
Larsson and Lindstr€om	2013	Co-evolution of new tourism with traditional boat-building in Sweden
Brouder and Eriksson	2013b	Evolution and survival of regional branching micro-tourism firms in north Sweden's resource-based region
Randelli, Romei, and Tortora	2014	Rural tourism evolution in Tuscany, Italy
Ma and Hassink	2014	Path dependence and regional lock-in within tourism in Guilin, China
Brouder and Fullerton	2015	Resilience and co-evolution of multiple tourism paths in Niagara, Canada
Gill and Williams	2017	An evolutionary governance model for understanding the transition of destinations from growth-dependence towards a more sustainable future, Whistler, British Columbia, Canada
Clavé and Wilson, 2017	2017	Path dependence and path plasticity approach to understanding the evolution of mature tourism destinations in Catalonia, Spain
Mitchell and Shannon	2018a	Path-dependence, path-emergence trajectory in the creation and evolution of cultural heritage tourism in rural Newfoundland, Canada
Halkier, Müller, Goncharova, Kiriyanova, Kolupanova, Yumatov and Yakimova	2019	Case study of tourism governance in destination development in path dependent resource regions of Western Siberia, Russia
Fullerton and Brouder	2019	Co-evolving towards a resilient rural tourism in Canada's Niagara region
García-Delgado, Martínez-Puche, and Lois-González	2020	Heritage tourism evolution in Baixo Alentejo, Portugal
Hossein & Randelli	2020	Governance and the evolution of rural tourism in Iran
Deng, Lu, and Zhao	2021	Evolutionary approach to tourism revitalization and governance in China

Source: Adapted (and updated) from Brouder, 2014; Brouder et al., 2017

As Heiberg et al. (2020) notes, economic geographers are increasing recognizing the importance of using an institutional and multi-scalar approach to understanding regional and industrial path development. It is widely acknowledged that governance (particularly government action or inaction) influences trajectory development (Mackinnon et al., 2009; Mackinnon et al., 2019; Ryser et al., 2019). Hence, tourism researchers (e.g. Deng et al., 2021; Gill and Williams, 2011; Halkier et al., 2019) have used a path dependency framework to explain evolving forms of governance, particularly in resort regions (a third aspect). Gill and Williams's (2011), for example, show how the path dependent tourism community of Whistler evolved into an international ski resort, known as "North America's premier mountain destination" (p. 633), partially as a result of a coincidental provincial government policy to support natural resources development in British Columbia. In another example, Deng et al. (2021) find that in China, the survival of the tourism trajectory in three rural destinations (Yuanjia, Wuzhen, and Miao) depends on government support and local community participation. Hossein & Randelli (2020) also reveal the importance of supportive government policy in tourism path development in Iran. Similarly, Halkier et al. (2019) explore the role of governance in the development of path dependent tourism destinations in three rural resource regions of Western Siberia (Tomsk, Kemerovo, and Altay Krai) within the Russian Federation. They demonstrate that the development of a tourism path in rural Siberia is largely dependent on government intervention and existing natural resources (Halkier et al., 2019).

Like many economic systems (Boschma and Martin, 2010), the tourism sector may be influenced by the presence of place-specific assets associated with former development paths (Brouder & Saarinen, 2018; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). This is particularly the case in heritage tourism trajectories (Brekke, 2015) where, as Mitchell and Shannon (2018a, p. 23) explain: "heritage (i.e. the historic assets associated with productivist pursuits) is both the foundation of a path-dependent, path-emergence scenario (Steen and Karlsen, 2014), and is the root of tourism in historic productivist rural spaces (e.g. Sullivan and Mitchell, 2012)". Recognizing this, scholars have examined the emergence of tourism in resource regions as a branching innovating trajectory (a fourth aspect). For example, Brouder and Eriksson's (2013b) research in resource-based northern counties of Sweden suggest that tourism emerged as a regional branching trajectory through the activities of entrepreneurs who draw on regional resources and previous experiences, which largely influence the survival of the firms. Randelli et

al. (2014), also find that in Tuscany, Italy, the presence of large heritage buildings facilitated a regional branching rural tourism trajectory. Similarly, Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) explore the tourism development trajectory in a resource-dependent region of Canada, Newfoundland, and find that existing cultural heritage assets can facilitate the development of a new branching-innovating tourism trajectory through entrepreneurial initiatives (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a).

Entrepreneurial input is a key driver of trajectory creation and development (Garud and Karnøe 2001; Malerba and McKelvey, 2020; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). This is acknowledged by tourism scholars (Ioannides et al., 2015; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a) including Brouder et al. (2017, p. 2), who state that "our understanding of how and why tourism destinations evolve overtime" is enhanced by EEG because it recognizes "novelty and innovation through human creativity as the main drivers of economic evolution" (Brouder et al., 2017, p. 2). The role of entrepreneurs in tourism trajectory development (the fifth aspect), is very apparent in tourism studies (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013b; Iversen and Jacobsen, 2016).

Entrepreneurs, and other stakeholders, use a variety of mechanisms (combination, recombination, layering and conversion) to promote path development (Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). These concepts (the sixth aspect) recently have been used to describe the actions of tourism entrepreneurs in rural Newfoundland and Labrador (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017; Shannon and Mitchell, 2019) and Baixo Alentejo, Portugal (García-Delgado, 2020). As Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) study has shown, rural regions can develop a branching innovative trajectory that is both path- dependent and path-emergent, by re-combining new external capital assets with existing heritage resources (i.e. those related to the earlier path-dependent fishery), and by extending and renewing this path through conversion and layering (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Similarly, García-Delgado's (2020) study in Baixo Alentejo, Portugal, suggests that the region's tourism trajectory initially emerged through re-combination of the region's material culture and natural heritage. The trajectory was later extended and renewed by entrepreneurs (internal and external) who invested in retail artefact offerings and accommodation / real estate companies, respectively (García-Delgado, 2020).

Many of these ideas have been combined in a Heritage Tourism Path Development framework (Figure 2.2). This framework illustrates that heritage tourism paths are enabled by supportive policy, innovative consumers, and most importantly, new capital investments (financial, social and cultural) often provided by in-migrant entrepreneurs (Mitchell and

Shannon, 2018a). Mitchell and Shannon suggest that in the presence of these three enablers, three path development mechanisms may emerge with diverse outcomes. First is recombination, which results from the merger of existing heritage resources with new capital assets that have been externally accumulated by in-migrant entrepreneurs. The outcome is a branching innovating trajectory, which produces five types of commodified "material and experiential" heritage products: artefactual, repurposed, replica, crafted, and symbolic (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 32), which are described more fully in the next section (2.4.3). Subsequent incremental changes may lead to the second and third mechanisms, conversion and layering respectively (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). These involve the introduction of "non-heritage themed goods and experiences", which results in either extension of the original recombination path or path renewal (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 32). The activities of these innovators should then generate local jobs and curtail out-migration. In the Newfoundland and Labrador case, though, tourism entrepreneurs depended on more than one economic activity (often located outside the local area) to sustain their livelihood, as tourism ventures alone were an insufficient source of income (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a).

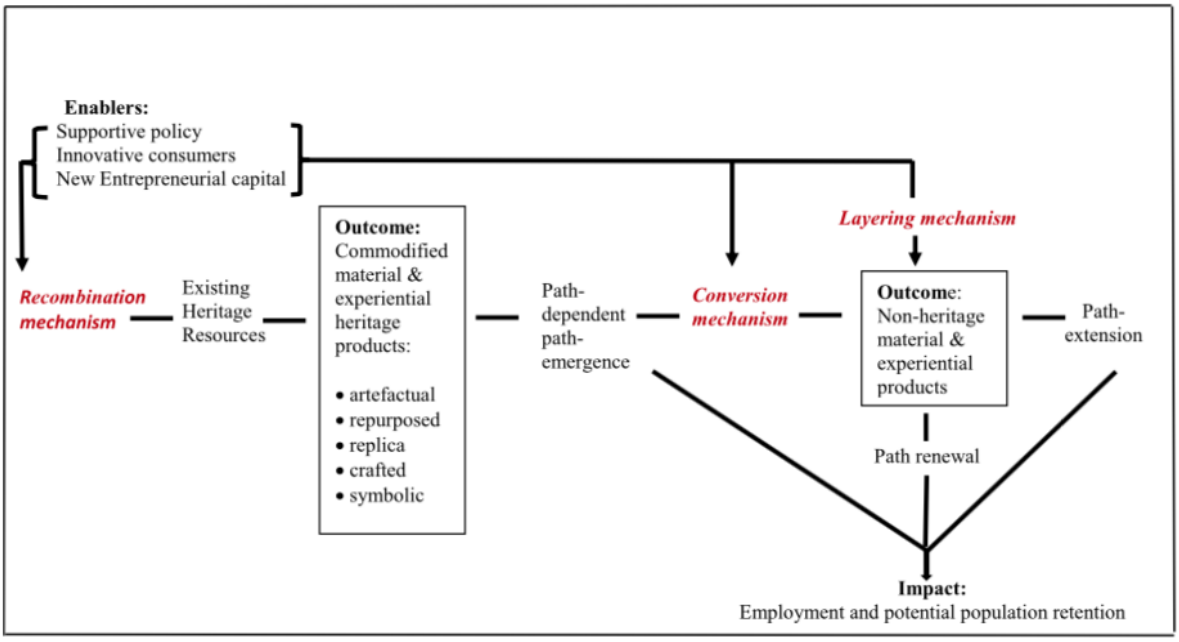

Figure 2.2 The heritage tourism path development framework
Source: Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p.32

The previous paragraphs reveal that tourism scholars have embraced various components of path dependency theory to frame their discussion of tourism destination evolution. These same individuals have also borrowed concepts from EEG's two other theorical foundations: complexity theory (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a; McDonald, 2009; Zahra and Ryan, 2007), and generalized Darwinism (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015; Ma and Hassink, 2013). The concept of co-evolution is most frequently applied, so is the focus here.

Co-evolution examines the "heterodox nature of the tourism economy within the regional economy" (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015). This concept is an integral part of complexity theory. As Brouder and Eriksson (2013a, p.374) explain, it allows for "path dependent co-evolution, since different local industries, as well as different local firms within the same industry, are characterised by a variety of different technologies, activities, and competitors" (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a, p.374). Co-evolution is also a component of generalized Darwinism. Path development processes are concerned with change and the co-evolution of economic paths, i.e., the relationship between "interdependent environment and individual agencies" (Brouder et al., 2017). Thus, path dependence offers a variety of concepts that explain how a particular tourism path develops and how different stakeholders influence or enable path development at a destination, and co-evolution looks at how multiple paths (including tourism) co-evolve within a destination or region (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015; Brouder and Saarinen, 2018). The integration of these two concepts thus provides a platform for understanding the multiple and complex processes of change occurring at path dependent destinations (Ma and Hassink, 2013).

Several scholars have explored co-evolution in a tourism context. Ma and Hassink, for example, apply this concept and path dependence to the Gold Coast - a historic tourist destination in Australia. Their research shows that the Gold Coast emerged from a pre-existing tourism beach resource, enabled by the "Southport to Brisbane railway built in the 1880s", and the opening of the "first hotel in Surfers Paradise in the mid 1920s" (Ma and Hassink, 2013, p. 101). This shifted Gold Coast's economy away from dependence only on farming and second homes, to include tourism activities of local entrepreneurs in the accommodation sector (Ma and Hassink, 2013). Brouder and Fullerton (2015) and Fullerton and Brouder (2019) have also examined co-evolution and tourism development paths in the Niagara region of Canada. Brouder and Fullerton (2015) focused on marginalized tourism stakeholders in the Niagara region of Canada. Their results show that despite marketing and promotional efforts to attract more visitors

to peripheral destinations of the region, the presence of the iconic waterfall destination, Niagara Falls, makes it challenging for the region's destinations to co-evolve successfully (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015). Both studies highlighted the importance of integrating marginalized destinations and rural entrepreneurs into regional tourism development (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015; Fullerton and Brouder, 2019).

In summary, this section has shown that tourism trajectory development has attracted considerable academic attention. A variety of evolutionary models initially was offered to describe changes that occur in resort destinations. Although widely applied, these models (including the TALC) were criticized for failing to take into account the complex nature of change processes in destination evolution (Brouder et al., 2017; Ivars-Baidal et al., 2013). Recognizing this, scholars have more recently employed an EEG perspective, particularly path dependency theory to provide a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of destination evolution (e.g. Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). This study follows in these footsteps. It applies the Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) heritage tourism development framework to understand the evolution of several tourism trajectories in Ghana, while also integrating the notion of co-evolution drawn from EEG's other theoretical pillars (e.g. Brouder and Fullerton, 2015; Ma and Hassink, 2013). In the following section, a discussion is provided of in-migrants to demonstrate, among other things, the role they play in tourism trajectory development.

2.4 In-migrants and Tourism Destination Evolution

Over the past few decades, global interconnectivity has facilitated enhanced movement of people, capital, labor, and information. Academics are increasingly exploring this movement fluidity, using a mobilities perspective (Camarero and Oliva, 2016; Urry, 2000, 2006). Within this literature, migration has become a popular topic, as more people elect to move (both temporarily and permanently) across regional, national, and international borders (Bijker et al., 2012; Stockdale, 2006). While many migrate to urban centers, others choose smaller communities and rural regions – a migration stream that is of particular interest here.

This section establishes the status of research on rural (and small town) in-migrants and their involvement in rural tourism destinations. It first considers who these migrants are, in both developing and developed nations (their types and demographic characteristics) and their reasons for migration. It then considers the types of touristic activities that migrants engage in, their

business venture motivations (demonstrated using a pathway to tourism proprietorship framework; figure 2.3); and the impacts of their actions on local communities (e.g. generation of capital assets).

2.4.1 In-migrant types and characteristics

At least four types of in-migrants have been identified in the smaller settlement areas of developed and developing nations. These are distinguished by their residential history and include newcomers, rural returnees, counterurbanites, and lateral migrants. Each is considered briefly below.

Rural in-migration literature often references newcomers (Akgün et al., 2011) as either internal or international in-migrants (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). Despite their widespread recognition, there is no widely accepted definition for this cohort. Some scholars (e.g. Mitchell and Shannon, 2017) define newcomers simply as individuals who were born outside the local community. Others differentiate newcomers from local residents in terms of their length of stay. Kalantaridis and Bika (2006), for example, situate newcomers as those who are not yet fully embedded in their new locale. They describe embeddedness as the process whereby one "becomes part of the local structure", which enables them to draw on local resources and opportunities (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006, p. 110). This term has also been described as "the situation where economic and social actions are influenced by being and feeling part of a local community" (Bosworth and Atterton, 2012; p. 261). Although no consistent definition is apparent, scholars do agree that newcomers are a diverse cohort.

Rural newcomers, however defined, display many different demographic characteristics. Some scholars find this group to be older, wealthier, and better educated than the local cohort (Akgün et al., 2011; Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006), suggesting that retirement migration is one of the main flows into these settlement areas (Akgün et al., 2011, p.1210; Stockdale et al., 2000). Other researchers reveal different demographic characteristics. In a study of Paris, Ontario, for example, Elmes and Mitchell (2020) found younger and better educated in-migrants within the newcomer group. Similarly, Bijker et al. (2012) reveal that some rural newcomers in the Netherlands are employed and highly educated, with others occupying lower income brackets. Hence, diversity appears to be a defining characteristic of this in-migrant cohort.

In addition to detailing the characteristics of newcomers, many studies also report the presence of returnees - a second type of in-migrant found in smaller settlement areas. Return migration, which can be traced back to the nineteenth century (Gmelch, 1980) is a complex process involving movement back to a host or home country or community (King and Christou, 2010; 2011).

In developing countries, particularly in Africa, much of the return migration literature has focused on international returnees (e.g. Akesson and Eriksson, 2015; Ammassari, 2004; Black and Castaldo, 2009; Sinatti, 2011). Hammond (2015) describes international returnees as members of diaspora who reside outside of their home country for three months or longer in a given year, and upon return to homeland, stay for at least three months. Other authors, including King (2000) have also recognized the variability of migration streams, describing international returnees as occasional, temporary, or seasonal returnees. Sinatti's (2011, p.153) research on Senegalese return migrants, for example, suggests that African return migrants are increasingly becoming regular "comers and goers" (transmigrants or transnational migrants) - a common phenomenon among African migrants in Europe. Hence, a full-on permanent return may not occur (Sinatti, 2011), as these returnees tend to maintain commitments (e.g. family, job, social network) in both host and home countries (Halfacree and Merriman 2015; Hammond, 2015). While some international returnees resettle in rural areas, the majority tend to reside in cities upon their return (Hammond, 2015).

Although return emigration has been recorded in developed countries (see King and Christou, 2010; Williams and Hall, 2000), internal return migration, particularly to rural areas, has dominated much research in Europe and North America (e.g. Bijker et al., 2012; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Lockwood, 1990; Farrell et al., 2012; Stockdale, 2016, Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b). Like international returnees, rural returnees are diverse demographically, and undertake permanent, temporary and seasonal moves. Permanent moves have been recorded by Stockdale (2016) in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland for example, with a diverse demographic sample of younger and older counterurbanite and lateral migrant population. Farrell et al. (2012) and Dustmann and Weiss (2007) reported temporary returnees in UK and Europe, respectively. Finally, seasonal migration has been observed by Mitchell and Shannon (2018b) who found that returnees (and newcomers) in Trinity, Canada generally returned to their

permanent residence at the end of the summer. These studies thus confirm the varied nature of in-migrants and their movements – a variability that also extends to the counterurbanite cohort.

Counterurbanites are individuals who engage in counterurbanization. Although this concept is defined in many ways (Mitchell, 2004), it is most frequently described as the movement of people down the settlement hierarchy (Mitchell, 2004), often from urban to rural areas. In other words, counterurbanites typically move from relatively densely populated to sparsely populated areas (Geyer and Geyer, 2017), giving rise to what Fielding (1982) describes as the "inversion of the traditionally positive relationship between migration and settlement size" (Bosworth and Finke, 2020, p. 656).

Counterurbanization has received considerable attention in academic literature since it was first acknowledged formally in the United States (US) by Brian Berry (1976). Since then, this migration movement has been identified in most parts of the developed world. For example, counterurbanization has been observed in North America (Berry, 1980; Johnson and Beale, 1994; Dahms and McComb, 1999; Mitchell, 2004; Qunlang, 2005; Vias, 2011; Mitchell and Madden 2014; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, 2018a, b; Shannon and Mitchell, 2019), Europe (Fielding, 1982; Perry et al., 1986; Champion, 1987, 1989, 2005; Bolton and Chalkley, 1990; Halfacree, 1994; 2001; 2008; Halliday and Coombes, 1995; Kontuly, 1998; Stockdale et al., 2000; Paniagua, 2002; Phillips, 2005; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006; Stockdale and McLeod, 2013; Stockdale, 2016), Australia (Hugo and Smailes, 1985; Hugo, 1988; Smailes, 1996; Walmsley et al., 1998; Argent et al., 2010), and parts of East Asia, including Japan (Tsuya and Kuroda, 1989; Usui et al., 2021).

The flow of counterurbanites has historically been found to fluctuate in parts of the global north (Halfacree, 2001). In the United States, for example, rural population grew in the early and mid 1970s, suggesting the presence of counterurbanites; however, growth rates dropped again in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Mitchell, 2004; see Beale 1974; Vining and Kontuly, 1978). Growth rates picked up again in late 1980s, but another decline was observed in the following decade, with similar trends recorded in parts of Britain, Canada, and Australia (Champion, 1987; Hugo and Smailes, 1985; Long and Nucci, 1997; Gurran, 2008). According to Kontuly (1998), research has shown that many other countries in the global north are experiencing similar counterurbanization trends. Other global mobility patterns in less developed nations suggest that

counterurbanization in rural and regional areas coincides with "increasing urbanization and globalization of major cities" (Gurran, 2008, p. 394).

In developing countries, urbanization (migration up the settlement hierarchy) is still the dominant form of in-migration (Awumbila et al., 2008; Potts, 2009). However, studies suggest an increasing shift towards counterurbanization (Geyer and Geyer, 2017) here as well. For example, in more advanced developing countries of Asia (Qian et al., 2013), South America (Baeninger, 2002), Eastern Europe (Kovács, 2012; Šimon, 2014), and Southern Africa (Geyer and Geyer, 2017) counterurbanization has been observed (Geyer and Geyer, 2017). In other parts of the developing world, including Sub-Saharan Africa (i.e. Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Mali), counterurbanization was experienced in the 1980s and 1990s, when urban growth slowed due to limited economic opportunities (Beauchemin, 2011; Potts, 2005, 2009). A similar trend has been reported in China (Zhou, 19991) and India (Mookherjee, 2003; Mookherjee et al., 2009). This phenomenon is continuing today as urban centers in the 21st century are recording decreased growth rates, with rural and smaller urban centers recording higher rates of in-migration and population growth than in the past (Cohen, 2004; Geyer and Geyer, 2017).

Like newcomers and rural returnees, counterurbanites are a diverse cohort comprised of both international and internal migrants (e.g. Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Halfacree, 2008; Akgün et al., 2011; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b; Dinis, 2021). Halfacree, 2008). Many studies in rural North America (Canada and US), and UK report that counterurbanites are older and better educated than the local population (see Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, Stockdale, 2016). In other regions, the cohort is somewhat younger, as Bijker et al. (2012) found in Northern Netherlands. However, these authors also show that the cohort is relatively highly educated and, in the middle-high-income bracket, compared to other rural in-migrants (Bijker et al., 2012), and in comparison to Netherlands in general (Steenbekkers et al., 2008). A younger and diverse cohort in rural England was also found by Bosworth (2020). In South Africa, Geyer and Geyer (2017) found counterurbanites to be less selective in their characteristics, relative to the Western world. Their findings suggest a mix of younger and older cohorts, with, however, fewer working adults, and a higher population with young families (Geyer and Geyer, 2017). This is similar to what Usui et al. (2021) found in a low-amenity rural island of Japan; however, here, the counterurbanite population also included a number of retired migrants.

Lateral migrants are a fourth category of in-migrants whose presence has also been observed in smaller settlement areas. These individuals are engaged in migration between similar-sized settlement classes (Mitchell, 2004, p. 24). According to Stockdale (2016), lateral migrants include those who move "from a remote rural location into a small rural settlement," and "from a small rural town or village to the open countryside" (p. 599). They have been predominantly observed in developed countries, especially in UK (Gkartzios and Scott, 2010; Stockdale, 2016; Stockdale and MacLeod, 2013). Rural lateral migrants also have been recorded in other parts of Europe and North America, for example, in Netherlands (Bijker and Haartsen, 2012), Norway (Grimsrud, 2011), Scotland (Stockdale, 2006), and in Canada (Mitchell and Madden, 2014; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, 2018b). In Stockdale's (2016) research in UK, specifically, in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, lateral migrants (41% of sampled population) represented a significant proportion of the rural in-migrant population, with counterurbanization being the dominant flow (representing 59%). Demographic diversity also characterizes this in-migrant group. In UK, for example, Stockdale (2016) found that lateral migrants' educational and professional attainment were similar to those of counterurbanites (Stockdale, 2016). This contrasts with Mitchell and Shannon's findings (2017) in rural Newfoundland, Canada where lateral migrants were found to be relatively more educated than their counterurbanite cohorts.

In summary, migration studies are increasingly reporting the presence of permanent, temporary, and seasonal international and internal in-migrants (newcomers, rural returnees, counterurbanites, and lateral migrants) in rural areas and smaller settlements in both developed and developing countries. In-migrants have been found to possess diverse demographics, with regards to age, education, employment, and income. In-migrants have generally been found to be better educated, wealthier, and older (Akgün et al., 2011), although some studies have found this cohort to be younger and better educated (Elmes and Mitchell, 2020). As shown in the following section, while some members of these cohorts are amenity migrants, others move for economic reasons.

2.4.2 Migration Motivations

In addition to asking "the who" question, migration studies have often asked the question, "why" (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). Specifically, why do people choose to migrate to specific destinations? In-migrants' choices have been reported to stem from both non-economic (consumption) and economic (production) motives (Williams and Hall, 2000), or a combination of the two (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). While the former reflects the need to improve one's livelihood, the latter encapsulates the desire for a new lifestyle (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017).

A considerable body of research has shown that destination choice is sometimes economically motivated. Studies have shown that the presence of employment opportunities and higher incomes (Vuin et al., 2016), or lower housing and living costs (Akgün et al., 2011; Halfacree, 2008; 2012; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017) lure prospective migrants to small settlements (Lane, 1994). This is demonstrated by Vuin et al. (2016) who found that in low-amenity inland Australia, in-migration pull-factors were centered around proximity to employment, urban center, and / or housing and living cost. This type of migration is a common phenomenon found among lateral migrants, some retired newcomers and rural returnees (Akgün et al., 2011), who may not prefer rural living but opt for it because of financial need (Fertner, 2013; Mitchell, 2004). Although, historically, migration has been generally perceived to be economically driven (Potts, 2009), more recently, rural in-migrants have been found to seek non-economic benefits when choosing a destination (Bijker et al., 2012; Usui et al., 2021).

Non-economic motives include a desire to reside in an amenity-rich area, often to improve one's lifestyle or quality of life (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). This consumption-led migration variant draws all types of in-migrants (often privileged or affluent; Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2015) to rural place-based amenity features (e.g. natural, cultural, leisure or recreational; Moss, 2006). Thus, some authors, like McGranahan (1999) describe amenity as the "new rural comparative advantage" (Argent et al., 2010, p. 27). Empirical research has shown that rural lifestyle tends to be a predominant pull factor for incomers because they "appear to have a greater appreciation for nature" than locally-born rural residents (Akgün et al., 2011, p. 1210). For example, Usui et al.'s (2021) study in low-amenity rural areas of Japan show that counterurbanites (including returnees and retirees) choose Yakushima tourism island because of its aesthetic natural environment with sunny and warm temperatures. Gurran (2008, p. 394) also cited that lifestyle migrants in Australia tend to dominate non-metropolitan coastal areas, which

somehow limits the avenue for economic opportunities in the area because "migrants seek lifestyle first" and economic aspirations are secondary.

Family is another consumption-led motive, whereby lifestyle migrants, particularly returnees, are strongly influenced by "proximity to family, or ancestral roots" (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, p. 3; Stockdale, 2016). Stockdale's research in the UK for example, found that rural returnees choose to return home to be close to family and friends, and to enjoy rural life (Stockdale, 2016). This motivation is also common among lateral migrants (returnees) in rural Newfoundland, Canada (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017), and counterurbanite returnees in rural Nova Scotia, Canada (Mitchell and Madden, 2014). In a similar vein, the presence of international returnees is influenced by their family or kingship ties; for example, King and Christou (2010) found this among Greek-American returnees to Greece. Likewise, this is a common phenomenon among Caribbeans and Africans in the diaspora, and among returnees to Jamaica (Reynolds, 2008), Somaliland (Hammond, 2015), Senegal (Sinatti, 2011), Congo (Eriksson, 2015), and Ghana (Kleist, 2015).

In the African context, Yankholmes and Timothy (2017, p. 491) also uncovered African American lifestyle (ancestral) "root-seekers" living in Ghana who, as elaborated on below, both consume and promote slave-trade history (p. 491). Root seekers see their "ancestral home as their authentic, pure home as a place of eventual return" (King and Christou, 2010, p. 2; Safran,1991). Ancestral return was first mentioned in Bovenkerk's (1974) essay as one type of return migration. Although, after citing the return of the Rastafarians to Africa, and of the Jews to Israel, Bovenkerk "dismissed this as return that is not return" (King and Christou, 2011, p. 451). However, King and Christou (2011) counter argued that root seekers are indeed returnees if migration is measured by not only birthplace and nationality, but also by ethnic origin. This is especially true for migrants whose motive for returning is based on an "emotional and historical connection" (King and Christou, 2011, p. 452), such as the connection that African American's have with slave-trade history in Africa. In the case of Ghana, for example, some of these ancestral returnees reside permanently in former colonial towns or coastal areas like Elmina, where, as elaborated on below, they are likely to start a tourism related business to support their livelihood (Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017).

Some studies suggest that lifestyle and livelihood factors, combined, are drawing urban residents to rural areas. In the developed world, this may be related to the growth of "labour

market volatility," (Williams and Hall, 2000, p. 8), which, since the 1970s, has led to more short-term careers, frequent job changes, and many people choosing to retire early. While some may venture into new career paths, others may open new businesses, which contributes to increasing labor mobility (Williams and Hall, 2000). Those who decide to relocate to amenity-rich locations are commonly "lifestyle-seeking labour migrants" (Williams and Hall, 2000, p. 18), who may use new employment opportunities in their destination as a means to improve their quality of life (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). Benson and O'Reilly (2009, p. 610) assert that in order for these lifestyle in-migrants to achieve their preferred lifestyle, their post-migration performance often includes a "re-negotiation of work-life balance," where they consider alternative ways to earn a living. It is therefore common to find these rural in-migrants running small businesses in their new locales (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009).

Evidence has also been provided that different migrant cohorts combine lifestyle and livelihood motives in their destination choice. In their review paper, *Roles of local and newcomer entrepreneurs in rural development*, Akgün et al. (2011) reveal that newcomer in-migrants desiring the rural idyl consider economic factors such as employment or new business opportunities (Akgün et al., 2011), when making a relocation decision. Newcomer and returnee life-style seeking migrants in rural Newfoundland also pursue a variety of economic goals once in their new destination, such as opening a business and securing new employment (see Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b).

Internal and international counterurbanites who desire a rural lifestyle (Halfacree, 2008) are also lured by lower housing cost. This is demonstrated in Buller and Hoggart's (1994) paper which suggests that people from urban centers in England move to rural France because houses are relatively cheaper, which affords them the opportunity to experience a "genuine" rural lifestyle (Halfacree, 2008, p. 486). Counterurbanites who are retired or planning to retire also tend to move to rural areas to 'benefit from cheaper housing and greater opportunity for leisure activities" (Akgün et al., 2011, p. 1211), again reinforcing importance of economic and non-economic factors in the migration decision.

2.4.3 In-migrants' touristic activities

Upon arrival in their chosen destination, in-migrants may become involved in a number of post-movement activities as consumers or producers of economic activity (i.e. as entrepreneurs or employees: Iversen and Jacobsen, 2016). These activities are accommodated in the mobilities paradigm which asks "how" migrants perform once in their destination (Smith et al., 2015), and "what" activities they become engaged in (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). International literature suggests that some in-migrants may take up employment with rural firms (Deller et al., 2019), while others may become involved in rural tourism development (Mitchell and O'Neil, 2016, 2017; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, 2018a, b; Vuin et al., 2016). Studies find that return migrants are often the source of small tourism business investment since their return is mostly lifestyle driven (family and cultural factors; Williams and Hall, 2000). Rural returnee counterurbanites, in particular, use their externally accumulated capital to invest in rural tourism at various points during their return (Bosworth, 2010; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017; Paniagua, 2002).

The entrepreneurial activities of counterurbanites (and other in-migrant cohorts) in smaller settlements is increasingly dominating rural in-migration literature, especially in developed countries (e.g. Bosworth, 2010; Bosworth and Finke, 2020; Groves-Phillips, 2013; Herslund, 2012; Mitchell and Madden, 2014; Qu et al., 2020). This phenomenon has been described as commercial counterurbanization, which Bosworth (2010, p. 977) defines as "the growth of rural economies stimulated by inward migration." According to Bosworth, commercial counterurbanization is characterised by three conditions: "a residential move, involvement in local business activity, and a degree of local embeddedness" (Mitchell and Madden, 2014, p. 140-141). Commercial counterurbanites facilitate the opening of new businesses in rural places (Bosworth, 2010) and contribute to the tourism development trajectory of post-productivist rural landscapes (Shannon and Mitchell, 2019).

Although the concept of commercial counterurbanization has not received much academic attention in the global south, Geyer and Geyer (2017) reported two types of commercial counterurbanites in South Africa: the first is productivist, i.e. those engaged in production activities, in mining or industrialized locations. The second is environmentalist, i.e. those engaged in tourism and recreational activities, which is closely related to what is common in post-productivist economies of the global north (Geyer and Geyer, 2017). They conclude that

evidence of commercial counterurbanites' tourism activities is not limited to developmentally advanced populations but occurs wherever there exist sufficient conditions for post-productivist development to occur (Geyer and Geyer, 2017).

International research has confirmed that in-migrants in rural communities are instrumental in advancing the development of tourism trajectories by opening entrepreneurial businesses (Deller et al., 2019). These venues sell a variety of product types in the accommodation, tour operation/promotion, food, transportation, and retail sectors in both developing (Boakye et al., 2013; Geyer and Geyer, 2017; Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017) and developed countries (Bosworth, 2010; Li et al., 2019; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b; Shannon and Mitchell, 2019; Stockdale, 2016; Stockdale and MacLeod, 2013; Usui et al. 2021). For example, Åkesson (2015) found that tourism activities in rural islands of Cape Verde are focused in the accommodation and food services, managed predominantly by international in-migrants, although some returnees have opened small hotels, guesthouses, restaurants and bars (Åkesson, 2015). Usui et al.'s (2021) study in rural island of Yakushima in Japan also reveal that in-migrants were involved in operating a number of ventures ranging from restaurants, hotels, tour guiding, souvenir stores, to car rentals. They concluded that the accommodation and tour operating sectors dominate the tourism industry, with internal counterurbanite entrepreneurs driving tourism development in the area. In a similar vein, Bosworth's (2010) research in the North East region of England shows that the majority of in-migrant (including counterurbanites and returnees) enterprises are concentrated in the hospitality industry. Other findings from UK (Northern Ireland, Mid-Wales, and Scotland) suggest that in-migrants operate tourism-related ventures in the accommodation and food services, and retail - arts and crafts (Stockdale and MacLeod, 2013). A similar trend was reported in rural parts of the county of Gävleborg, Sweden, although in Mattsson and Cassel's (2020) study, in-migrant entrepreneurs added nature activities to their accommodation, food and retail businesses, such as "fishing or bear- and-elk-watching tours" (p.392). Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) study in rural Canada also confirmed that in-migrants tend to merge place-based natural and cultural heritage with non-heritage products in their offerings.

In-migrants sell different heritage-related products in their tourism enterprises. Drawing from Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) study in rural Newfoundland, at least five types of heritage products offered by in-migrants are identified and discussed here. In their study, in-migrants

specifically commodified place-based heritage products and processes to sell or display historic (authentic) artefactual, re-purposed, crafted, replica and symbolic heritage products (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a; Table 2.4) in their retail, tour, accommodation and food businesses. Elmes and Mitchell (2020) further classified these heritage products into authentic, infused, enhanced, and faux authentic heritage products.

Artefactual / authentic products are either tangible (e.g. local antiques) or intangible experiences (e.g. historic tours, festivals; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). In their Newfoundland sample, only a few newcomers (including returnees) offered authentic products in the form of local antiques and whale-watching boat tours (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). A study in Ghana however, found that ancestral returnees (African American expatriates) predominantly offer artefactual and authentic products. These "returnees" are mostly involved in the promotion of slave-trade history, what Yankholmes and Timothy (2017, p. 7) call a "slavery heritage tourism product." They present and conserve slave history, and promote tourism on the slave routes, and also perform rituals at slave trade castles (Elmina and Cape Coast) to welcome newcomers to their land of ancestors (see Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017). Other findings from the rural island of Mitarai, Japan, suggest that newcomers have been instrumental in creating historic tours that promote the culture (festivals) and history of the area (Qu et al., 2020).

Re-purposed heritage is the second variant identified here; it is a type of authentic product but with a new functionality and can include varied offerings "suitable for tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 26). Examples of this product type can range from repurposing a space for an authentic experience, such as using an historic building as a guest house or restaurant, to turning natural items into souvenirs, such as an artwork made from driftwood, seashells and other natural products (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). These were found to be common offerings among newcomers in rural Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a).

The third type considered are crafted / infused heritage products, which are "new goods or services created with, or inspired by, local heritage" (Elmes and Mitchell, 2020, p. 58), for example, locally prepared food or hand-woven clothing. Elmes and Mitchell's (2020) research in Paris, Ontario, revealed that the majority of in-migrants (counterurbanites, urbanites, and lateral) who offer heritage-related products in the retail sector, predominantly specialize in crafted or infused products, such as "hand-made soaps and paintings by local artists" (p. 59). Stockdale and

MacLeod (2013) and Mattsson and Cassel (2020) also found in-migrants in rural UK and rural Sweden, respectively, who offer crafted products (e.g. handicrafts and artwork).

Next is Replica / faux authentic heritage products, which "appropriate heritage assets to create mass produced souvenirs or fantasy" (Elmes and Mitchell, 2020, p. 58; Mair, 2009). An example of this product type is traditional clothing made using a machine instead of a traditional method, such as weaving or hand-crafting (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). This can also be in the form of a faux authentic experience, such as the offering of guest accommodation or food in a venue that incorporates traditional architectural design (e.g. a modern building with a thatched roof). Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) found very few newcomers offering these types of goods or experiences in rural Newfoundland.

Symbolic heritage is a depiction of an authentic heritage product (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). The authors divide this product type into two: "visual representations and tactile simulacra." The former includes paintings of items that represents the heritage of a particular place, such as the paintings of "wildflowers, ice-bergs, local rocks and cliffs" offered by in-migrants in Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 27). The latter, which is a miniature of an authentic product (see table 2.3) were found to be offered by only few newcomers who sell "Beothuk dolls", a "miniature salt-box house", "hand-woven capelin and seals", among other product types that reflect the culture of Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 28).

Finally, enhanced heritage products are non-heritage offering that use aspects of heritage to enhance or add value to their products (Elmes and Mitchell, 2020). This includes products that provide both an intrinsic value, such as a "superior taste in the case of international cuisine", and an extrinsic experience, like dining at a restaurant with a natural beach-front view or relaxing "in an historic and scenic setting" (Elmes and Mitchell, 2020, p. 58). Each of these examples demonstrate that in-migrants sell a wide variety of heritage-related products in their tourism enterprises.

Table 2.3 Types of heritage products

Heritage products	**Material**	**Examples**	**Non-material**	**Examples**
Artefactual	An authentic object	A 19th century quilt	A display of authentic objects	An historic tour; a museum
Re-purposed	An authentic object with a new functionality	A framed heirloom sold as a wall hanging	A display of an authentic object with a new functionality	An historic mill or home providing accommodation
Crafted	A new authentic object created using traditional material and techniques	A hand-crafted quilt, traditionally prepared food	A display of new, authentic, objects	A gallery displaying new, locally hand-crafted quilts; a performance of traditional music
Replica	A faux authentic object that mimics an authentic object, produced using contemporary techniques	A machine crafted quilt	A display of faux-authentic objects	A faux-historic village; a new inn that incorporates historic architectural design
Symbolic: Visual	A painting or photo that depicts an authentic object	A painting of an historic building	A display of paintings that depict an authentic object	An art gallery showcasing locally-inspired art
Symbolic: Tactile	A scaled-down version of an authentic object	Doll designed to reflect indigenous characteristics	A display of a scaled-down version of an authentic object	A miniature (model) rural village

Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, p. 27

2.4.3 In-migrants' business-opening motivation

In-migrants' decision to open businesses that provide the tourism products described above, may be made before (early stage) or after (late stage) migration (Mitchell and Shannon 2017). Bosworth (2010, p. 975) thus categorizes in-migrants into two categories: first, "planned-start-up – in-migrants" who often open early-stage-enterprises, and second, "un planned-start-up – in-migrants", whose business openings are often late-stage. Like the migration decision itself, the decision to open either an early or later stage business can be economically and/or non-economically motivated (Bosworth and Finke, 2020; Iversen and Jacobsen, 2016; Lundmark et al., 2014; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017).

In-migrants whose movement motive is non-economically motivated, or consumption-led (for example, retirees; Williams and Hall, 2000) may become involved in rural tourism activities sometime after moving to their new place of residence (late-stage openings; Müller, 2006). These are often called lifestyle entrepreneurs (Morrison, 2006) who open what Carlsen et al. (2008, p. 260) term "tourism lifestyle firms." For example, Yankholmes and Timothy (2017) found that ancestral returnees (African American expatriates) to coastal areas of Ghana, whose destination motives are often consumption-led, open tourism businesses sometime after their move. Vuin et al.'s (2016) also suggests that seasonal residents and retirees, who are predominantly lifestyle seekers, tend to open late-stage-enterprises, which may have resulted from a shifting life course circumstance. Similarly, in Herslund's (2012) research in the Danish countryside, lifestyle counterurbanites opened businesses some years later, post-migration, although some established early-stage ventures upon arrival.

In contrast, rural in-migrant entrepreneurs whose destination choices are based on economic (i.e. production) reasons, typically open early-stage enterprises once in their destination (Bosworth, 2010). Bosworth (2010) found this to be a common phenomenon among counterurbanites in rural UK who had planned to start a business prior to moving to their new destination - what Bosworth and Finke (2020, p. 657) call "entrepreneurship-enabling migration." However, research has also shown that some rural in-migrants may establish early-stage businesses for non-economic reasons as well. In this case, proprietors do not *need* to open a business but *want* to engage in proprietorship to fulfill non-economic goals (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). These in-migrants have been described as "lifestyle entrepreneurs," who merge business with family and their aspirations for quality of life, and who typically have "limited career ambitions" (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, p. 3; Morrison, 2006, p. 204). Dinis (2021, p.155) defines this cohort as a "specific type of entrepreneur whose aim is finding a sufficient and comfortable way of living" by maintaining an income to support their lifestyle. Thus, they tend to prioritize other non-economic values, such as family, over economic ambitions (Usui et al., 2021) when making the business-opening decision.

Both economic need and/or non-economic wants are thus considered in the decision to open a late-stage or early-stage business in a small settlement area. In a recent article, Mitchell and Shannon (2017) combine these motivations for business opening (economic needs and non-economic wants), with the motivations for migration (economic, amenity or family) to identify

six types of tourism businesses (and related trajectories to tourism proprietorship), which either enable or enhance proprietors' livelihood or lifestyle (Table 2.4). When the timing of business opening is included (early and late stage), this results in 12 potential business types and related tourism proprietorship trajectories (Figure 2.3) many of which were identified by the authors in their research on Newfoundland and Labrador.

In their first paper, Mitchell and Shannon (2017) found that family (defined as a lifestyle motive) was the major factor influencing the decision of migrants, particularly lateral migrants, to move to rural Newfoundland, with the presence of amenity also being of some importance, particularly for the counterurbanite cohort. Most proprietors (particularly lateral migrants) opened their tourist enterprise sometime after arriving, most often for productivist (livelihood-driven) reasons, to enable their desired lifestyle (trajectory 3b on Table 2.4). The authors then applied Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) framework (Figure 2.3) in Trinity, Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b). Their results further suggest that internal newcomers took livelihood-enabling routes and opened their tourism businesses in the early stages of arrival to generate income, although very few took a late-stage-livelihood enhancing route. However, the majority of in-migrants, particularly rural returnees and external newcomers, took a lifestyle-enabling route (trajectory 3a or b on Table 2.4); while they moved for non-economic reasons, their decision to open a tourism firm was economically driven (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b).

The authors applied this framework again in Brigus, Newfoundland to uncover the contribution of counterurbanites in the tourism development trajectory of the town (Shannon and Mitchell, 2019), and they found similar trends with the Trinity case. Their results show that counterurbanites (newcomers and returnees) who took lifestyle-enabling routes had both economic and non-economic motives, and that they opened either early or late-stage tourism ventures. However, those whose routes to tourism proprietorship were lifestyle-enhancing, largely had non-economic motives and they typically opened late-stage ventures. Others (counterurbanite newcomer, returnees, and /or retirees) moved along leisure lifestyle-enhancing routes and opened a business shortly after arrival; their motives were non-economic, such as to keep busy during retirement or to meet new people (Shannon and Mitchell, 2019).

Table 2.4 Indicators of in-migrants' destination choice and tourism business types

		Indicators				
	New tourism business type	*Destination choice reason*	*Migration Type*	*Business opening stage*	*Business outcome*	*Personal business motive*
1a	Early-stage, livelihood-enabling	Economics	Production-led	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
1b	Late-stage, livelihood-enabling	Economics	Production-led	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
2a	Early-stage, livelihood-enhancing	Economics	Production-led	Early	Livelihood-enhancing	Want
2b	Late-stage, livelihood-enhancing	Economics	Production-led	Late	Livelihood-enhancing	Want
3a	Early-stage, lifestyle-enabling	Family or Amenity	Production-led	Early	Lifestyle-enabling	Need
3b	Late-stage, lifestyle-enabling	Family or Amenity	Production-led	Late	Lifestyle-enabling	Need
4a	Early-stage, lifestyle-enhancing	Family or Amenity	Production-led	Early	Lifestyle-enhancing	Want
4b	Late-stage, lifestyle-enhancing	Family or Amenity	Production-led	Late	Lifestyle-enhancing	Want
5a	Early-stage, leisure lifestyle-enabling	Family or Amenity	Production / Consumption-led	Early	Leisure lifestyle-enabling	Need
5b	Late-stage, leisure lifestyle-enabling	Family or Amenity	Consumption-led	Late	Leisure lifestyle-enabling	Need
6a	Early-stage, leisure lifestyle-enhancing	Family or Amenity	Production / Consumption-led	Early	Leisure lifestyle-enhancing	Want
6b	Late-stage, leisure lifestyle-enhancing	Family or Amenity	Consumption-led	Late	Leisure lifestyle-enhancing	Want

Source: Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, p. 9

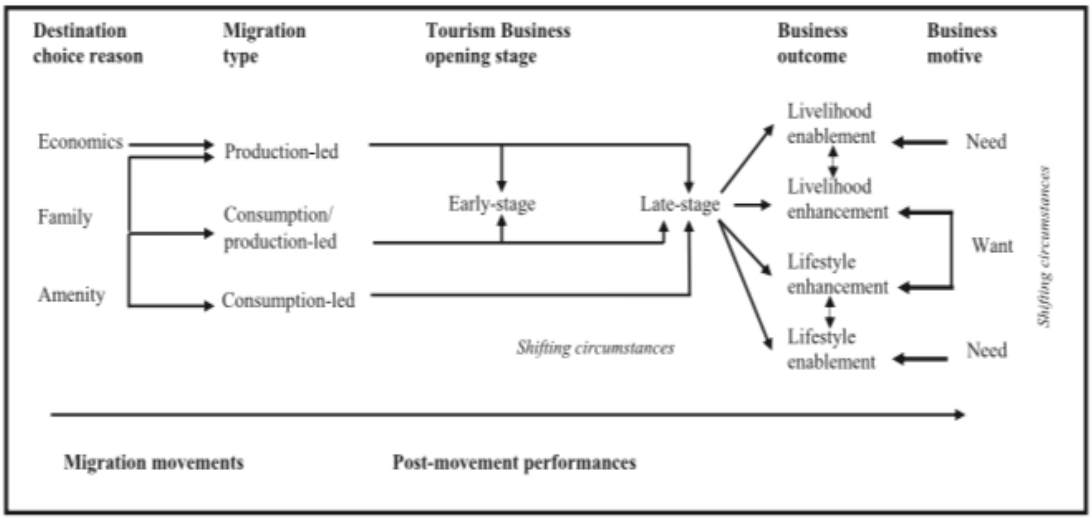

Figure 2.3 In-migrants' potential routes to tourism proprietorship
Source: Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, p.7

As demonstrated in this section, many studies have explored the business motives of in-migrant tourism entrepreneurs and the timing of venture opening, particularly in Europe and North America. Such studies are warranted because geographers are increasingly pointing out the importance of asking the "how" question, in addition to the traditional "what" and "why" questions that dominate migration literature (Halfacree and Merriman, 2015; Smith et al., 2015). Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) framework (Figure 2.3) combine these questions to allow for a more nuanced understanding of how migrants perform their "post-migration lives" (Halfacree and Merriman, 2015, p.159), and how a "new life course circumstance" could influence in-migrants' post-migration decisions (Shannon and Mitchell, 2019, p. 423). According to Halfacree and Merriman (2015, p.161), "regarding migration as a process with no obvious end-point (rather than as a discrete action) enables a performance perspective to emerge most fully." In the next section, the impacts of in-migrants' performances are considered.

2.4.4 In-migrant tourism proprietors' impacts

The influence of in-migrant entrepreneurs, particularly in rural areas, has been found to support socio-economic development in developed and developing nations. Economic diversification in many rural places, is often stimulated from outside the local community (Dinis, 2021; Mitchell and Madden, 2014). Although rural regions have experienced endogenous (internally-driven) development, the role of external factors is increasingly being shown to be significant to rural development (Dinis, 2021). Hence, rural in-migrants have often been viewed as an "asset to rural areas" and a "catalyst for rural economic regeneration" (Stockdale and MacLeod, 2013, p.81), as they establish small businesses in their new rural destinations (Dinis, 2021).

According to Geyer and Geyer (2017), the attraction of commercial counterurbanites in developing countries is especially necessary for tourism-based development in rural areas. They argue that "post-productivist counterurbanization developments are not limited by the small numbers of native counter-urbanising populations but can piggy-back off larger international counter-urbanising populations through international tourism and migration" (Geyer and Geyer, 2017, p.1586). This flow of international tourism entrepreneurs has been documented in parts of Africa, such as South Africa (Geyer and Geyer, 2017), Ghana (Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017), and Cape Verde (Åkesson, 2015). In his study of Cape Verde, Åkesson (2015), for example,

uncovered that the majority of tourism businesses are owned by international in-migrants from Europe, specifically, France, Britain, and Italy. The activities of rural in-migrants in tourism destinations have been found to have a number of impacts on local communities, such as the accumulation of rural capital (Akgün et al., 2011), as demonstrated in the following section.

2.4.5 In-migrants community impacts

In addition to developing the tourism trajectory, in-migrant tourism entrepreneurs have other impacts on their destination community. Among these, is building local capacity. UNDP defines capacity building as "the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time" (UNDP, 2009 p. 6). Koutra and Edwards (2012) clarify that these capabilities arise from investments in social, human, financial, and physical capital which, in turn, subsequently generate more capital resources. Many in-migrants have "high disposable incomes, above-average education qualification, and valuable networks of contacts" (Bosworth, 2010, p. 9730). Hence, these assets may stem originally from rural in-migrant entrepreneurs, who inject their externally accumulated capital to create new economic activities (Li et al. 2019), including those catering to tourists (Reid et al., 2004; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b). Each of these assets is described below, followed by an assessment of in-migrants contribution to capacity building in various locals.

Social capital, the first identified above, is defined by the OECD as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups" (OECD, 2021). This capital variant puts emphasis on the community (Koutra and Edwards, 2012) and on a shared sense of identity, such as family, friends, colleagues, and other social networks (OECD, 2021). For example, social interactions and community actions can result in a common good or a desired collective outcome, such as the establishment of civic institutions (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Others have defined social capital as collective affiliations, networks, trusts, and deep relationships that can ultimately enhance access to information and knowledge resources and drive collective actions (Akgün et al., 2011; Li et al., 2019; Westlund, 2006). Li et al. (2019) note that social capital supports entrepreneurial activities in rural areas by providing access to other capital assets, such as human and financial capital. Social capital is argued to be reciprocal, thus, entrepreneurs can also build or generate social

capital through their investments in rural economies, contributing to economic growth (Koutra and Edwards, 2012).

The second capital asset is human capital which is defined as "the knowledge, skills and competence and other attributes embodied in individuals that are relevant to economic activity" (OECD 1998, p. 9). Human capital is recognized as a significant indicator of success and economic growth. It emphasises the importance of knowledge transfer, education, and training because the "accumulation of knowledge and skills increases productivity and earnings both at an individual and societal level, and decreases inequality" (Becker, 1993; Koutra and Edwards, 2012, p.780). Human capital has been found to be low in rural areas, particularly in developing countries, which can slow economic growth (Koutra and Edwards, 2012), and limit entrepreneurship development (Deller et al., 2019). This occurs as a result of the out-migration of young talents (Deller et al., 2019; Geyer and Geyer, 2017; Stockdale, 2006). This reinforces Akgün et al.'s (2011) argument that human capital "reflects both the size of working-age population (with population growth leading to the widening of human capital) and investment in education and training of people" (p. 1209). As noted below, research finds that in-migrant tourist entrepreneurs engage in knowledge transfer, thereby benefitting local economies.

Thirdly, financial capital is defined as the access to funds and investments used to create or expand a business and engage labor (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Migration has been linked to the generation of financial capital in rural places (Deller et al., 2019). For example, financial capital accumulation has been reported to be a significant condition for return migration, especially in developing countries (Sinatti, 2011). Research has demonstrated that rural returnees to Africa and the Caribbean, for example, tend to invest in new business ventures (including physical infrastructure) upon return to generate income for themselves and family, and contribute to the development of their communities (Ammassari, 2004; Black and Castaldo, 2009). Thus, returned emigrants have been portrayed as "agents of development", particularly those returning to Sub-Saharan Africa. Here, they occupy a "central position in current policy debates on migration and development" (Akesson and Eriksson, 2015, p.1). Therefore, countries like Ghana, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, and Cape Verde promote return migration to attract investments and highly-skilled migrants (Akesson and Eriksson, 2015; Ammassari, 2004)

Lastly, physical capital can be described as any non-human asset developed by humans to be used in production. It is often referred to as economic capital investment in tangible assets,

which utilizes both the natural environment and the built environment (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). This includes telecommunication, housing, transportation and roads, education, health and sanitation infrastructure among others, which serves both communities and business (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Some infrastructure development is a public sector domain; however private sector entrepreneurs and civic organization contribute to infrastructural capital. For example, in-migrants' invest in tourism infrastructure like hotels, beach resorts, restaurants (Deller et al., 2019; UNDP, 2011), and "purpose-built visitor attractions" (Koutra and Edwards, 2012, p. 781). These physical capital investments also contribute to the aesthetic appeal of rural destinations to achieve social and economic benefits (Koutra and Edwards, 2012; Vuin et al., 2016). In addition, in-migrant tourism businesses can indirectly facilitate the development of other economic sectors such as an infrastructure investment in a new transportation or retail business (Brida et al., 2020). Physical capital is therefore generated through human, social and financial capital resources, which can enhance the development of rural places.

Rural development agendas have historically focused on economic growth arising from outside the rural economy; this exogeneous growth model ignored existing "social, cultural and environmental qualities of rural places" (Markantoni et al., 2013, p. 293). However, since the 1970s, rural development programs have shifted focus towards endogenous development, which acknowledges local resources (e.g. social, cultural, natural, and economic) and promotes locally-driven initiatives (Koutra and Edwards, 2012; Markantoni et al., 2013). According to Vázquez-Barquero and Rodríguez-Cohard (2016), "the endogenous development approach considers that economic growth and structural change is not a functional issue but a territorial phenomenon, and capital accumulation is the result of the interaction of the forces of development" (p. 1137). However, more recently, rural development literature is drawing attention to the "influence of external pressures and actors on rural areas," such as the impact of externally accumulated capital assets, particularly, in today's globalized economy (Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019, p. 163).

Thus, a hybrid approach to rural development emerged: the neo-endogenous rural development model, introduced by Christopher Ray (2001). This rural development approach suggests a hybrid model that looks beyond endogenous and exogenous development models (Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019). It focuses on the "dynamic interactions between local areas and their wider political and other institutional, trading and natural environments" (Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019, p.163). Increasingly, scholars are employing this hybrid approach to explore the

idea of how both local and external forces shape the rural landscape (Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019; Woods, 2007). Tourism and migration scholars have particularly drawn attention to the role played by in-migrants in building local capacity and promoting rural development through their tourism ventures. Rural communities that cater to this clientele, by providing leisure and recreational facilities, have been found to respond positively to external pressures or developments (Li et al., 2019). New in-migrant businesses (including businesses created by locals), can build rural capital assets resulting in neo-endogenous development (Deller et al., 2019; Koutra and Edwards, 2012).

Rural communities with strong internal and external networks build strong social capital, which enhances their ability to respond better to external pressures and development (Li et al., 2019). In-migrant entrepreneurs can leverage capital assets through their external networks to create new economic paths, and once they become embedded locally, they are able to leverage both internal and external resources and networks (Deller et al., 2019). As described earlier, recent tourism studies in rural Newfoundland, Canada have shown that in-migrant entrepreneurs merge their externally accumulated social, human/cultural, and financial capital assets with place-based heritage assets in their new tourism businesses (see Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). In-migrants are able to "exploit local resource advantages by simultaneously recognizing the value of diverse rural assts", which afford them the opportunity to be more innovative compared to locally-born entrepreneurs with perceived limited social capital (Bosworth and Finke, 2020, p. 659). Mitchell and Madden (2014) found that in rural Nova Scotia, the business decisions of in-migrants (commercial counterurbanites and rural returnees) are influenced by their strong internal social networks (family, friends). In a similar vein, the presence of international returnees is influenced by their kingship ties, which they may draw upon in establishing new ventures upon return. For example, international returnees to Africa capitalize on their accumulated social networks from host countries to support development agendas or open new businesses in their home countries (Akesson and Eriksson, 2015). In Ghana, for example, returnee social connections have been found to mitigate the challenges of capital and technology resources that small firms face (Black and Castaldo, 2009), and this could facilitate the development of other capital assets (Li et al., 2019).

In-migrants have been found to introduce new skills, ideas, and network to their local communities (Carson and Carson, 2017). They invest in significant human (business know-how)

and financial capital in their destination locales (Paniagua, 2002). Counterurbanite entrepreneurs in developing countries, for example, although in relatively small numbers, have been found to generate significant rural capital, particularly, human capital assets, which significantly contribute to the development of rural areas (Geyer and Geyer, 2017; Halfacree, 2001; Paniagua, 2002). Similarly, according to Williams and Hall (2000), returnees (including unskilled labor emigrants), often return home with new skills (e.g. language) and accumulated financial capital to buy houses and turn them into tourist accommodation. International counterurbanites and returnees especially tend to invest in tourism related activities, as they are less capital intensive and provide the opportunity to live the rural idyll (Paniagua, 2002). The significant contribution of international returnees to Africa, who will bring back financial, human/ cultural, and social capital acquired from host country has been highlighted in many international migration and tourism literature (Akesson and Eriksson, 2015; Ammassari, 2004; Black and Castaldo; Geyer and Geyer, 2017; Koutra and Edwards, 2012; Sinatti, 2011).

Rural in-migrant investment in new tourism businesses has also been proven to generate financial capital for local businesses and individuals through employment and patronage of local products and services (Awumbila et al. 2008; UNDP, 2011). International research has frequently reported the role of in-migrant entrepreneurs in creating local jobs in their new locales. For example, in rural Scotland, Stockdale et al.'s (2000) research suggests that an average of 0.52 jobs were created per economically active in-migrant entrepreneur, and a higher average of 1.6 jobs was reported by Findlay et al. (2000). Recent research shows even a higher trend of job creation by in-migrant entrepreneurs in UK. Bosworth (2010) reported 39 percent of jobs created by in-migrants in North East region of England, and Stockdale and MacLeod's (2013) findings suggest in-migrant tourism businesses create 2.1 jobs on the average (also see Groves-Phillips, 2013). In Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) studies in rural Newfoundland, an average of 3.8 local jobs were created per in-migrant entrepreneur or business. They concluded that external newcomers (including counterurbanites and returnees) created more jobs (an average of 4.8 per business) compared to 2.3 jobs per internal newcomers (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a).

In-migrants' investments further contribute to creating physical capital in their new communities. Newcomers facilitate the development of new economic activities and infrastructure development as locals are likely to be less motivated to engage in opening new

enterprises or may constrained by limited resources or opportunities (Akgün et al., 2011). Qu et al. (2020) found that in rural island of Mitarai, Japan, newcomers have been instrumental in creating new ventures. However, they argue that newcomers are in small numbers, which limits the potential of the area to develop more accommodation facilities and to attract more tourists to the area. Local and government initiatives in the tourism industry have been found to be inadequate, hence, the attraction of newcomers, or in-migrant entrepreneurs in broader sense, is necessary for boosting the economy of the area (Qu et al., 2020).

International research confirms that in-migrants are, indeed, building local capacity, as these different forms of capital assets contribute significantly to capacity building in rural regions (Li et al., 2019; Woods, 2016; Shucksmith, 2018). As shown, in-migrants' investments in the tourism industry contribute to building local capacity and developing rural areas in both developed and developing countries (Bosworth, 2010; Geyer and Geyer, 2017). According to Geyer and Geyer (2017), these external developments are particularly important in tourist communities of developing countries. However, in Ghana, Koutra and Edwards's (2012) analysis of tourism development in the coastal towns Elmina and Cape Coast suggests that tourism related capacity building is not occurring and that tourism as a poverty reduction strategy has not been fully successful. This means that the impact of tourism has not benefited destination communities, which has created a negative perception of the tourism industry. This is partially because capacity building has been used as a measurement tool, which does not show the potential impacts or the extent to which tourism communities could benefit from capital asset investments (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Hence, they suggest that capacity building should be used as a development tool that invests in four types of capital (social, human, physical, and financial), which, they argue, will contribute to socially responsible tourism development and neo-endogenous economic development (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). According to Deller et al. (2019), entrepreneurs play an important part in this capital formation:

> As rural communities begin to focus on endogenous or neo-endogenous economic development strategies, the importance of local asset accumulation is critical. Rural communities looking to enhance their community capital accumulation are well served by strategies that leverage net in-migration of older, experienced workers with entrepreneurial inclinations (Deller et al., 2019, p. 41).

This emphasizes the significant role that in-migrant entrepreneurs play in the tourism development trajectory. Thus, as Li et al (2019) suggest, examining the influence of in-migrants in the development of new heritage tourism paths will enhance our understanding of the effect that external capital has on local economies (Li et al., 2019). To facilitate this, the present research combines Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) heritage tourism development framework (Figure 2.2) and Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) in-migrants' routes to tourism proprietorship framework (Figure 2.3). The latter provides an understanding of why and when in-migrant tourist entrepreneurs become involved in touristic activity; the former addresses the question how – specifically, how does the injection of entrepreneurial capital influence tourism trajectory development and how does this development path influence its participating destinations? Taken together, these frameworks provide the conceptual lens for understanding the processes of change occurring in resourced-based, heritage tourism destinations.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the three major literature topics that guided the theoretical framework of this research, i.e., evolutionary economic geography, heritage tourism, and migration. As shown in this chapter, evolutionary economic geography provides a distinctive lens for understanding the evolution of path dependent regions because it focuses on long term process of change in regional economies (Brouder et al., 2017). The three theoretical frameworks of EEG: complexity theory, generalized Darwinism, and path dependence theory, highlight the processes by which a path dependent resource region can develop new path trajectories (Brouder et al., 2017; Martin and Sunley, 2007). Path dependence, particularly, has been widely applied in EEG studies, predominantly in countries of the global north, to demonstrate how path dependent trajectories can be enabling rather than constraining. Thus, they reveal that productivist economies can break away from a dominant path or a negative lock-in by diversifying their economic activities and industries (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). This has been shown to occur through the creation of new paths enabled by the mechanisms of recombination, layering and conversion (Brekke, 2015; Steen and Karlsen, 2014, Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a).

In a historic rural region, heritage tourism may emerge- as a new path, through a branching innovative trajectory. This path is both path-dependent and path-emergent (Mitchell

and Shannon, 2018a) and, borrowing ideas from complexity theory and generalized Darwinism, may also co-evolve (Ma and Hassink, 2013) with the dependent path. External capital provided by in-migrants (e.g. newcomers, rural returnees, counterurbanites, and lateral migrants) may facilitate this process (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b). These entrepreneurs may also play a significant role in building local capacity through generating capital (social, human, financial, and physical) in both developing and developed countries, despite the challenges that migration pose to rural destinations (Geyer and Geyer, 2017; Rocket and Ramsey, 2017).

To date, the development of heritage tourism paths in resource dependent (rural) regions has been demonstrated using two frameworks: the heritage tourism development framework (Figure 2.2) and in-migrant route to tourism proprietorship framework (Figure 2.3), each developed separately in two studies in rural Newfoundland. By merging these two frameworks, these two constructs will enhance our understanding of the role of in-migrants in destination path development, such as, who in-migrants are (e.g., counterurbanites, rural returnees), why they choose to migrate and become involved in tourism (motivations), how they are engaged in tourism activities (mechanisms and types of heritage produced), and the impact of their activities (capacity building). Merging of these two frameworks reveal the complex processes of change occurring in formerly resource dependent regions that capitalize on their heritage assets.

With few exceptions (see Deng et al., 2021; Hossein & Randelli, 2020; Ma and Hassink, 2014) the mechanisms of EEG have yet to be widely applied in the global south to understand the evolution of tourism (the first framework, figure 2.2). In addition, no research has yet been conducted on the routes taken to in-migrant tourism proprietorship (as described by Mitchell and Shannon, 2017) in the global south, particularly in a post-colonial resource dependent region (the second framework, figure 2.3). The Central Region of Ghana provides an opportunity to merge these two frameworks in an investigation of the evolution of three tourist destinations (Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park). Similar to Newfoundland, the Central Region is a resource dependent region that has capitalized on its heritage resources to create a tourism development trajectory.

Using the EEG perspective provides an alternative lens to understanding economic and social changes at these destinations. Tourism studies that use this lens thus fill the conceptual gap that exists in other tourism models and frameworks (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a). In doing so, this study contributes to the EEG, tourism, and rural in-migration literature, and provides a new

framework for investigating heritage tourism development trajectories in the global south, particularly, in an African context. The following chapter provides the methodology that guided this research.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter three presents the methodology for this study, organized in five parts. The first part restates the research goal and objectives. The second describes the research paradigm (critical realism) and its associated ontology. The third part explains the research methods, including the primary and secondary data gathering process. The fourth section reveals how the data were analyzed, focusing largely on the three stages used in critical realism research. Conclusions are then drawn in the fifth, and final section.

3.1 Research Goal and Objectives

As stated in chapter one, this study uses the lens of the evolutionary economic geographer to understand in-migrants' role in the evolution of the tourism trajectory in the post-colonial Central Region of Ghana. To achieve this, the study is guided by five objectives, which are outlined below:

1. To describe the changing functionality of communities located in proximity to three of Ghana's major tourist destinations (the Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park). Specifically, to determine how the heritage tourism trajectory first evolved.

2. To identify who is involved in tourism trajectory development and to assess the nature of their involvement. Specifically, to determine if, why and when in-migrants (i.e. returnees and newcomers; counterurbanites and lateral migrants), have injected new entrepreneurial capital in these transitioning places.

3. To uncover the types of mechanisms (recombination, layering, and/or conversion), heritage (colonial and non-colonial) and heritage products (artefactual, crafted, replica and/or symbolic) used by in-migrants and other stakeholders in tourism trajectory development.

4. To determine the impacts (e.g., employment, capacity building) of tourism trajectory development in the three study areas.

5. To identify deficiencies (e.g., infrastructure) in the tourism trajectory of these areas, and potential remedies for addressing these deficiencies.

3.2 Research Paradigm

This study employs a critical realist (CR) approach. CR first gained popularity as a social theory through Harré's (1972) book on the *Philosophies of Science* and Bhaskar's (1975) *A Realist Theory of Science*, which looked at reality beyond "the nature of human knowledge and that of objects of investigation in natural sciences" (Blundel, 2007, p. 2). In a later paper, Bhaskar (1979) argued for the suitability of CR in social science research and the value in combining methods of natural science (transcendental realism) and social science (critical naturalism), to understand "real differences in the nature of the objects investigated" (Blundel, 2007, p. 2).

CR social theorists, like Bhaskar, believe that actual reality is different from what we perceive or experience, because "human knowledge captures only a small part of a deeper and vaster reality" (Fletcher, 2017, p.182). Hence, CR originated as a scientific alternative to both positivism and constructivism (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Fletcher, 2017). CR challenges the traditional notion of positivism, which is often associated with deductive and quantitative research in natural science, and constructivism, which is usually associated with inductive and qualitative research in social science (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017; Fletcher, 2017; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018). According to Bhaskar (1998, p. 27), both take a reductionist approach to understanding reality: positivists claim truth to be universal, which reduces ontology – "what is real or the nature of reality" to epistemology – "our knowledge of reality", i.e., what is observed or experimented empirically. Similarly, constructivists view knowledge as socially constructed and interpretated through our experiences and interactions with "historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals lives" (Creswell, 2008, p. 36), which also reduces "reality to human knowledge" (Bhaskar, 1998, p.27). While both approaches provide opportunity for explaining complex human behavior or objects of investigation, they potentially rule out data that do not fit the general principles of the approach but could possibly become a source of new knowledge (Roberts, 2014; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018). CR, therefore, seeks to overcome the challenges of objectivism and subjectivism by offering a distinctive approach to understanding reality, which distinguishes between what exists (ontology) and what we know to exist (epistemology) (Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018). Thus, CR is held to be a "radical and original approach to the philosophy of the sciences, because it shifts the

emphasis from epistemology to ontology" (Cruickshank, 2007, p. 264), and from events to casual mechanisms within ontology (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017).

Critical realism epistemology claims that the real world can be understood through social constructs (Fletcher, 2017). In other words, through our social relations, event observation and actions, individuals create new habits, routines, and categories that shape our knowledge about the social world and social structure (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017). Critical realists argue, however, that not all knowledge will entirely reflect the reality that actually exists (Fletcher, 2017). Bhaskar (1998, p. 27), refers to this as the "epistemic fallacy," since it assumes that a social event or occurrence is the same as our knowledge about that event. Given this, ontology is, essential to the CR worldview (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017).

3.2.1 Critical Realism Ontology

The ontology of critical realism is useful for understanding social activities and recommending solutions for social change, because of its ability to "engage in explanation and causal analysis (rather than engaging in thick empirical description of a given context)" (Fletcher, 2017, p. 182). This ability arises from the stratification of reality into three domains: empirical, actual, and real (Bhaskar, 1975). These levels are part of the same entity (Fletcher, 2017) where, as Vincent and O'Mahoney (2018, p. 203) state, "one level is dependent upon, but irreducible to the level below." To conceptualize these domains, Fletcher (2017, p. 183) presents them as an "iceberg of reality" (Figure 3.1).

The tip of the iceberg is the empirical domain, or "the realm of events as we experience them" (Fletcher, 2017, p.183). In this domain, social events can be observed, measured and explained through empirical research (Fletcher, 2017) but, as Fletcher (2017, p. 183) explains, "at this level, events or objects can be measured empirically and are often explained through 'common sense,' but these events are always mediated through the filter of human experience and interpretation." The second, middle level, is the actual domain. Here, individuals take (or do not take) actions leading to events (or non-events) in the empirical domain, which may, or may not be observed (Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018).

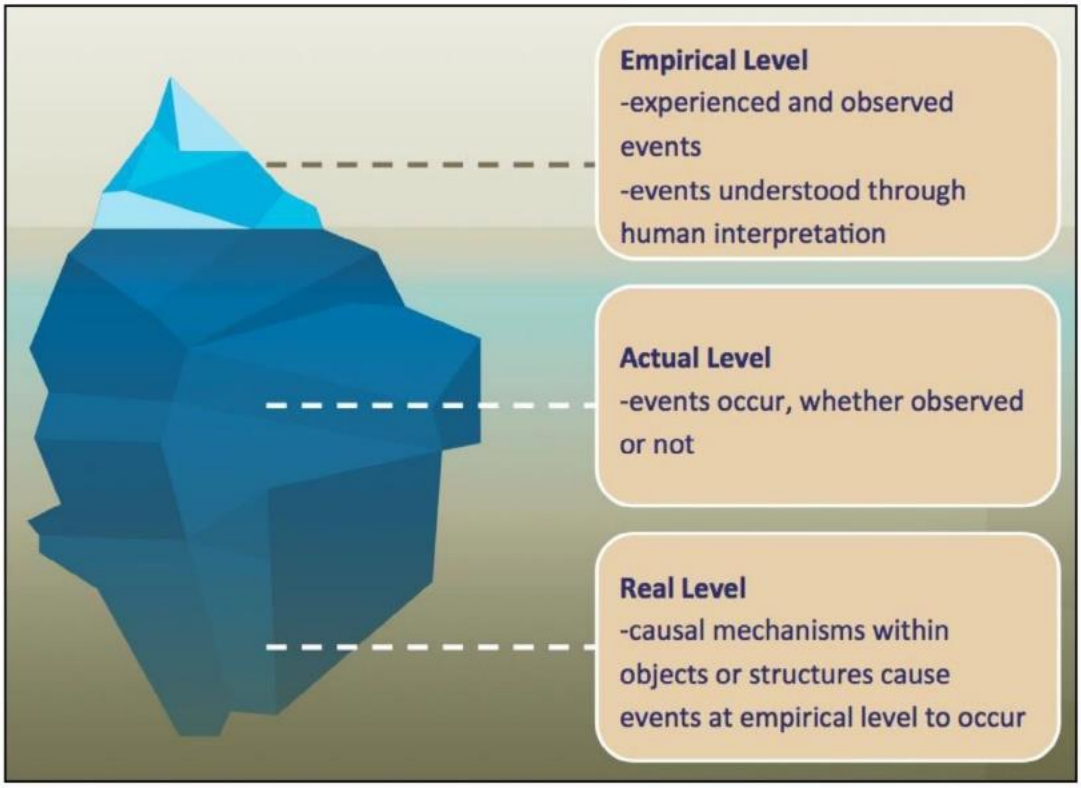

Figure 3.1 An iceberg metaphor for critical realism ontology
Source: Fletcher, 2017, p.183

The third, bottom level of reality, is the real domain and it is comprised of intangible causal mechanisms (e.g., policies) and conditions in the social world. Mechanisms are inherent in social structures and, under the right conditions, will release an entity's causal power (Blundel 2007). This will subsequently enable individual actions (and events) in the actual domain, which may be experienced in the empirical domain (Fletcher, 2017; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018) (See Figure 3.2). Should unfavourable conditions prevail, however, causal powers may fail to be released, resulting in inaction and non-events. Thus, the same causal mechanisms can produce different outcomes (Sayer, 2000). For example, economic competition or external pressure (the causal mechanism) may cause businesses to restructure and innovate in some locations, and in others (affected by different conditions), cause them to close (Sayer, 2000). It is the primary goal of CR, therefore, "to explain social events through reference to these causal mechanisms and the effects they can have throughout the three-layered ' iceberg' of reality'" (Fletcher, 2017, p. 183). This study adopts this same goal to understand the events associated with development of Ghana's tourism trajectory.

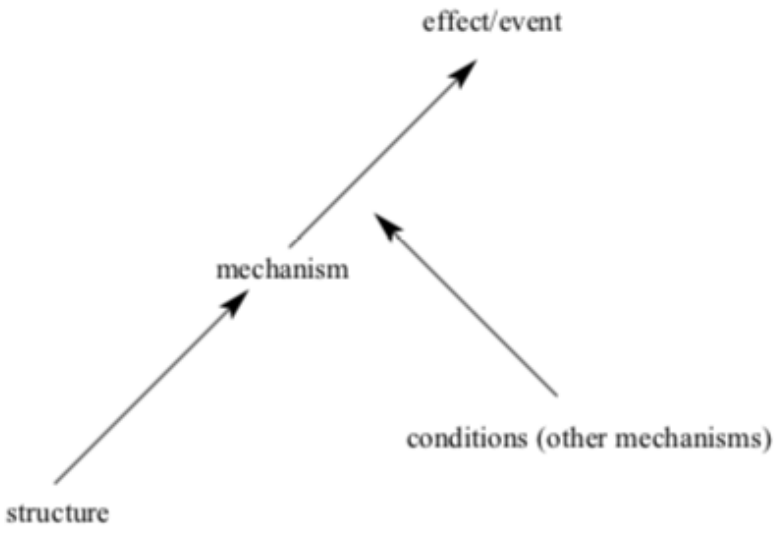

Figure 3.2 A critical realist view of causation
Source: Sayer, 2000, p.15

Although widely applied in the social sciences (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017), critics of CR draw attention to several issues surrounding its use. First, Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) argue that it is problematic to claim to understand reality through causal mechanisms that are not visible to us. According to Bhaskar, though, "the stratified world classified by critical realism is mediated through non-identity", even though causal powers produce other causal powers, they are relatively independent entities (Roberts, 2014, p. 7). Therefore, the "theory of causal powers suggests that even though we cannot directly see a mechanism at work, even if that mechanism is "absent" to us, it is still an ontological entity which might affect us in some way or another" (Roberts, 2014, p. 7). Second, Sayer (2000, p. 2) argues that there is general misconception that "realism claims a privileged access to the Truth and thus involves a kind of foundationalism", i.e. a justified belief. On the contrary, the claim is inconsistent with the defining feature of realism, which is the assertion that there is a world existing independent of what we know of it (Sayer, 2000). Sayer (2000) explains that this assertion justifies critical realists because they believe knowledge is fallible, hence, they do not assume what is observable is the absolute reality. Third, other critics claim that "critical realists often have difficulties in researching everyday qualitative dilemmas that people face in their daily lives" (Roberts, 2014, p. 1). However,

Manicas (2009, p. 35) argues that CR social theory lends itself to qualitative research, as reflexivity is embedded in its methodological process. Being reflexive requires the researcher to ask probing questions about the object of investigation to ensure that "one's interpretation makes sense and indeed manages to capture some of the unique social relations evident in the context at hand" (Manicas, 2009, p. 35). Roberts (2014) explains the connection between CR methodology and qualitative research methods:

> Reflexivity then leads to questions about causal relationships attached to these social relations. It is at this point that a critical realist methodology becomes especially useful in mapping out a theory of causality which is compatible with qualitative research methods (p. 2).

Moreover, CR social theory does not favor one research method over another; it provides a methodological framework for both qualitative and quantitative methods (Sayer, 2000).

Despite these critiques, social scientists are increasingly using CR to understand social phenomena (e.g., Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2017; Fletcher, 2017). This study does the same. It seeks to understand tourism trajectory development events in Ghana's Central Region (empirical reality) by documenting the actions of in-migrants and local stakeholders (actual reality), and by uncovering the conditions and causal mechanisms (real reality) responsible for these individual actions and events. The methods used in this application are described below.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Approach

A multiple method approach guided the data collection and analysis component of this study. A multiple method or the use of different qualitative and quantitative data collection methods (Heath et al., 2018; Hopwood, 2004) "provides for cross-validation of research findings" (Lever, 1981, p. 199). According to Creswell and Clark (2007, p. 5) and Davies (2003), this method "focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies". It was selected because this combination "provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone" (Creswell and Clark, 2007, p. 5). This is the case because quantitative statistics allow for identification of objective, causal observations, free from researcher bias (Roberts, 2014), while qualitative narratives reveal the "voice" of research subjects (Ragin 1994, p. 81) and, in this case, some of the causal powers and

conditions responsible for social events observed at the empirical level (Roberts, 2014). Incorporating both approaches was deemed appropriate, given the desire to describe and explain the involvement of in-migrants (and other stakeholders) in tourism trajectory development.

Quantitative and qualitative research methods differ in tourism studies. The former dominated during the 20th century (Cohen, 1988) and typically consists of the collection of closed-ended information using survey instruments (Creswell and Clark, 2007), and sometimes, the gathering of secondary statistics (e.g., census material). The latter, which has become of increasing importance since the early 2000s (Stergiou and Airey, 2011), involves the gathering of open-ended information, through participant observation, interviews or focus groups (Fletcher, 2017), and, often, the assemblage of material from secondary sources (e.g., government documents). The combination of both methods allows for a comprehensive analysis of the realities under investigation (Creswell, 2009).

Tourism studies are increasingly employing both qualitative and quantitative methods in different areas of the field, such as destination tourism (e.g. Baloglu and Love, 2005; Li et al, 2009), heritage tourism (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a), sustainable tourism (Molina-Azorín and Font, 2016; Tosun, 2006), tourism marketing (Tsai et al., 2005), tourism and hospitality (Downward and Mearman, 2004), sports tourism (Downward, 2005), industrial studies of tourism (Davies, 2003), among others (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2019). Thus, this research will add to this growing literature.

3.3.2 Data Collection

In keeping with a critical realism approach, this study gathered both secondary (extensive) and primary (intensive) information (Fletcher, 2017). Secondary material was assembled through an internet search, which included academic literature, government documents (national tourism plan, annual regional reports, and statistics and demographic data), news articles, and tourism promotion and destination websites. This material was incorporated into the research in five stages.

First, in CR, as in other research, identification of a research question is the first task and one guided by existing theory (Fletcher, 2017; Bhaskar, 1979). In this study, the focus on in-migrants' contribution to tourism trajectory development stemmed from the desire to apply two

theoretical frameworks identified in the evolutionary economic geography and tourism literature (Mitchell and Shannon 2017, 2018b) to a developing world context. Next, secondary material, specifically, tourism documents and statistical data (e.g. Ghana Statistic Service, 2012, 2013, 2014) was used to identify Ghana's most important heritage tourist destinations (Kakum National Park, Cape Coast Castle, and Elmina Castle in the Central Region). A variety of secondary sources was then consulted to describe the changing functionality of communities located in proximity to these three tourist destinations (objective 1). Academic literature was later used to facilitate theoretical redescription of the findings associated with each of the study's objectives. Finally, government documents, in particular, were consulted to assist with identification of the causal mechanisms and conditions responsible for the findings (Fletcher, 2017).

Primary data, in the form of quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews, were collected to facilitate the meeting of objectives two to five. Data collection took place during the summer of 2019 from May to August, in Accra, Elmina, Cape Coast, and Kakum National Park. The data collection team included the researcher and two research assistants who were recruited locally in Accra, Ghana. They were selected because the researcher had in the past worked with them in communities of Central Region Ghana. Although the researcher and one of the research assistants spoke the local language (Twi) in the southern part of Ghana, they were not fluent in the dialect (Fante) of the people of the Central Region. Hence, the second research assistant was recruited because she is from the Central Region and Fante is her mother tongue. She is a transcriptionist and also fluent in Twi, which made it easier to collect and transcribe data collected in Fante and Twi. Although the majority of data were collected in English language, some participants were more comfortable participating in their own language.

Prior to going into the field, ethics approval was granted by the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Field work started with collecting initial qualitative data in the form of key informant interviews at Ghana's Ministry of Tourism Arts and Culture (MOTAC) in Accra, the country's capital city and the seat of national government. Participants for this interview were selected using a purposive sampling technique because MOTAC was identified as a good starting point to learn about the tourism industry in Ghana and to attain a point of contact for Central Region (Palys and Atchison, 2008; Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016). A letter of invitation was first sent to the Ministry through the researcher's contact with the Research

Statistics and Information Management (RSIM) Directorate. The initial six interviews at MOTAC were useful for identifying new data sources and other potential participants. Hence, the rest of the key informant interviews followed another form of purposive sampling, the snowballing sampling technique (Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016, p. 124). A total of 21 semi-structured face-to-face key informant interviews (seven in Greater Accra and fourteen in Central Region) were conducted with tourism officials, civic organizations, and communities.

Letters of invitation were then taken to the three tourist destinations in the Central Region through the contact persons identified during key informant interviews. Figure 3.3 shows the map of Central Region with the three study sites. Most business participants were purposely chosen because they own or manage a tourism business in the destinations, although other participants were referrals. Surveys, which produced the quantitative data for this research, were distributed to 53 tourism business in and around Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park, of which 28 were completed. Qualitative data were collected next with 22 of these businesses and eight other tourism ventures that did not complete the survey, to understand the nature of their businesses. Therefore, a total of 30 semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with tourism businesses across the three destinations. Each participant received an invitation letter and signed a participation consent form. Table 3.1 provides a summary of primary data collected from key informant interviews, and business surveys and interviews. Details of the surveys and interviews are described in the following sections.

Figure 3.3 Map of Central Region showing the three study sites
Source: ArcGIS Online, 2021
https://www.arcgis.com/home/webmap/viewer.html?useExisting=1

Table 3.1 Summary of data

	Primary Data Sources (n = 57)				
Location	Key informant interviews	Business survey only	Business interview only	Business survey & interview	**Total**
Accra	7	0	0	0	**7**
Elmina, KEEA	1	2	0	9	**12**
Cape Coast, CCMA	5	4	5	10	**24**
Kakum, THLDD & Assin South	8	0	3	3	**14**
Total # of Participants	**21**	**6**	**8**	**22**	**57**

3.3.2.1 Key Informant Interviews

The purpose of the key informant interviews was to gather general information about the tourism industry in Ghana and how tourism evolved in the Central Region that could be used, i) to contextualize the study, ii) to shed light on how the study sites evolved over time (objective 1) and, iii) to potentially provide information that might be used to explain the research findings. The interview questions were open-ended and contained between 10 and 15 questions, depending on the interview. Participants were asked to describe the tourism industry and how the industry has changed overtime, and its contribution to the economy of Central Region, in particular. They were also asked to recommend sources of information that might help in understanding the economy of Central Region and to suggest the tourist communities for further research (see appendix A for key informant interview questions).

Of the seven key informant interviews conducted in Accra, six were with MOTAC and participants included: a director of research, two members of the RSIM team, two tourism officers, a communications manager, and a consultant with the World Bank. The remaining one was with the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA), the Manager of Research Monitoring and Evaluation. These seven key informants provided three points of contact in Central Region, which included Central Regional Director for GTA in Cape Coast, and a tourism professor at the University of Cape Coast (UCC). The third was an African American tourism entrepreneur in Elmina, who is also a member of Central Region African Ascendants Association (CRAAG), and the executive director of the Pan African Festival (PANAFEST) in Ghana. Interviews with these tourism officials and entrepreneurs were also useful for identifying contact persons for Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle, and Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT) in Cape Coast. Since GHCT is responsible for managing the visitor center at Kakum National Park, the communications manager provided their contact person at the park. This facilitated data collection at the park and surrounding communities of Abrafo and Mesomagor.

Key informant interviews in the Central Region also provided insights into how the three destinations have evolved over time (objective 1). Of the fourteen key informant interviews in the region, five were conducted in Cape Coast with the GTA regional director, a Museum staff member at Cape Coast Castle, a communications manager and a program manager with GHCT and CRAAG. One was in Elmina with a senior tour guide with the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) at Elmina Castle. The remaining eight were conducted in THLDD

and Assin South, these included: a community relations officer with GHCT at Kakum National Park (KNP), a tour guide with the Ghana Wildlife Division (GWD) at KNP, a GHCT ICT coordinator at Abrafo, and a patrol officer with GWD at Mesomagor. The rest were interviews with representatives from two communities of KNP namely: The King, and Queen mother of Abrafo, a community leader and a community teacher at Mesomagor. See table 3.2 for a summary of key informant interviews.

Table 3.2 Summary of key informant interviews

	Key informant interviews (n = 21)				
Institutions / Communities	Interview Location	National Government	Regional Government	Civic	Communities
Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture	Accra	5			
Ministry of Tourism (World bank consultant)	Accra	1			
Ghana Tourism Authority	Accra	1			
Ghana Tourism Authority	Cape Coast		1		
Ghana Museums and Monuments Board	Elmina Castle	1			
Cape Coast Castle Museum	Cape Coast Castle		1		
Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust	Cape Coast			2	
Ghana Wildlife Division	Kakum National Park	2			
Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust	Kakum National Park			1	
Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (ICT Center)	Abrafo			1	
Central Region African Ascendants Association (CRAAG)	Cape Coast			1	
Community leaders	Abrafo				2
Community leader / teacher	Mesomagor				2
Total		**10**	**2**	**5**	**4**

3.3.2.2 Business Surveys and Interviews at the Three Study Sites

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected at the three tourist destinations and surrounding communities, starting with key contacts identified during the key informant interviews. The three sites were relatively close to each other (see figure 3.1); the distance between Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle is about 19 km and that of Cape Coast to Kakum National Park is about 34 km. See table 3.3 for a summary of survey and interview data.

The goal of the business survey was to identify the tourism activities of businesses (i.e. tourism / accommodation, retail, and food), and to gather demographic and business information (objective three). The survey asked questions about ethnicity, place of birth, and last place of residence, to determine migration history and residential status of proprietors. To determine if their decision to start a tourism-related business was influenced by livelihood (economic) or lifestyle (non-economic) reasons, participants were asked to what extent money influenced their decision, using a Likert scale from no influence, to the only influence (objective two). Participants were further asked in the survey to indicate whether or not they are the owner of the business and if they would like to participate in an interview to further understand the nature of their business. Survey questions are listed in Appendix B.

The semi-structured face-to-face interviews were designed to build on the information gathered from the surveys. The interview questions were open-ended and contained between 10 and 25 questions, depending on the interview. Therefore, interview participants who did not participate in the surveys were asked additional questions to ascertain their residential history and type of tourism activities. Participants were asked about their motivation for remaining, moving, or returning to the Elmina, Cape Coast and Kakum area (objective two), and their reasons for becoming involved in tourism-related business (objective two). This provided more information about the livelihood and lifestyle motivations of proprietors. The interviews also identified the mechanisms that entrepreneurs are using to create tourism businesses (objective three), and the impact their activities are having in the communities of the three tourist destinations (objective four). The interviews resulted in a story-telling, which captured the experiences of entrepreneurs involved in tourism ventures. It is acknowledged, however, that these narratives may not provide the full picture of the nature of their businesses, but it is believed that sufficient information was provided by these stakeholders to address the study objectives. Appendix C details the interview questions.

At Elmina Castle, seven tourism businesses were found within the Castle (six retail shops that sell artefacts, and one tour operating company), and one restaurant, located outside the Castle. Surveys were distributed to all eight businesses; the majority of which are managed by staff because some of the owners live outside Elmina. Only two owners were available during the period of the interview. Five surveys were completed, three of which resulted in interviews with two business owners (one artefact shop and the tour company), and staff members at the adjacent restaurant. Surveys were also distributed to 12 other tourism businesses in Elmina outside of the Castle area, which included a key contact for Elmina, the African American beach resort owner on the Elmina-Cape Coast road, and 11 in three communities of Ampenyi, Ayensudo, and Atabaadzi. Six of these 12 businesses completed the surveys and participated in the interviews, five of which were in the three communities (three of five tourism businesses in Ampenyi, one of four in Ayensudo, and one of two in Atabaadzi). The communities were identified as places near the Castle that are transitioning into tourism, and they are all in the accommodation / tourism, and food sectors. These communities are discussed further in chapter four. Therefore, a total of 11 tourism businesses of the 20 identified in and around Elmina Castle participated in this research. These 20 businesses are not exhaustive of tourism businesses in Elmina; however, they were found in close proximity to Elmina Castle (see figure 4.3). These numbers were much higher in Cape Coast.

Cape Coast Castle has 21 tourism businesses in the retail sector (11 artefact shops inside the Castle and 10 outside), and three in the food sector (a snack bar inside the Castle, and two restaurants outside). One of the artefact shop owners outside the Castle also has a tour operating business. Similar to Elmina Castle, the majority of these 24 businesses are managed by employees, the owners work and live outside of Cape Coast. Surveys were distributed to all 24 businesses, of which 12 were completed (11 artefact shops and one restaurant), and eight artefact business owners further participated in the interviews. Three accommodation and food businesses were found just a few kilometers from Cape Coast Castle, behind one of the restaurants outside the Castle. Two of these businesses participated in the interviews but did not complete the surveys. In addition to these 14 businesses surveyed and/or interviewed in and around the Castle, data were collected from five businesses in and around Cape Coast University (UCC). Of these five businesses, two owners were surveyed and interviewed (a tour operating company near UCC and a local restaurant in UCC Science Complex), and three participated only

in an interview. Of the three interviewed, one is a professor in the tourism department who also owns a tour promotion company (one of the key contacts for Cape Coast identified during key informant interviews). The other two included the manager of an accommodation business owned by UCC and the owner of a retail-artefact shop in UCC Science Complex. A total of 19 business proprietors (of 32) found in close proximity to the Castle and UCC were surveyed. Unlike Elmina and Cape Coast, tourism businesses in the THLDD and Assin South are mostly concentrated in the Kakum National Park.

Kakum National Park has seven tourism businesses in the accommodation/ tourism, food and retail sectors. Five of these are at the visitor center (two artefact shops, one photoshop, and two restaurants), one refreshment / snack bar is found in the forest near the visitor center, and one dance group is located at Mesomagor (the dance group also owns a guesthouse). Six of the seven businesses were surveyed and/or interviewed; three completed the surveys and also participated in the interviews (one restaurant owner, one artefact shop owned by not-for profit, and one owned by a private sector entrepreneur). The remaining three participated in interviews only: the owner of the refreshment kiosk, a staff of the photoshop, and a member of the dance group in Mesomagor.

Table 3.3 Summary of business surveys and interviews

	Business survey and interview data (n = 36)					
Study area	Number of distributed surveys	Participants	% of sample	Survey only	Interview only	Survey & interview
Elmina, KEEA (n = 11)	**20**	**11**	**55.0**	**2**	**0**	**9**
Castle and Elmina area	9	6	66.7	2	0	4
Ampenyi	5	3	66.0	0	0	3
Ayensudo	4	1	25.0	0	0	1
Atabaadzi	2	1	50.0	0	0	1
Cape Coast, CCMA (n = 19)	**32**	**19**	**61.3**	**4**	**5**	**10**
Castle and Cape Coast area	27	14	51.9	4	2	8
University of Cape Coast	5	5	100	0	3	2
Kakum, THLDD & Assin South (n = 6)	**7**	**6**	**85.7**	**0**	**3**	**3**
Kakum National Park	6	5	83.3	0	2	3
Mesomagor	1	1	100	0	1	0
Total	**59**	**36**	**61**	**6**	**8**	**22**

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis was done in two stages using descriptive statistics and critical realism methodology to ensure rigour. Brown et al. (2015, p. 812) outlined at least four ways to ensure rigour in mixed methods, this includes "validity, reliability, replicability, and generalizability" for quantitative research; and "criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability" for qualitative research. Using qualitative research methods, such as interviews have been associated with several challenges, which can be overcome if the researcher approaches the study in a rigorous fashion (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). These challenges include: misrepresentation, power relations, and researcher positionality (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Cope, 2016). Baxter and Eyles (1997, p. 508) offer seven steps to achieve this, which include providing details of interview practices, including discussions of the procedures for analysis, undertaking immersion/lengthy fieldwork, revisiting respondents to clarify any misinformation, obtaining verification of findings from respondents, ensuring reliability and providing a "rationale for verification (validity) of the findings". This requires one to be aware of one's identity (e.g., one's gender, age, ethnicity, education), as positionality may influence the narratives of one's research (Woods, 2010; Katz, 1994). This ensures data are not subjected to researcher interpretation, but rather of the events observed in the context (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Roberts, 2014; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018). Vincent and O'Mahoney (2018) offer other suggestions for ensuring rigour. In a review of 31 empirical papers, they found that qualitative researchers provide information about the suitability of their methodology and participant selection process. They also use multiple data collection methods and present verbatim quotations from participants.

To ensure rigour, the researcher kept a reflexive journal of research activities in the field to self-reflect on day-to-day activities (Baxter and Eyles, 1997), which helped with analysis and presentation of results. The non-transcribed audio-recordings of the interviews were also often referred to during the analysis for clarifications, and to differentiate personal observations from actual interview data. Additionally, CR ontology provides the opportunity for being reflexive, which is separating data collected at the empirical level from what is actual and real. Although the researcher acknowledges that the explanation of results could be subjected to her interpretation to some extent, this was minimized by ensuring that the research questions were designed to reveal the meanings of the data collected. Hence direct quotations from participant are presented in the findings (chapters 4 to 6) using pseudonyms to protect their identity (Vincent

and O'Mahoney, 2018). However, names of organizations and job titles of key informants and residential status of tourism entrepreneurs are revealed, to differentiate public and civic sector tourism stakeholders and to determine tourism proprietors' migration history. The two stages of data analysis undertaken is described in greater detail below.

3.4.1 Descriptive Statistics and Coding

The data were analyzed in several steps. First, empirical data were isolated to facilitate abstracting information from the surveys and interviews. Quantitative data from the 28 surveys were entered into a spreadsheet. These were summarized per study site using descriptive statistics, to allow for the quantification of demographic and business data such as age, gender, education, income, residential history, type of tourism activities, and year business opened. Some of this information was used to determine if proprietor motivations (objective two), mechanisms (objective three), impacts (objective four), and perceived deficiencies (objective five) are influenced by stakeholders' demographic, residential and business activity.

The qualitative data from 48 audio recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, to capture participant responses in their entirety and to limit the risk of eliminating information. Interview data from three participants who did not consent to being audio recorded were typed and read back to them during the interview for clarification, to ensure the credibility of the data collected (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). These were added to the transcribed data at the time of analysis. The interview data were then entered into a spreadsheet by each study site and by type of interview (key informant vs. business) and were organized by each of the five objectives. Since there is no prescribed coding process for critical realism (Fletcher, 2017), color codes were used to differentiate observed regularities from the three sites, which were organized by the study objectives. Using latent coding, implicit meanings of sentences from the interview transcripts were identified and then categorized into meta-themes and sub-themes (Gray and Densten, 1998). In qualitative data analysis, "latent variables are developed from the inferences derived from the messages" (Gray and Densten, 1998, p. 421). During the analysis, explanatory information (hidden or implicit) from the interviews were searched for; these were color coded and imported into a separate spreadsheet for analysis in the "retroduction" stage, described below.

3.4.2 Demi-regularity Identification, Abduction, and Retroduction

The second part of data analysis is presented in three stages, in keeping with the three stages of critical realism research. These stages reflect a "reasoning process that moves from concrete to abstract and back to concrete" (Fletcher, 2017, p. 189). It begins, therefore, with demi-regularities: the identification of tendencies, number of occurrences, patterns, meta-themes, and subthemes. Abduction then re-describes the identified patterns using existing knowledge and theory (Bhaskar, 2014). Finally, retroduction looks for explanation beyond existing theory by identifying causal mechanisms and conditions to explain the observed regularities (Fletcher, 2017).

The first stage involves isolating event tendencies that are experienced in the empirical domain, for interpretation and explanation (Bhaskar, 2014; Blundel, 2007; Sayer, 2000). According to Fletcher (2017, p. 185), demi-regularity "tendencies can be seen in rough trends or broken patterns in empirical data". Demi-regularities were identified from the 51 interviews (21 key informants and 30 tourism businesses), for each of the five objectives. The majority of demi-regularities identified for objective one was from key informant interviews with tourism officials in Accra and Central Region, which showed how the tourism destinations and the region evolved during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods[3]. Demi-regularities for the remaining four objectives emerged from the business interviews and surveys. Combined, they demonstrate in-migrants' role in tourism trajectory development in the Central Region of Ghana.

Abduction, or theoretical redescription, is the next stage of analysis after demi-regularity identification. Here, the empirical data gathered from the surveys and interviews are re-described using existing knowledge or fallible theories (Bhaskar, 2014; Fletcher, 2017). According to Danermark et al. (2002), abduction is defined as a process of "inference or thought operation, implying that a particular phenomenon or event is interpreted from a set of general ideas or concepts" (p. 205; Fletcher, 2017). Also, in qualitative research, theory can be used to derive more meaning from regularities, patterns, and distinct characteristics of a population

[3] The pre-colonial era is normally defined as the period before colonization (Botchway, 1995) and the colonial era as the period of colonization when Ghana was under the control of European (British) masters (Van Dantzig, 1980). In this study, the pre-colonial era is the period before and after the arrival of European traders in Ghana, but before the slave trade; the colonial era includes the period covered by the slave trade and colonial rule by Europeans in Ghana (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). The Post-colonial era refers to the period after Ghana gained independence from Britain in 1957 (present day Ghana).

(Stratford and Bradshaw, 2016, p. 119). The demi-regularities identified for each objective were compared with existing theoretical constructs and frameworks drawn from three overarching bodies of literature: evolutionary economic geography, evolutionary tourism geography, and migration. Objective one drew on context specific literature to show how Central Region and the three destinations evolved (e.g., Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980; Yankholmes and Timothy 2017). Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) *Pathways to tourism proprietorship* framework was used to explain demi-regularities for objective two, i.e., why and when local and in-migrant proprietors became involved in tourism. Demi-regularities for objective three (recombination, conversion, and layering, and heritage product types) and objective four (tourism impact) were re-described using Mitchell and Shannon's (2018) *Heritage tourism path development* framework and other general concepts drawn from the broader literature (e.g., Brouder et al., 2017; Koutra and Edwards, 2012; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). Although some aspects of objective five (tourism deficiencies) were explained using path dependency theory, the majority of findings were explained through retroduction.

Retroduction is the final stage of analysis. Retroduction "identifies the generative mechanisms, within structured entities", which release the causal powers "to produce the observed demi-regularities" (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b, p. 403). Therefore, social or economic conditions and generative (causal) mechanisms that are capable of producing the observed regularities were identified (Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017). The researcher developed an understanding of potential causal mechanisms from existing literature, survey and interview data, and from identifying implied meanings throughout the data analysis process. A variety of other data sources (such as academic literature and government documents) that were specific to the study region (some of which were recommended by research participants) also were consulted. These included literature on colonial history, statistical data, economic change and tourism projects (e.g., Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Government of Ghana, 2012; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Shared Cultural Heritage, 2021; Van Dantzig, 1980). These, among others, were used to further identify and explain the causal mechanisms that produced the demi-regularities identified for each objective.

In addition, initial key informant interviews in Accra and Central Region provided knowledge about the historical and economic changes (conditions and generative mechanisms)

responsible for the creation of tourism paths in the region. These included economic restructuring policies and national tourism development plans that were designed to conserve and promote all historical and natural assets in Ghana, including the Central Region, and to increase economic growth through tourism development. In addition, after fieldwork was conducted, follow-up phone interviews were conducted with select key informants, to clarify and/or explain the causal mechanisms identified. The results of each of these three stages are presented in Chapter seven.

3.5 Conclusion

This study uses a critical realism methodological approach to describe and explain the role of in-migrants and other stakeholders in the evolution of three tourist destinations in the Central Region of Ghana. Using multiple methods, quantitative and qualitative information was gathered from secondary and primary sources to address the five objectives of the study. Surveys and interviews with private, public, civic, and community stakeholders were undertaken at the three study sites: the Elmina Castle area (including Ampenyi, Ayensudo, Ataabadzi), the Cape Coast Castle area (including the University of Cape Coast), and the Kakum National Park (including Abrafo and Mesomagor communities). Data collected from these sites were analyzed using descriptive statistics to meet the study's five objectives. This was then followed by application of the three stages of critical realism research (demi-regularity identification, abduction, and retroduction). The former findings are presented in chapters four through six, with the latter detailed in chapter seven.

The findings are organized in three chapters (four to six), which present the results for each of the three destination sites separately. This is followed by chapter seven, which combines the findings from each site and then analyzes this information by applying the three stages of critical realism described above. Although the researcher considered devoting one chapter to each of the three stages and applying each stage to the combined data, this was not done because much of the detail about each case study would have been lost, particularly for objective one. The first objective, the changing functionality of the case study sites, provides the history and evolution of each of the destinations and their communities. This connects the remaining four objectives, which highlight the change processes that continue to occur at these sites. Thus, the

researcher believed that presenting the complete data for each site in separate chapters would ensure that the connections between objectives were retained.

Chapter Four: Tourism in the Elmina Castle Area

Chapter four focuses on tourism activities arising from, and in proximity to, Elmina Castle. It presents material needed to address the study's five objectives. Drawn from secondary data, and interviews conducted with government officials, civic organizations, and tourism businesses, the first part describes how the main settlement, Elmina, transitioned over time from a pre-colonial to post-colonial tourism trajectory. The second section addresses objective two, which identifies the private sector stakeholders (locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs) involved in this transition, their motivations, and routes to tourism involvement. The third examines objective three, which is to uncover the mechanisms used, and heritage products offered, by entrepreneurs to drive tourism development in the area. To meet objective four, the next section examines the direct and indirect impacts that tourism entrepreneurs are having in the destination communities. The fifth objective is explored in the final section, which describes perceived deficiencies in the tourism trajectory and solutions proposed by tourism stakeholders.

4.1 Development of the Elmina Area

4.1.1 Pre-colonial Period

Before the arrival of European colonists, Elmina was called "ɛnom aa ɔnsa" (Anomansa) meaning "inexhaustible supply of water" in the Fante language (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). The name signified the area's coastal resource and, hence, the primary occupation of its residents (fishing), although mining and gold trade also contributed to local economic activity (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). According to a tour operator (who is also a co-author of a book on Africa's colonial history), the people of Anomansa protected these valuable resources, believing that the environment was sacred and that this protection connected them to their ancestors (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019). This relationship began to change in the 15th century, however, as European traders and explorers became integrated into the local economy.

European explorers first arrived in Africa in the early 15th century, and by 1471, the Portuguese had reached the Gold Coast (present day Ghana). Here they found people wearing heavy gold ornaments (Van Dantzig, 1980 p.3), fashioned from the ample supply of this local material (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015 p. 8; Van Dantzig, 1980 p. 2).

Recognition of this resource prompted the Portuguese to rename the coast of Ghana, “Mina de Ouro”, meaning “the gold mine” (Van Dantzig, 1980 p.3). Consequently, the King, Alfonso of Anomansa, renamed the town, “the city el Mina”, which reflects the settlement’s current name, Elmina (Arthur and Mensah, 2006, p. 302).

The presence of gold initiated trade between the Portuguese and Elmina residents, who showed considerable interest in Portuguese-manufactured merchandise (Van Dantzig, 1980). After many years of successful barter, the Portuguese saw the need to build a permanent trading post. Local chiefs turned down their first proposal on the grounds that the extreme heat in Ghana was unsuitable for permanent stay of “the white man” (Van Dantzig, 1980 p. 3). However, consent was granted in 1482, and the Castelo de Sao Jorge da Mina (named after St. George, the patron Saint of Portugal) was constructed (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Bruner, 1996; Van Dantzig, 1980). For many years it served as a warehouse for goods from Europe, and as accommodation and offices for “commercial and military staff” (Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction).

Soon after its construction, Elmina became a major trade center in Ghana as it was the “first point of contact of the country with the outside world” (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a, p. 5), and the hub of gold trade in West Africa (Arthur and Mensah, 2006). Portuguese traders paid rent or royalties to the local chiefs of Elmina giving rise to a favourable trading relationship. As Van Dantzig (1980) argues, although “it would be wrong to idealize the relationship between Africans and Europeans in those days, it cannot be denied that they traded with each other basically on a footing of equality” (Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction). The mutual trade relationship between Elmina residents and the Portuguese soon ended when the Portuguese and local elites ushered in a slave trade with Elmina chiefs and elders, trading prisoners of war and rivals for European manufactured goods (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). This resulted in new forms of barter trade and the beginning of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in Elmina.

4.1.2 The Colonial Era

The colonial history of Ghana has been told from different perspectives. In this study, Elmina's colonial history is narrated largely from the book *Shackles in Darkness*, authored by two Ghanaian officials in Elmina, Felix Nguah and Robert Kugbey, and from *Forts and Castles of Ghana* authored by a Dutch historian of Ghana's colonization, Albert Van Dantzig. These authors provide a comprehensive overview of the history, which is supplemented here with specific information drawn from other sources.

As previously noted, Europeans built many forts[4] and castles along the coast of Ghana to facilitate trade in raw materials. Ghana's coast "was suitable for building forts and castles because it is rocky, thus providing building material and strong natural foundations", and the access to sea was not inhibited by lagoons and mangrove swamps as in neighboring countries (Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction). Home to the first and oldest European trade post in Sub-Saharan Africa, and one of three largest castles in Ghana[5], Elmina Castle emerged as the first slave trade center in Ghana (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; UNESCO, 2020; Van Dantzig,1980). It served as headquarters for Portuguese traders across Africa before becoming home to European colonial masters, and center for the movement of Ghana's extractive resources and people (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980).

Small numbers of African slaves were transported initially from Madeira, the Canary Islands and Sao Tome to Mercado de Escravos, the first slave market established in 1444 in Lagos, Portugal (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). Between 500 and 1000 captives were received at this site every year from 1450 to 1500 (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). By 1492, the Portuguese had established sugarcane plantations in Hispaniola (the common island of Haiti and Dominican Republic), where "native Indians and European indentured servants were used as labourers" (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, p. 14). However, many of them died from harsh working conditions and the hot climate, and new diseases, including smallpox, measles, trachoma, cholera, and influenza (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). Hence, by the 1520s, the Portuguese began shipping some of the African captives from Portugal to Santo Domingo (present-day Haiti) because these Africans were perceived as strong and hardworking and suitable for tropical climates and work

[4] Forts are larger fortified buildings, though sometimes unfortified, and provide lodging for workers in small trade factories ((Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction).
[5] The three largest European Castles in Ghana are Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle in the Central Region, and Christiansburg Castle in Greater Accra Region (Van Dantzig, 1980).

on plantations (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese built two additional forts along the Ankobra and Pra Rivers (Van Dantzig, 1980), adding to Ghana's trade center numbers.

The economic prospects of agriculture and mining in the New World resulted in a new form of slave trade, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which saw cheap, or free labor as important to the success of the European economy (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). By the 1540s, Europeans began moving captives directly from the African continent (including slaves assembled at Elmina Castle) across the Atlantic to North America (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015), initially via the two Portuguese forts and the Elmina Castle (Van Dantzig, 1980). According to Nguah and Kugbey (2015), this human trade resulted in 400 years[6] of coercion, kidnapping, cruelty and torture of enslaved Africans – a trade which benefitted African elites who willingly traded not just prisoners of war, but other captives for European gifts.

Portuguese hegemony lasted from1470 to 1600 but was replaced by Dutch control beginning in the 1600s (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980). The Dutch had constructed Fort St. Jago (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980) during the period of Portuguese influence, but in 1597 sought to gain control of the region by attacking Elmina Castle. Although this first attack was unsuccessful (Van Dantzig, 1980), they secured the structure in 1637, at a time when the slave trade had extended to include the plantations in the Americas. The Dutch contingent subsequently expanded the castle to reflect its current state (Figure 4.1; Arthur and Mensah, 2006), resulting in its recognition as "an important distribution point for slaves brought from the hinterland" (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, p. 80). They also built a third fort in Elmina, Fort Java in 1837, securing their position as dominant players in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The Dutch were believed to be the last of the European traders in Elmina (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). By the early nineteenth century, the slave trade had been abolished in Ghana, heralding a new era in its development. The remnants of this era remain, however, in the form of castles and forts, some of which have become important historical monuments (Arthur and

[6] The period of colonization in Africa has been reported to range between the 1400s and 1900, which included the period of slave trade (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Ojo, 1999). However, if we are to treat colonization as a separate event, then the colonial era in Ghana, including that of Elmina would be under British rule (Van Dantzig, 1980). This provides a unique perspective into how the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonization in Elmina and Ghana, and perhaps all of Africa, may be perceived as separate events by historians and scholars.

Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). Elmina Castle, in particular, has emerged as one of three major tourist destinations in the Central Region – a topic explored more fully in the next section on post-colonial Elmina.

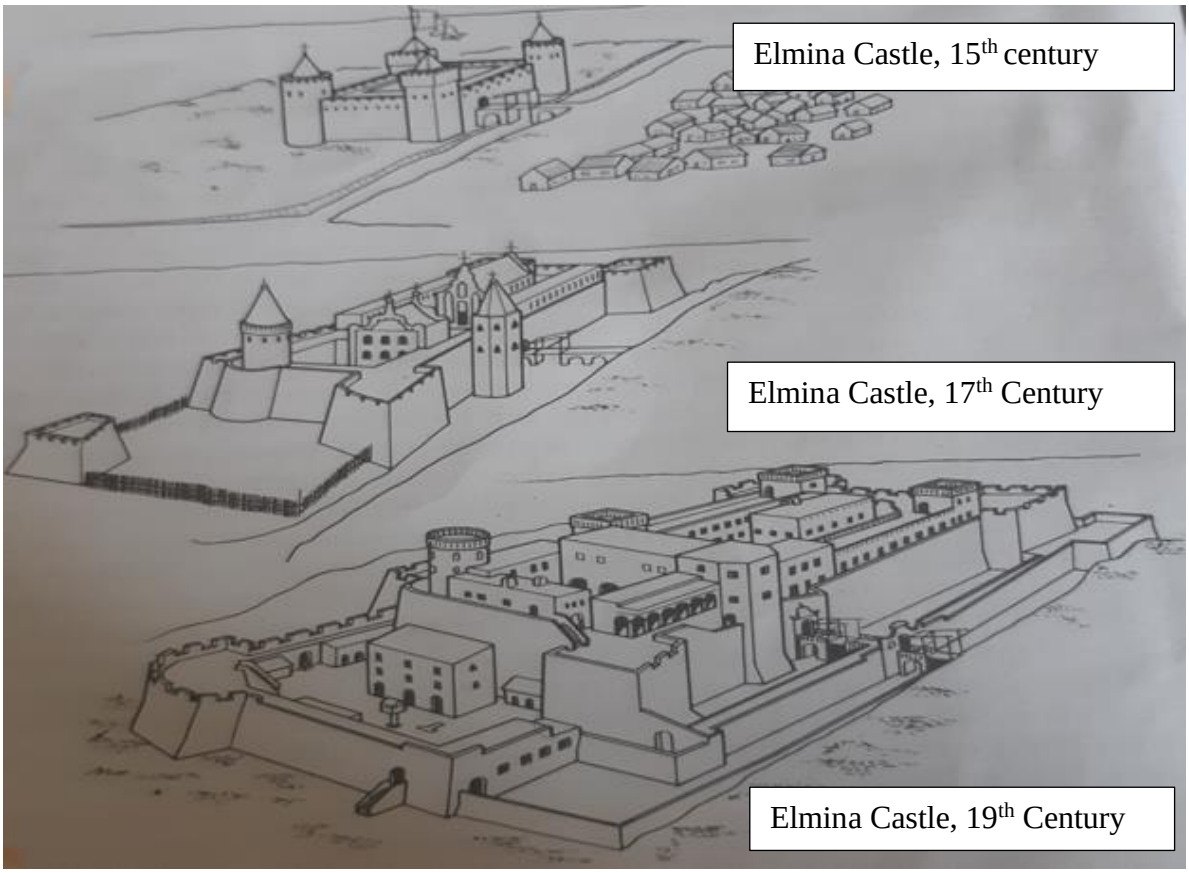

Figure 4.1 The evolution of Elmina Castle from the 15th to 19th centuries
Source: Van Dantzig, 1980, p. 4

4.1.3 Post-colonial Period

The town of Elmina (or Edina) is currently the capital of Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) Municipal Assembly district (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). It is located 160 km southwest of Accra, 12 km from Cape Coast, and 36 km from Kakum National Park (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a; KEEAMA, 2021). KEEA is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean (Gulf of Guinea) on the south, the Cape Coast Municipality on the east, on the

north is the Twifo Hemang Lower Denkyira district, and on the west is Wassa East district (Western Region) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a) (see figure 4.3). The municipality, which was part of Cape Coast until 1988, covers an area of 452.5 square kilometers and has a population of 144,705, representing 6.6 percent of the Central Region population in 2010, according to the most recently available census data (Ghana Statistical. Service, 2014a). A majority of the population (64%) lived in rural areas in 2010 (Ghana Statistical. Service, 2014a), with 23,013 people living in Elmina (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). A tour guide with GMMB said the town's population had reached about 33,000, at the time of this study (2019).

The employment structure in Elmina is quite diversified today, but this was not always the case. Until the mid-1990s, fishing generated about 75 percent of employment (directly and indirectly), until overfishing caused the industry to decline (Holden et al., 2011). Although much of the labour force in Elmina is still very much involved in the fishery, half (particularly those living outside the fishing and farming areas) find informal work in small-scale manufacturing, agro- food processing, retail, construction and other services (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a). Others are employed formally in inland farming activities, salt mining, small-scale enterprises (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a) and in the tourism industry.

Being endowed with heritage and natural resources, tourism in Elmina was initially promoted by the public sector as a potential third major industry (after fishing and salt mining), to create employment and to diversify the economy of both the town and the KEEA municipality (Holden et al., 2011). Like other parts of Ghana, tourism became prevalent here in the 1990s after the creation of Ghana's Tourism Ministry in 1993 (Addo, 2011). Although some visitors are attracted to the area by the natural environment (scenic beaches and beach resorts), the tourism industry is largely focused on its colonial heritage assets (Addo, 2011). These include the Elmina Castle, which was preserved and established as a national monument in 1969 and 1973 under the National Liberation Council Degree and Executive Instrument, respectively (UNESCO, 2020), and designated as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1979 (Holden et al., 2011; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, p. 80; UNESCO, 2020). In addition, visitors are attracted by the pre-colonial and post-colonial culture and traditions of local residents, which is reflected in their festivals, clothing, food, artefacts and their sites of local significance. A tour guide with GMMB confirms this, suggesting that the culture and history of the people of Elmina is a major tourism asset and one that is closely connect to the natural environment. He cites an example:

> There is a village here around Agona, they have a natural forest, and oral history has it that back in the day it was a very thick forest tree; when the fishermen go to sea, and they get lost on the sea, they use that very tree to find their location. Luckily, the locals have decided to conserve the area. In another village there is a waterfall (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Van Dantzig (1980) believes that the characteristics of the current population are also an important lure. People are attracted to Elmina, he states, by their open-mindedness and hospitality – something that Nguah and Kugbey (2015) attribute to the influence of European Christian belief systems.

The private sector is taking advantage of the area's natural and cultural heritage to open new tourism businesses. As shown in Table 4.1 these ventures are in the accommodation, tour operation, food, and retail sectors. They are apparent in at least six locations: at the Elmina Castle, in the town of Elmina, and in the three nearby villages (Figure 4.3).

Tourism businesses inside the Elmina Castle include six artefact shops and one tour company, with one hotel and restaurant located immediately outside, some of which are owned by survey/interview participants (Table 4.1). The town of Elmina is also home to a number of tourist ventures, these include 21 licensed hotels/guest houses with restaurants, according to 2019 data received from the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA, Cape Coast, 2021). Like the castle, some of these ventures are operated by survey/interview participants.

Proximity to Elmina Castle (see Figure 4.2) has facilitated the development of tourism in the KEEA area. There are at least 13 licensed accommodation ventures with restaurants in eight communities in the district (GTA, Cape Coast, 2021). This study found that three of these resource-based communities are transitioning into tourism (Ampenyi, Ayensudo Junction, and Atabaadzi). The first, Ampenyi, is located 13 km from the town of Elmina and has a population of 2,194, according to the 2010 census data (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Prior to 2007, it was predominantly a fishing community. While the village relies heavily on agriculture today, tourism is becoming an additional source of revenue. This began in 2007 when the first beach resort was opened. By 2014, the village had five accommodation businesses (one of which has a not-for profit-organization), including two guest houses and three beach resorts, all with restaurants (EI Ampenyi, 2019).

Like Ampenyi, Ayensudo is predominantly a farming community located on the Takoradi - Cape Coast and Elmina road – about 22 km from Elmina Castle. Accommodation businesses recently have been established in the area, according to a tourism officer with the Ministry of Tourism Arts and Culture (MOTAC, Accra, 2019). At the time of this research, at least five guest houses were visible along the Ayensudo main road. However, the majority are managed by employees who were unwilling to participate in the research. An interview with one manager of a guest house did reveal that the community began introducing tourism activities (accommodation and food) in the last decade or so. She noted: "when I came here in 2001, it was only two of us here but now there is an influx of guest houses, even across the street from here" (E3, Ayensudo, 2019).

The third village, Ataabadzi, is a fishing community that is also transitioning into tourism. It is located about 26 km from Elmina Castle and has recently seen the addition of tourist venues. The first two accommodation facilities and restaurant were established by 2008. One, Coconut Grove, is a well-known hotel owned by a renowned local businessman. Although attempts to secure an interview with either the owner or management of this firm were unsuccessful, a proprietor noted that the hotel was the only one in the area when he moved there (E4, Atabaadzi, 2019). Since, then, the area has seen considerable growth, as he explains:

> When I first came here 11 years ago, down there had soldiers, but they're no longer around, so it's a place that is developing. When I came, all the houses you can see around weren't here. Right now, all the lands here have been bought. Even though this is still a fishing community, there are guest houses and other businesses coming here. I choose to see it as a good thing because this place can get quiet, but sometimes, this place can also get so full, we can't take anymore so having other guest houses is good (E4, Ataabadzi, 2019).

Table 4.1 Tourism development in Elmina, as revealed by participating tourism stakeholders

Year of business	Business / Destination[7]	Type of business / Destination	Location / Municipality	Type of heritage[8]	Type of heritage product
1969/1973 /1979	Elmina Castle (Public)	National Museum and UNESCO Heritage Site	Elmina, KEEA	Colonial	Artefactual
1980s	Guest House	Accommodation, Food	Elmina, KEEA	Non-heritage	Crafted
1992	Artefact Shop	Retail	Elmina Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica, Replica-crafted, symbolic
1997	Artefact Shop	Retail	Elmina Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted
1998	Tour, Beach Resort	Accommodation, Food, Tours	Elmina, KEEA	Colonial & non-colonial	Artefactual, crafted
Before 2001[9]	Guest House	Accommodation, Food	Ayensudo Junction, KEEA	Non-colonial	Crafted
2005	Tour Operation	Tours	Elmina Castle	Colonial & Non-colonial	Artefactual, replica
2007	Beach Resort, Drum/ Dance/Bead Workshop	Accommodation, Food	Ampenyi Village, KEEA	Non-colonial & Non-heritage	Crafted
2007	Beach Resort (Private & Civic)	Accommodation, Food, NGO	Ampenyi Village, KEEA	Non-colonial	Crafted
2008	Beach Resort & Dance/Drum Group (Private & Civic)	Accommodation, Food, NGO	Atabaadzi Village, KEEA	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2013	Artefact Shop	Retail	Elmina Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2014	Guest House	Accommodation, Food	Ampenyi Village, KEEA	Non-colonial	Crafted

[7] Unless otherwise stated, businesses are owned by private sector entrepreneurs.

[8] Colonial heritage refers to the region's slave trade heritage, i.e., artefactual products such as historical tours at Elmina Castle. Non-colonial heritage refers to the indigenous culture of Ghanaians before the arrival of Europeans and the culture (with some European influence) after independence, i.e., crafted, replica, and symbolic products such as traditional food, clothing, artefacts, music and dance. Non-heritage is neither colonial or non-colonial related; it refers to products and services that are not specifically related to Ghana's indigenous culture or heritage.

[9] At the time of the interview, the manager of the guest house noted that the business was opened in or before 2001 because she was one of the first to be hired by the African American owners. She was unable to disclose the exact year or date of establishment.

Figure 4.2 The town of Elmina and the Castle
Picture credit: research participant, 2019

Figure 4.3 Map of KEEA District, showing transitioning study sites
Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b, p. 3

In summary, this historical account has revealed that the development of tourism in the Elmina area was initially driven by a public (government) sector initiative taken in 1969 and 1973, respectively, to diversify the region's economy. By promoting the region's colonial past, a new tourism trajectory was established. Since the 1980s, private sector entrepreneurs have capitalized on this trajectory to create tourism businesses in the accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors. The motivations of these tourism stakeholders, and their pathways to tourism are described in the following section.

4.2 Tourism Proprietors in the Elmina Area

Surveys/interviews conducted with eleven tourism businesses shed light on who is involved in the tourism sector, their motivations for living in the Elmina area and for opening a tourism business, and the routes taken to proprietorship. Included within these eleven businesses is one operated by a "local" proprietor who was born in Elmina. Although this participant has travelled within or outside Ghana, information about whether he has taken up permanent residency outside the KEEA was not ascertained. Two others are returnees who were born locally but relocated to another city or town in or outside Ghana for a period of at least one year, before moving home. The sample is also comprised of six in-migrants: three domestic migrants, who moved from relatively larger cities (Accra, Cape Coast and Takoradi), and three international in-migrants (two African Americans and one European). The two remaining businesses (artefact shops) were managed by locally-born employees who provided basic information about the business on the survey; however, they did not provide information about the owners of the business. In the following section, the residential and business-opening motivations (lifestyle and livelihood) of locally-born and in-migrant cohorts are considered (Tables 4.2a and 4.2b), and their paths (specifically those taken by returnees and in-migrants) to tourism proprietorship described (Mitchell & Shannon, 2017) (Figure 1.2; Table 4.3).

4.2.1 Locally-born Proprietors

The three locally-born tourism entrepreneurs own food or accommodation venues in the Elmina area. The first, E9, is an Elmina born, renowned businessman who owns a group of businesses in Elmina and other parts of Ghana, including a hotel and a restaurant adjacent to

Elmina Castle. According to interviews with two of his staff, the proprietor opened his business in the 1980s when tourism in Elmina was not as fully developed as it is today, and his intention was to impact development and create jobs in his native town.

The second is a counterurbanite returnee beach resort owner, who was born in Ampenyi. He first travelled to Accra to take up an employment opportunity, and later moved to Chicago, United States before returning to his village, Ampenyi in 2007 (E1, Ampenyi, 2019). An interview with his son, who now manages the beach resort and restaurant, revealed that his father decided to return home and start a hotel because he and his colleagues had challenges finding good accommodation, whenever he was visiting family in Ghana (E1, Ampenyi, 2019). This returnee took an early-stage-lifestyle-enhancing route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017), as his motive was based on non-economic factors; his intention was to return home to be close to family, encourage others to visit Ghana, and impact development in his village. His son reported:

> This is a family business, the original owner, my dad, lived in Chicago, US and returned home to start the guest house in partnership with colleagues in Ghana & US. Because you see, he travelled outside and was living with these African Americans for a very long time, so they developed interest in coming to Ghana. But when they come to Ghana, they find it difficult getting good accommodation in the village, so he decided to come back home, put this up, advertise it out there and then-bring people back. The vision of this business is to get more people on board to improve their livelihoods (E1, Ampenyi, 2019).

Similarly, the third locally-born proprietor, who did not mention his last city or town of residence, is a returnee born in Ampenyi village who moved to Accra to work in a bank for several years, later relocated to United States, and then returned to Ampenyi in 2014 to retire (E10, Ampenyi, 2019). When he arrived in 2014, he built a guest house, and later added a bar and restaurant (E10, Ampenyi, 2019). His motivation was simple: to return home.

> I was born here, my parents are from this place, so I decided to come back. I'm not going back to stay in the US, I only go there to spend some days and then come back. My kids are all in the US, but my parents are here (E10, Ampenyi, 2019).

His residential and employment history suggests that he took an early-stage-leisure-lifestyle-enabling route (Michell and Shannon, 2017). His retirement plan was to return home and be close to his parents and open a business to continue to support himself and his parents, while creating local employment in his community. In-migrant proprietors also took similar pathways as locally-born entrepreneurs, although their motivations varied.

Table 4.2a Elmina's tourism proprietors' residential motives

	Types of Motivation	
Proprietor Motivation and Residential History	**Lifestyle**	**Livelihood**
Motivation/ reason to move to, return or remain in the Elmina area	Family / Community ties	Employment / Start a business
Locally-born		
Local (n=1)	1	0
Returnees (n=2)	2	1
Domestic in-migrants		
Counterurbanites (n=3)	0	3
International in-migrants		
African American counterurbanite (n=1)	1	0
European counterurbanite (n=1)	0	1
African American (n=1) (Unknown last place of residence)	1	1
Total	**5**	**6**

Table 4.2b Elmina's tourism proprietors' business opening motives

	Types of Motivation						
Proprietor Motivation	**Lifestyle**				**Livelihood**		
Motivations for operating a tourism business in the Elmina area	Passion /Dream	Retirement activity	Create local employment	**Total**	Provide income	Business location	**Total**
Locally-born							
Local (n=1)	0	0	1	**1**	1	1	**2**
Returnees (n=2)	0	1	1	**2**	2	1	**3**
Domestic in-migrants							
Counterurbanites (n=3)	2	0	1	**3**	3	2	**5**
International in-migrants							
African American counterurbanite (n=1)	1	0	1	**2**	1	1	**2**
European counterurbanite (n=1)	1	0	1	**2**	0	1	**1**
African American (n=1) (Unknown last place of residence)	0	0	1	**1**	0	1	**1**
Total	4	1	6	**11**	6	7	**14**

4.2.2 In-migrant Proprietors

The six in-migrants surveyed and interviewed operate a retail artifact shop (1/6), a tour business (1/6), and accommodation and food venues (4/6), with one that also offers tours. They provided information about why and when they started their business. These in-migrant proprietors include three domestic counterurbanites, two international counterurbanites (one African American from New York, and one European from Utrecht, Netherlands), and another African American whose last place of residence was not ascertained. They offered a number of reasons for moving to their current place of residence, such as proximity to family, and new employment or a tourism related business opportunity. For example, the two African Americans were born in the United States but decided to move to the Elmina area to find their roots and

connect with their heritage because they believe their ancestors were from Ghana. They cited "returning to the land of our ancestors" to be close to "family" as their primary motivation for moving to Elmina. A counterurbanite proprietor with a beachfront guest house in Ataabadzi community, also noted that he travelled wherever his drumbeat took him, "our job determines where you locate". He continued to report, "drum making and dancing goes with white people so we go where we're likely to find foreigners" (E4 Ataabadzi, 2019).

In-migrants' motivation to start a tourism related business were many, including the fulfilment of a passion or dream, desire to make an impact in their communities, and proximity to tourism attractions. The first counterurbanite, E4, was born in Bekwai, a small town in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, and he first moved to Accra to work as a shoemaker /repairer. Even though he did not report how long he stayed in Accra, he indicated learning how to make drums at the Accra Arts Center a few years later. He then moved to Cape Coast in the year 2000, to sell his drums to tourists in Elmina and Cape Coast (E4 Ataabadzi, 2019). He saw the opportunity for drum making in Elmina and decided to move there to open an art center, thus moving along an early-stage-livelihood-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). He currently earns his living by making drums, training young people to make drums, and entertaining visitors with Ghanaian drumming and dancing. He reported:

> When I left Bekwai for Accra, whilst going about my shoe repair business, I found my way to the Arts Center. So, on one of those trips, whilst I was repairing the shoes of a drum maker, it dawned on me that this was something that I wanted to go into, so I learnt it from the man. He was also the one who sent me to Cape Coast, and now, I'm here in Elmina. When I was commuting from Cape Coast to Elmina regularly, I realized that this area didn't really have a drum maker; most people go to the Accra Arts Center, to get their work done, so I saw this as an opportunity to stay here (E4 Ataabadzi, 2019).

E4 later opened a restaurant in 2008 and added a guest house because he saw the need for more accommodation services, particularly for those who cannot afford the five-star hotels in the area. He noted:

> When guests came over to Coconut Grove, their drivers came here for food. They also used to ask for rooms to sleep in because the cost of rooms at Coconut Grove was quite expensive, so, I got the idea to set up some rooms (E4 Ataabadzi, 2019).

In contrast, the second counterurbanite took a late-stage-livelihood-enabling pathway (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). He moved to Elmina from Takoradi, the capital city of Western

Region, to take up public service employment in 1995. He later worked with a civic organization to coordinate tourism projects, where he developed an interest in tourism and decided to start a tour operating business. He recounted:

> After my masters, I had employment with a USAID subcontractor, and within the two years, I was exposed. My American friend gave me money to register and start my own tour business" (E5 Elmina Castle, 2019).

He started his tour operating business in 2005, and he operates from an office at Elmina Castle. He organizes tours to the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles and the Kakum National Park. He also gives organized walking tours in communities of Elmina and specialized tours for local government officials and foreign diplomats (E5 Elmina Castle, 2019).

Similarly, the third counterurbanite who operates an artefact shop at the Elmina Castle also took a late-stage-livelihood enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). She moved from Tamale, the capital city of the Northern Region of Ghana, to Cape Coast and then to Elmina for private sector employment in 1992. She later started selling beads to visitors at Elmina Castle, and eventually opened an artefact shop at the Castle in 1997. She noted:

> I'm originally from the Volta Region, but I lived my formative years in the Tamale because my dad was in the military. I worked in Elmina as a typist for Joe Carley Tours for five years until it collapsed in 1997. When business collapsed, I decided to stay in Elmina and do something on my own because I knew this was a tourist town. I self-taught myself to make beads, by buying a few and studying, and if I got confused about something or wasn't sure about something, I would ask the market women I procured my goods from (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Table 4.3 Pathways taken by interviewees (returnee and in-migrant proprietors) in the Elmina area (n=8)

Pathways / Migration			**Indicators**			
Tourism Proprietors	Tourist business type	Performance	Main destination reason	Business opening stage	Business outcome	Business motive
Locally-born						
E1, returnee	Early-stage-lifestyle-enhancing	I returned home to be close to family. I opened a tourism business to make an impact in my community.	Family or Amenity	Early	Lifestyle-enhancing	Want
E10, returnee	Early-stage-leisure-lifestyle-enabling	I returned to retire close to family. I opened a tourism business to support myself and family and to help my community.	Family or Amenity	Early	Leisure-lifestyle-enabling	Want
Domestic in-migrants						
E4, Counter-urbanite	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of the economic prospect for my art business. I opened a tourism business to support myself and to train young artists.	Economics	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
E5, Counter-urbanite	Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of an employment opportunity. I later opened a tourism business to pursue my interest and support myself and family.	Economics	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
E6, Counter-urbanite	Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of an employment opportunity. I later opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
International in-migrants						
E3, African American Counter-urbanite	Late-stage-lifestyle-enabling	I moved here to be close to the land of my ancestors. I later opened a tourism business to support myself and help my community.	Family or Amenity	Late	Lifestyle-enabling	Want
E8, African American	Late-stage-lifestyle-enabling	I moved here to be close to the land of my ancestors. I later opened a tourism business to support myself and family and to make an impact.	Family or Amenity	Late	Lifestyle-enabling	Want
E2, European counter-urbanite	Early-stage-lifestyle-enhancing	I moved here to buy a beach resort because I fell in love with the location. I opened a tourism business to fulfill a dream.	Amenity	Early	Lifestyle-enhancing	Want

The remaining three in-migrants (international), moved along similar pathways. The two African Americans moved along a late-stage-lifestyle-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). They both moved to Elmina to be close to their ancestors, as they believe their heritage traces back to Ghana. They later opened a restaurant and guest house to earn income. They also wanted "to help people in the community" as noted by the person who manages a guest house for the first returnee (E3, Ayensudo, 2019). The second, a counterurbanite, gave a more detailed account of his journey and decision to become involved in tourism in Elmina.

Prior to moving to Elmina in 1998 from Mt. Vernon, New York, he visited Ghana over a period of seven years. According to E8, the first time he visited Ghana was when the country was under military rule and was about to come into constitutional rule. He thought Ghana presented "magnificent and multiple opportunities" for people like him, who are "interested in being a part of the beginning of something" (E8, Elmina, 2019). He reported:

> I like to say the spirit of my ancestors called me home. I've always been interested in Africa, African history, and seeing Africans take control of Africa. I thought that I could use that curiosity about mother Africa to come back here to apply my experience and my network, and what I had to offer, to helping to make a difference. And not just being here wasting my time, enjoying the sunshine and the coconut trees. I wanted to start a business but not necessarily a restaurant or hotel. I observed what was available and what opportunities were here. I knew that Ghana was coming out of another phase of its own existence after independence. So, I came back in 1998, and we were bringing people on pilgrimage tours, and I knew that the Central Region was targeted for tourism development, by virtue of the castles and dungeons and history. I wanted to try to do something here in Elmina (E8, Elmina, 2019).

He continued to report:

> I have owned a health food store; a men's clothing store and I own my own school and cultural center in New York. I had enjoyed a lot of early success in the US, and I got bored with that, so I decided to repatriate back to the land of my ancestors (E8, Elmina, 2019).

With several years of teaching experience, he initially started giving tours on Ghana's slave trade history. Over time, he saw the need to start a business for financial stability. In his own words:

> You need real money and real income in order to make it here, and to last. I need to be in the economy of Ghana, not just depending on money transferred from the other side, I need to be doing business and commerce here (E8, Elmina, 2019).

As a result, he opened a restaurant, and later added a beach resort with chalets.

The third international in-migrant is also a counterurbanite who, in contrast to the other foreign migrants, moved along an early-stage-lifestyle-enhancing route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). She was born in the town of Maarssen, Netherlands, and first moved to the city of Utrecht, Netherlands before moving to Elmina in 2007 to start a beach resort and a restaurant in Ampenyi village. She reported:

> Well, you know, we love Africa, but Africa is a big continent. We were more interested in southern and eastern Africa, but you know tourism is already felt there and also some circumstances about security and that kind of thing, and also things that are happening in those countries, we didn't really feel comfortable with them, but Ghana is a stable country and democratic. Ghana, at that time when we came in 2007, it was still open for small investors; now, you need a lot of money. So, in 2006, we saw this place on the Internet for sale and then we came, we looked at it, we negotiated with the previous owner, and then we took the offer in July 2007. But when we were standing on the beach, we just fell in love with the location. So, that is for us (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

In conclusion, tourism stakeholders in the Elmina area offered diverse reasons for being in Elmina and for opening a local business. The three locally-born proprietors (and the two African Americans) remained or moved to Elmina to be close to family or their ancestral home, while most in-migrants (4/6) moved to Elmina to take up a new employment opportunity or to start a business. Returnees (n = 2) and international in-migrants (n = 3) both took a lifestyle driven route to tourism proprietorship, while domestic in-migrants (n = 3) took a livelihood motivated pathway (Table 4.3). For the majority of interview respondents, (7 of 9) opening a business enabled them to secure the livelihood or lifestyle they desired, with only two respondents indicating that the decision was not economically necessary, but a means to enhance a chosen lifestyle. The next section uncovers the mechanisms that these entrepreneurs are using to create different heritage products in the Elmina area.

4.3 The Tourism Development Trajectory in Elmina: Mechanisms and Heritage Products

Locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs are using a variety of mechanisms to develop a tourism trajectory that emerged to largely capitalize on the town's colonial history (i.e., Atlantic Slave Trade) and non-colonial heritage (i.e., indigenous culture that reflects both pre-colonial and post-colonial heritage). As shown in Table 4.1, these initiatives emerged following the public sector's investment in Elmina Castle, a colonial artefact that is now managed by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. This investment prompted private and civic sector entrepreneurs (locally-born and in-migrants) to capitalize on this tourist destination by opening businesses that cater to its visitors.

To determine which mechanisms are driving tourism development in the Elmina area, and the types of heritage products being created, 11 businesses were asked in the survey about their type of business (i.e., tourism/accommodation, food, retail or other). Entrepreneurs (9/11) who participated in semi-structured face-to-face interviews were further asked to describe the nature of their business and whether their business provided products or services that capitalized on local heritage. The results uncovered the types of heritage products (e.g., artefactual, crafted, replica, and symbolic) that entrepreneurs sell and reveal that two forms of recombination and conversion, and layering mechanisms best capture the actions taken by entrepreneurs who are driving tourism development in Elmina (See table 4.4, and figure 4.4).

4.3.1 Recombination

As described in chapter two, recombination refers to the merging of existing resources with new ones to create new economic paths (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). In a tourism context, Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) suggest that recombination is the opening of a new business that merges new capital assets with a region's heritage. In this study, the original recombination was undertaken by the public sector when they commodified the Elmina Castle, a colonial heritage asset for tourist attraction (see Table 4.1). Later, private sector initiatives capitalized on this colonial heritage, and also non-colonial history (i.e., indigenous customs, food, clothing, music etc.), to create tourism businesses in and around the Elmina Castle, via two forms of recombination, colonial and non-colonial.

In terms of recombination of colonial heritage, two in-migrant (counterurbanite) entrepreneurs merged colonial history with new capital assets (which are described in section 4.4.1), to provide organized tours and lectures on the Atlantic Slave Trade in Elmina and the Central Region. For example, a domestic in-migrant with a tour operating business located at the Elmina Castle reported providing historic tours, which is an example of an artefactual heritage product (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a), to groups of domestic and international tourists who visit Elmina. In his own words: "on June 15th we had some university students from the US, 10 students with two lecturers" (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019). This counterurbanite further reported organizing specialized tours for international tour companies:

> ...then also, I have some foreign tour companies who provide incentive trips for their workers, so when they come to this area, they hire my services to organize the tour to the Castles and Kakum. When we have the high class, like the ambassadors and presidents, they need tour guides, someone who is fluent and also diplomatic, and knows how-to, so I have a special rate for those (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Another counterurbanite, an international in-migrant and African American, educates visitors to Elmina on the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (an artefactual heritage product). This proprietor, who is also an executive secretary of Pan African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) Ghana, uses his knowledge and network to attract visitors to Elmina. He explains, "there are a number of tourists groups who come in the area to view the Castles and dungeons, and since my work is also as a historian, I offer seminars and lectures and debriefings for people who do the castle dungeon tours in the region" (E8, Elmina, 2019). In addition, this counterurbanite merged non-colonial heritage in his food and accommodation business.

Recombination of non-colonial heritage, which commodified local culture and traditions, was used by the majority of businesses (9 / 11) to drive tourism in the Elmina area. Five in-migrants and two locally-born interviewees merged indigenous culture and knowledge with their capital assets to create tourism businesses in the accommodation, food, and retail sectors. For example, one domestic in-migrant (counterurbanite) entrepreneur who owns a retail store at the Elmina Castle, reported selling locally made artefacts that reflect the culture of Elmina, the Central Region, and Ghana. She started her artefact business in 1997 outside the Elmina Castle selling beads, and later rented a store in the castle and, over time, added more related cultural products to meet client needs. She makes crafted products (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a), such

as hand-made traditional Ghanaian beaded waist chains, bracelets, necklaces and earrings, to sell to visitors at Elmina Castle (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019). In addition, she sells crafted products like bags, hats, slippers, and clothes made from Kente (a hand-woven textile from the Southeastern part of Ghana) and tie and dye clothes made in Elmina. She also offers machine sewn leather slippers with hand-made beads, a type of heritage product that merges replica and crafted products. Given that these are not captured in Mitchell and Shannon's classification, this study defines these as *replica-crafted* heritage products.

The three other in-migrants, one domestic and two internationals, recombined non-colonial heritage in the accommodation and food sectors. The domestic in-migrant, E4 is a dance instructor with a beach front guest house at Ataabadzi. This counterurbanite proprietor started his tourism business with a dance group at the Elmina Castle while selling artwork to visitors to the Castle. He offers crafted heritage products by making his own drums and entertaining visitors to Ghanaian drumming and dancing performed by a young group of people from Elmina and Ataabadzi community. As part of civic engagement, he started a community art center to train young people in his community to make drums and dance to local Ghanaian music. In 2008, he expanded his tourism business to include a restaurant and a guest house:

> I came here a long time ago when the area wasn't that developed. I lived in Elmina and was part of an Elmina cultural group at the Castle called Botweku; I played and repaired the drums. I later put up a kiosk and started selling some artwork, so I had this dance group alongside my work with the Castle group. I run the dance group and sell my art and craft, and since we aren't far from Coconut Grove, when white tourists came by, they came to watch our dance group, and also, buy some of my crafts. As the numbers grew, I decided to put up a spot of sort, so the tourists could have a place to sit and take a drink, whilst they watched the group perform, and eventually I bought the land, put up rooms, so far, I have 14 rooms (E4, Ataabadzi, 2019).

The guest house, called ***Akomapa,*** meaning "good heart" in the Akan language, is designed to reflect the Ghanaian and Akan culture (a replica product). The interior of the rooms is decorated with local Ghanaian textiles, leather, furniture and replicas sourced in Elmina and other parts of Ghana, to provide visitors an opportunity to experience the local culture. The restaurant serves locally prepared dishes (a crafted heritage product).

The fifth proprietor is the African American counterurbanite who also educates visitors on colonial history. He commodifies non-colonial heritage and culturally related products and services at his beach resort (E8, Elmina, 2019). He first opened a restaurant on the beach in 1998

to offer a crafted heritage product to both domestic and international visitors to Elmina. He reported using organic food locally grown in Elmina. The restaurant serves local dishes prepared by his Ghanaian wife and her team. He also reported that the restaurant serves as a social circle where locals and visitors connect with each other. He later added chalets and a guest house. He noted that his guest rooms are reasonably priced in Ghana's currency (the Cedis) between Gh¢130 to Gh¢250 ($30 to $ 50 USD), to attract diverse clients.

Finally, a European counterurbanite with a beach resort in Ampenyi community designed her guest rooms and restaurant with colorful drawings and thatched roof building styles that reflect ancient Ghanaian houses (a crafted product), particularly seen in rural places. She noted, "the guest rooms are situated within a fantastic flower garden with tropical birds and palm trees" (E2, Ampenyi, 2019). The rooms and services are priced to suit the needs of her diverse clients. She reported:

> OK, so, we have a resort here, so you can have rooms with your private bathroom, we have private rooms with shared bathroom facilities because we like it when these young people who don't have so much money also come here. Our clients are foreigners from all over the world. Well, we get different clientele, and that's from young people to older people, so I would say people with small budgets and people with a bigger budget (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Her restaurant sells a crafted product (locally prepared Ghanaian dishes). She explained, "we have our own restaurant where you can eat local and continental food" (E2, Ampenyi, 2019). In addition, E2 offers a variety of cultural related workshops such as bead making, drumming, and dancing.

Two locally-born (returnees) proprietors also used recombination by commodifying non-colonial heritage in their hotel and restaurant businesses. E1, for example, designed his beach resort to reflect the Ghanaian culture; he used traditional thatch that was locally sourced in Elmina for the roofs of his restaurant and guest rooms, an example of a crafted heritage product. He also offers other crafted heritage product, such as serving local dishes in his restaurant, known to Elmina, the Central Region and Ghana. Being surrounded by water, the restaurant guests enjoy prepared fresh fish directly from the ocean and a beautiful scenery (E1, Ampenyi, 2019).

Thus, the majority of in-migrants and locally-born entrepreneurs (10 /11) used recombination to introduce innovation to their tourism firms by merging their capital with

colonial and non-colonial assets. However, only one business that participated in the study used the layering mechanism.

Table 4.4 Mechanisms driving tourism development in the Elmina area

	Mechanisms / Processes				
	Recombination		**Layering**	**Conversion**	
Residential History	New colonial heritage business	New non-colonial heritage business	New non-heritage business	Existing business that introduces non-heritage products / services over time	Existing business that introduces alternative heritage products over time
Locally-born, E9			Accommodation, Food		
Locally-born returnee, E1		Accommodation, Food			
Locally-born returnee, E10		Accommodation, Food			
Counterurbanite (domestic), E4		Accommodation, Food			
Counterurbanite (domestic), E5	Heritage tours				Walking tours
Counterurbanite (domestic), E6		Retail (Artefacts)			
African American counterurbanite (international), E8	Heritage tours	Accommodation, Food		Weddings, other events	
African American (international), E3		Accommodation, Food			
European counterurbanite (international), E2		Accommodation, Food		Karaoke nights, weddings, other events	
Other, E7[10]		Retail (Artefacts)			
Other, E11		Retail (Artefacts)			

[10] Other (for both E7 and E11) means business is owned by a Ghanaian whose residential details are unknown, but the business is managed by a locally-born employee.

4.3.2 Layering

As described in chapter two, layering is the "ongoing changes in the composition of a firm ecosystem resulting from firms' entry, exit, and survival (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). In a tourism context, Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) define it as the opening of businesses that do not directly capitalize on a community's heritage assets but add diversified offerings to the tourist product mix. The results of this study conform to both definitions of layering, that is, businesses that do not directly use heritage assets but can draw on regional resources or available opportunities. This applies to one business, a hotel and restaurant, opened adjacent to Elmina Castle by a local entrepreneur. Staff at the hotel revealed that the business is not branded as a heritage tourism product, although the restaurant serves locally prepared Ghanaian food (a crafted heritage product). They do not provide specialized services to attract a particular clientele (E9, Elmina Castle, 2019). However, being one of the oldest, and currently the only accommodation and food services closest to the Castle, the owner benefits from the business that visitors to Elmina and the Castle bring (E9, Elmina Castle, 2019). Although layering was limited in the surveyed business, the final mechanism, conversion, was much more prevalent.

4.4.3 Conversion

As described, conversion is the introduction of change and innovation that occurs in a firm in response to shifting conditions (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). In a tourism context, Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) suggest that it is the addition of non-heritage themed products in an existing firm that arises from the arrival of different market segments. Given that some proprietors might add indigenous heritage products to their colonial tourism offerings (or to a firm that began as a non-tourism venture), a broader interpretation of this mechanism is offered here, more in keeping with Steen and Karlsen's processes of change and innovation. To acknowledge this, two forms of conversion are offered, one that introduces alternative heritage-based products and services into an existing tourism firm, and a second that introduces non-heritage products and services.

The first conversion type was used by the former tourism project manager (E5, Elmina, 2019), who introduced alternative heritage services to his existing colonial heritage tour business. E5 has used his extensive knowledge of tourism to create a replica heritage product by

using innovative ways of creating new tour services for visitors. This counterurbanite tour operator has introduced new ways to serve the needs of new clientele, while continuing to provide existing services that cater to older clients. He has done this by collaborating with other tour operators across the Central Region and Ghana to identify new tour opportunities. He noted:

> When people come, it is just the Castle, you see, but I've created this walking tour; I walk you through the town; I can give you-the history" of the town for about one and a half hours, you know talking about the Posuban Shrines, the merchant houses, fishing, yeah, I interpret the whole town in a very nice way, so it's caught up with clients and they themselves are even marketing it (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

By doing so, this entrepreneur is expanding his original tour guiding services, which is focussed on colonial history, to include non-colonial heritage information.

The second form of conversion was utilized by two international in-migrants, who originally used the recombination mechanism. They both introduced alternative services that are not related to the culture of Elmina, the Central Region, or Ghana to their crafted and or artefactual heritage products. For example, one of the counterurbanites rents her beach resort and restaurant for weddings, parties, and other events (E2, Ampenyi, 2019). She indicated having karaoke nights, which does not reflect the culture of Elmina or Ghana. E2 also mentioned that she continues to find new market opportunities in the tourism industry, to understand changing or trending client needs and provide services that meet those needs. At the time of the interview, she was planning on opening a bar, and providing organized canoe trips to attract more visitors to the resort (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Similarly, the second counterurbanite, E8, rents his resort for events. He explained, "besides serving meals, we also host occasions; we host weddings, receptions, birthday parties, and we also serve as a center for gatherings" (E8, Elmina, 2019). In the future, he plans to introduce an alternative heritage tour to his colonial heritage historic tours by partnering with friends to invest in leisure boats - something he describes as an untapped resource. He believes that visitors would like to see the beautiful coastline, but this is currently impossible, since there is no commercial sailing available (E8, Elmina, 2019).

Artefact Shops, Elmina Castle

Beach resort / Guest house, and restaurant in Ampenyi and Ataabadzi

Figure 4.4 Tourism businesses in and around Elmina Castle
Source: Pictures taken during fieldwork, 2019

In summary, locally-born and in-migrant proprietors in and around the Elmina Castle have largely created tourism businesses that recombine their capital assets with the area's colonial and non-colonial heritage. Those who have capitalized on non-colonial heritage have created symbolic, crafted, and replica products in the accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors. Those who focus on colonial heritage, have created artefactual heritage products in the form of historical tours. A limited number of entrepreneurs have renewed and extended the

tourism trajectory. The former has resulted from layering actions taken by only one local resident, which introduced non-heritage themed accommodation; the latter has arisen from counterurbanites' conversion activities, which introduced alternative heritage and non-heritage services to their existing businesses. The impacts of these, and other tourism stakeholder actions, is described in the next section.

4.4 Impact of Tourism Trajectory Development in the Elmina Area

Elmina Castle is attracting investments from the public, private, and civic sectors, which are having a number of direct and indirect impacts in Elmina. The direct impact is associated with increased number of visitors to the community. The indirect impacts are focused on building local capacity, potentially by generating financial, human, social and physical capital. These are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Direct Impacts

Direct impacts are defined here as increased visitation within the Elmina area. Tourism officials and proprietors believe that tourism has contributed to increased numbers of visitors to Elmina. According to the key informant at GMMB, more people are visiting the Elmina Castle than in the past, with close to 60,000 travelers arriving in 2018 and more expected during the Year of Return (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). The government of Ghana designated 2019 as the Year of Return to mark 400 years since the first ship of African slaves arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, United States (BBC, 2021: UN, 2021; Year of Return, 2021).

The Year of Return was planned to encourage African Americans and Africans of the diaspora to visit or return home to celebrate their heritage and contribute to Ghana's development (Year of Return, 2021). This initiative was part of Ghana's President, Nana Akufo Addo's development agenda "Beyond Aid", which recognizes tourism as one of the leading sectors that can attract businesses and investments to Ghana (Year of Return, 20121). The Year of Return also "coincides with the biennial PANAFEST" in Ghana (UN, 2021; Year of Return, 2021).

According to a tour guide at the castle, visitor numbers from the diaspora were projected to exceed 500,000. He reported, "…this means a lot for the country and the region, The Year of Return is basically talking about the fort and castles in Elmina, and then Cape Coast" (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). In January 2020, BBC News reported that the Year of Return attracted "an additional 237,000 visitors", an increase of 45 percent from the previous year, 2018 (BBC, 2021).

The activities for the Year of Return were ongoing at the time of this study. As a result, tourism entrepreneurs reported noticing a change in visitor ethnicity. Indeed, at the time of field work, one local proprietor confirmed that visitor numbers were increasing in 2019:

> Even last Tuesday, we got a group of African Americans, they were about 17. As of now, they're in Benin, they came purposely for a group called Sankofa, which means coming back to our roots (E1, Ampenyi, 2019).

A counterurbanite, E8, who is still connected to the African American community in the United States also reported seeing more international tourists over the years. He noted:

> We are getting a lot of foreigners coming into the area. Foreigners from all over, mainly the US and Europe, some Caribbean, a lot of African diasporas are coming back and resettling" (E8, Elmina, 2019).

He also revealed that in the last decade, other nationalities have come, for example, the Chinese.

Tourism entrepreneurs (four) also reported using their social capital (external connections or networks) to attract visitors to Elmina and the Central Region. For example, two returnees from the United States confirmed using their proximity to the Elmina Castle and their network in the US and Europe to advertise organized tours internationally to the castle and other heritage sites in the Central Region (E1 and E10, Ampenyi, 2019). E1 added, "our customers are foreigners from the United Kingdom, United States, Netherlands, and Germany, but also some are Ghanaians" (E1, Ampenyi, 2019). Two international in-migrants with connections to US and Europe reported doing the same. E2, the European counterurbanite, reported that the majority of her clients are foreigners because she uses her connection to Europe to market her business to potential clients in Europe and other parts of the world, in addition to advertising online. She further reported:

> We have our own website and there was Facebook, Instagram. We do social media and then you have the Breathe Guide that is an English tourist guide, and most of the tourists buy this guide, so we advertise there also. We're also on Booking.com (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Similarly, an African American counterurbanite, E8, reported:

> My clients are both international and domestic who come to enjoy our cuisine but we do attract a lot of foreign tourists, especially Africans of the diaspora who are interested in how some of us left New York, or a 'developed atmosphere' and came to be part of a developing community, so that curiosity brings a lot of people here. During PANAFEST; we give a boat ride from the Cape Coast Castle to Elmina Castle (E8, Elmina, 2019).

Although proprietors indicated that tourism numbers have increased over time, this growth has not been consistent. Visitor numbers declined due to the Ebola Virus that impacted West African countries between 2014 and 2016 (The Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). Even though Ghana was not hugely impacted by the virus, tourism business owners said the virus deterred tourists from visiting West African countries. According to a counterurbanite:

> Initially, business was good because more tourists came, we were also a few in this line of business. We used to get five-loads of buses full of tourists in a day, but we rarely have that now (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Another counterurbanite reported that it took a long time before visits to Ghana were re-established (E2, Ampenyi, 2019). As shown in the following section, increased visitation is an important component of tourism development as it indirectly impacts tourism businesses and destination communities.

4.4.2 Indirect Impacts

Indirect impact here refers to local capacity building facilitated by proprietors' tourism investments. As noted in chapter two, capacity building is "the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time" (UNDP, 2009 p. 6). In a tourism context, Koutra and Edwards (2012) describe capacity building as a development tool that takes into account different forms of capital resources, including social, human, physical, and financial. To determine whether the activities of entrepreneurs are building local capacity, they were asked in a face-to-face interview how their business impacts the community in which they operate.

Results reveal that proprietors are building social, financial, human, and physical capital in the Elmina (and area) tourism sector. Although the study did not ask questions specifically related to the formation social capital, evidence of this was revealed from some respondents' answers. Clear evidence of social capital also emerged out of other capital impacts, which is also evident in the direct impact on visitation (section 4.4.1).

Social capital, the first type discussed here, is generated by two international counterurbanites. The African American counterurbanite, E8, is forming social capital by providing the opportunity for people to eat and connect at his restaurant, which recombines non-colonial heritage to offer crafted heritage products. In his own words, "you know people come around to eat and drink, it's easy to get people; it's an information center, people come here to have positive chats and be informed or be transformed (E8, Elmina, 2019). The second participant, a European counterurbanite, uses her beach resort as a social center for her clients through her conversion activities. She reported:

> When we bought here in 2007, the name was Ko-Sa Cultural Center and Beach Resort and then we changed it to Ko-Sa Beach Resort, because we're not a cultural center. Friday evening, we have Karaoke Night; we want to do poetry and those kinds of things, but we're not really a cultural center. When somebody wants a massage, we're ready to massage. And we have had some weddings here, it's really beautiful on the beach (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Financial capital, the second type contributing to capacity building examined, is generated directly from entrepreneurs who spend money in the community and indirectly from entrepreneurs who employ local residents. The 11 tourism businesses surveyed and/or interviewed, reported bringing in money to start a new business (7/11), to invest in an existing family business (2/11), to acquire a business from someone (1/11), or to partner with someone (1/11). They either rent or own their place of businesses; this generates income and financial capital for local resident / community property owners. For example, a counterurbanite, E4, recalled how he came to own the property where he now has his guest house, restaurant, and art center.

> I used to go to the village for wood, to make drums, and I later decided to set up a dance group for children. When white tourists came by, they came to watch our dance group. As the numbers grew, I found this place and met the owners of the land, it was a bare land. Initially, I had no money so I rented, but upon reflection on what my vision was, I

> decided that I would buy the land. I started off by paying in bits and eventually I own the land and have rooms I operate from (E4, Atabaadzi, 2019).

Another counterurbanite tour operator invested in a farm, in addition to renting an office space at the Elmina Castle for his tourism business. He explained:

> when I worked with the USAID tourism project for two years, they were paying me good money by Ghanaian standards. So, I built a house and I used the excess money also to buy land, about 15 minutes' walk from my house and started farming (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Additionally, these proprietors reported purchasing supplies from local businesses in Elmina and Central Region, thereby providing income for local proprietors (although they also buy from suppliers in other parts of Ghana). For example, two returnees reported buying the majority of their restaurant supplies in Ampenyi and Elmina (E1 and E10, Ampenyi, 2019). A counterurbanite, E6 also reported, "I get my shells and cowries from Elmina, beads from Koforidua and other raw materials or goods that I don't make myself from Accra" (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019). Another counterurbanite, E4, explained where he sources his supplies for his business and why:

> I get my restaurant supplies from Elmina. The things I need for my drums, they all come from Accra, the Arts Center because that's where we'll get the leather and all the other stuff. In Accra, the things are brought straight from the north of Ghana and are much cheaper than in Elmina. Leather I will need for one drum will cost me about Gh¢15 ($3.75 CAD) in Accra. Here, I can buy that same for Gh¢40 ($10 CAD) (E4, Ataabadzi, 2019).

Similarly, an African American counterurbanite noted buying his restaurant supplies from local farmers:

> I have other colleagues who farm, so we're able to get organic food or food that are local. We use local poultry farmers; we use local vegetables; we don't use frozen chicken. This water, you know the market is just here, so our fish comes straight from the market. We have our own fisher ladies who have their own boats; their husbands do the fishing; they do the selling too. So, all of our fish is fresh, and if it's frozen, we froze it, and our chicken is fresh, if it's frozen, we froze it (E8, Elmina, 2019).

The European counterurbanite also explained, "most of our products are bought locally, about 70%. Sometimes here in the community, when they catch fish, we buy it, or otherwise we go to Elmina to buy (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs' financial capital has also benefited local residents through employment. In at least one case, this has created income and financial capital for others to start their own business. For example, a local resident who manages a guest house for an African American, E3, reported:

> The owners helped employees start small businesses. Young men and women were employed here. When you decide to leave, they give you something small to go and start something on your own (E3, Ayensudo, 2019).

Private sector entrepreneurs create local employment, thereby providing financial capital to employees, which can be used to promote economic growth in Ghana's rural communities (Acheampong, 2011; Holden, Sonne and Novelli, 2011; Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017). According to the findings of this study, this employment arises from the actions of both locally-born and in-migrant proprietors. To determine whether entrepreneurs were creating local employment, nine business owners were asked in a face-to-face interview if they hired from their community or the Central Region. They were further asked how many of their employees were full time, part-time, seasonal or year-round.

Results reveal that international in-migrants generate more jobs than do locally-born Elmina residents. Eight entrepreneurs reported employing approximately 43 local residents from Elmina, Ampenyi, Atabaadzi, Cape Coast, and other parts of the Central Region. These eight proprietors include three locally-born (including two returnees), two domestic in-migrants, and three international in-migrants (Table 4.5). One of the international counterurbanites, E8, had a minimum of five local permanent staff but did not report the exact total number of employees. He states:

> Most of my staff are full-time permanent and from this community because we come here to make a difference with the local people, so we don't lose our focus, that being the main purpose. We try to keep that impact real and we're trying to sell Ghana, not a hybrid sense of Ghana, you know? So, in order to do that, we need Ghanaians to be here to do that (E8, Elmina, 2019).

More than half of the jobs (28) was created by in-migrant entrepreneurs, with locally-born entrepreneurs contributing to 15 of the local jobs created. The majority of local residents employed (41) are full-time and year-round workers. Only one international counterurbanite entrepreneur, E2 reported hiring two part-time year-round workers, in addition to 14 full-time and long-term employees, as shown in table 4.5. Two domestic counterurbanites reported hiring

seasonal workers when needed. When asked how many employees they typically hire for a job, they reported that it depends on the assignment, it could range from one to ten, or even more. E5 noted, "sometimes I employ seasonal tour guides, professional tour guides, professional drivers, and then office assistants and some are from Accra" (E5, Elmina, 2019).

Table 4.5 Local residents employed by tourism entrepreneurs in the Elmina area

Local jobs created by entrepreneurs (n = 8)				
Employer	Full-time year round	Part-time year round	Total	Average # of jobs
Locally-born	**15**	**0**	**15**	**5**
Local (n =1)	6	0	6	6
Returnees (n = 2)	9	0	9	4.5
Domestic in-migrants	**5**	**0**	**5**	**2.5**
Counterurbanites (n = 2)	5	0	5	2.5
International in-migrants	**21**	**2**	**23**	**7.67**
African American counterurbanite (n =1)	5	0	5	5
African American (n=1)	2	0	2	2
European counterurbanite (n=1)	14	2	16	16
Total # of jobs	**41**	**2**	**43**	**5.4**
Average # of jobs	**5.1**	**0.25**	**5.4**	**-**

Entrepreneurs highlighted the positive impact that tourism has had in Elmina, particularly with regards to entry level jobs. A counterurbanite, E6, indicated having one full time employee, but since opening her business in 1997, she has employed six local residents who stay for an average of two years, save, and move on to other opportunities. Another counterurbanite who hires an average of 16 local employees, E2, noted:

> The positive effect of tourism is that you create employment, and you also stimulate the local economy. I have to say my staff stay quite long with us, but it also depends on what you as an employer is doing. When you pay them a good salary, when you have also beside the salary, some secondary extras and when you do things with respect, then I think people are willing to be with you (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

A third counterurbanite with at least five employees, E8, also reported:

> Elmina changed tremendously because tourism has helped to affect the employment, especially for non-skilled and first entry-level workers. Just as it offers positions for those who are skilled and trained to come into managerial positions, other directorial positions, it has also been an absorber of those who do not have skills and need to be employed with their first chance. You have a chance to bring them into the system and train them, even though they may have limited credentials. So, that has brought about a lot of transformation (E8, Elmina, 2019).

Jobs have clearly been created in the Elmina area as a result of stakeholder investments. As shown in the next section, this employment is further facilitating other forms of capacity building amongst local residents.

The third indirect impact is human capital, which deals with individual knowledge, skills, and competences, as described in chapter two. Data collected in the business survey reveal that participants have gained human capital from formal education, work and travel experience. Results also show that some entrepreneurs are transferring this capital to local residents.

Higher education does not appear to be the crucial factor for operating a business in the tourism industry. Indeed, of the six business owners who reported their level of formal education, most (4) had completed only high school (three domestic counterurbanites, and one international counterurbanite). One international counterurbanite indicated receiving an undergraduate degree, and another (a domestic counterurbanite), received a graduate degree in Tourism. In contrast, eight of the study's participants (including three who reported their formal education) gained human capital from work and travel experiences. A counterurbanite from the Netherlands, for example, reported:

> ..no formal training but you know we travelled a lot, so by this, we got experience. But I always say that every day is a learning process, and of course, in the beginning, I have to laugh about some of the things we did, but have learnt a lot of things, also by doing (E2, Ampenyi, 2019).

Proprietors in the tour operation and accommodation sectors, in particular, are building human capital by using their education and experience to train their staff and others. In some cases, this knowledge is then used by employees to start their own businesses. For example, a counterurbanite who owns a beach-front guest house and restaurant reported helping three of his former employees to start their own businesses (E4, Ataabadzi, 2019).

Another counterurbanite, E8 who was previously a school headteacher, educated himself on the colonial history of Elmina, the Central Region, and Ghana. He transfers this knowledge to visitors through his tours, and he trains other tour guides to educate visitors on the heritage and history of Ghana. He reported:

> I've trained a few tour guides. They work within the region; some of them now have found themselves employed by top tour agencies as tour guides within those agencies, but it started out with myself (E8, Elmina, 2019).

He continued to report, "a few of my former employees have also moved on as seasoned cooks, and waiters, in larger establishments outside of Elmina and Cape Coast and even two in South Africa (E8, Elmina, 2019).

A counterurbanite with a Master's degree in Tourism, also uses his extensive experience, and knowledge of tourism and colonial history to provide guided tours to visitors. He hires and trains seasonal tour guides. He also taught in the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management at the University of Cape Coast for many years. During the interviews, young tour operators in Elmina and Cape Coast mentioned that E5 is their mentor as he introduced them to the tourism business.

An African American counterurbanite, E8, mentioned getting ideas from people who visit his beach resort and from his experience running successful businesses in the United States. E8 highlighted that the interaction among entrepreneurs, visitors and local people creates new ideas and instills confidence in others to start their own business:

> The fact that you have a lot of people coming in, tourists, it also brings in ideas. People share ideas with people that have come from different places, so it broadens the horizon of the local people who have interaction with them, and who have open curiosity about this person, how you dress, how you look, how you talk, so it brings people in and out, and that also expands people's consciousness in an indirect way. It also has negative effects, but those negative effects are minimized in more rural areas (E8, Elmina, 2019).

E8 further noted that when people are motivated to start a business in Elmina, it encourages innovation and curbs the mentality that it is better to do business in in bigger cities like Accra. In his own words:

> I think confidence is a major underrated factor; people see that you can start a business and make it, and you can make it on local personnel, staff, food. I think the confidence that our business has brought to the area has encouraged a lot of other people to open a business too" (E8, Elmina, 2019).

These activities, among others, in turn contribute to physical capital, which further builds financial and human capital assets in Elmina.

Physical capital has also been generated by tourism proprietors in this region. These include improving basic social conditions (i.e. education[11]) and infrastructure[12]. These impacts have occurred as a result of actions taken by Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) that have been established by tourism proprietors, by individual investors, or, potentially, by the public sector following recommendations made by local tourism entrepreneurs.

At least one of the participants in this study used his externally-accumulated social capital to establish an NGO. A returnee, E1, who owns a beach resort, founded "No Child Left Behind" in 2015 in collaboration with American partners. This organization has invested in both education and infrastructure in the Elmina area. For example, it offers a scholarship program to benefit deprived children in the Ampenyi community. E1 explains the rationale for, and nature of, this involvement:

> The poverty level is very high, so we try our best to solicit funds and put more money in so that we can send all the children in the village-to school, those of school going age. And those who were not of school going age, the youth, we put them into craftsmanship, vocational and technical institutes (E1, Ampenyi, 2019).

It also provides scholarships to employees who would like to further their education. As E1 reported:

> We hire mostly secondary school graduates. After high school, they work for one year, whilst they wait for their results. If their results are good or we see that they have great potential in them, we send them back to school, whether it is nursing training, teacher training or university. And then during vacations, they come back and do some form of attachment or internship. So, most of these people working here have completed universities, nursing training (E1, Ampenyi, 2018).

This NGO also has contributed to infrastructure improvements, including donating a water tank to the Ampenyi community to help address water and sanitation issues:

[11] Tuition for basic and secondary education in Ghana is free; however, tourism entrepreneurs provide financial support to help with learning materials and other basic needs.
[12] While some of these improvements (e.g., water and electricity) may be attributed to the public sector (E10, Ampenyi, 2019), this study deals with actions taken by participant private stakeholders.

> We found that there was a shortage of water in the community and people were drinking water from community sources that were not good, so we decided to get them the poly tank. And if the taps are not flowing, then we get a tanker from Cape Coast or other places, which we pay for (E1, Ampenyi, 2019).

Other proprietors also reported investing in education, infrastructure, and local development projects in the Elmina area. For example, a counterurbanite (E4), who does not operate as an NGO, supports a variety of local causes, including education. He explains:

> I'm helping the community. Right now, I have a community children group of dancers I travel with, and I also have some children who I support through school, and every morning, they come for some money for school. These are all monies from what I do. The youth are a lot, and they need support, because the family systems are a problem, but I'm doing what I can to help. I have a classroom where if children come from school, they have someone who teaches them (E4, Ataabadzi, 2019).

Another stakeholder, a locally-born proprietor, is not involved in an NGO but invests his own finances in local development. E9 owns a hotel adjacent to the Castle. In addition to operating a variety of businesses (in "banking, financial services, hospitality, real estate, IT, media and entertainment," Grope Nduom, 2021), he opened a School of Business and Technology in 2016 - the first and only university college in Elmina (NSBT, 2021).

A final stakeholder, an African American counterurbanite, E8, does not invest in education or infrastructure, but explains that being a business owner puts him in a good position to promote local development projects in Elmina:

> When you're running a business like this, you also become social advocates of the things you need to support your business, in terms of a greater consciousness on sanitation, a greater consciousness on security. You have to be concerned about security, so you have to engage security agencies and tell them where they may be lacking, and where we need greater support. You have to engage yourself in sanitation and make the municipal authorities more conscious of what we need to function as a business and what they need to do to compliment what we're doing (E8, Elmina, 2019).

In summary, tourism businesses in the Elmina area are attracting visitors, and building the capacity of local communities by generating social, financial, human and physical capital. Although a majority of proprietors see this as positive, others draw attention to certain deficiencies within the tourism trajectory that may be limiting the sector's impacts. These are considered in the following section.

4.5 Deficiencies in the Tourism Trajectory and Proposed Remedies

Key informants and business interviewees identified at least three deficiencies in the tourism trajectory in the Elmina area, and proposed remedies to overcome them. These deficiencies are: limited tourism attractions and infrastructure, the lack of tourism infrastructure maintenance, and the failure of government to adequately execute public sector tourism initiatives. Each of these is limiting tourism's potential impacts. Participants expressed concern about the limited attractions available to visitors in Elmina, citing the impact of more tourism activities on destination communities. A key informant with GMMB noted more tourism activities can be created from the day-to-day activities of local communities. The tour guide reported:

> If foreigners come to the Castle, they pay Gh¢40 for a tour. OK, so if you're going to have a town tour to feel and see how the villages live, you're going to pay say Gh¢70. So just imagine that if every person that visits the castle, the community gets 10 Cedis, and last year we had about 60,000 visitors, just imagine. We can put all this package together (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

This stakeholder did recognize that tour operators organize walking tours to give visitors an authentic community life experience. However, the tours are not as organized as they could be. He explained, "currently if a group wants a town tour, you have to make prior arrangements with the communities and the fishermen, but if it became a full-fledged business in itself, you know that once I am coming, this is part of the itinerary" (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). Tourism officials with MOTAC and GTA also expressed similar sentiments. They revealed that many tourism resources in the Central Region are underutilized. Elmina Castle receives many visitors throughout the year; however, visitors do not spend much time in the town. A tour of Elmina Castle only takes a few hours and visitors leave for Accra or Cape Coast after the tour, thus not patronizing many of the amenities in Elmina. The regional director noted:

> We can take advantage of boat cruising. We only have one canoe doing that. If we're to even link it up to the Castle as part of the tour, thereby creating something for the local people. Visitors would like to go behind the castle and take a picture from the sea and so, something of that nature ought to be done, but it's not being done (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019).

A tour guide with GMMB was particularly concerned about the activities for the Year of Return and how to get visitors to stay longer. In his own words:

> We need to put ourselves in such a strategic position such that we can reap the benefits for the Year of Return. If people are coming back home, we can have some other ceremonies, like naming ceremonies, have some rituals being done, just to initiate them back into the system; we can also send them to various homes, various houses to sleep in there, to have a feel of African system. So, that's something we must also do, it's not too late, we're still looking at it. All they do is to do a tour for Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, and Kakum National Park, which is not their core reason for coming down, and then back to Accra (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

However, E8 said they had been consumed preparing for the Year of Return in collaboration with Homecoming Summit and the Emancipation Day Committee. He reported that every two years, he and his team coordinate and organize events and festivals for PANAFEST, although he believes Elmina's natural resource can be fully maximized. He expressed, "the waters are another tourism industry that's totally under-utilized. We have no aqua tourism, no leisure boating, no leisure sailing" (E8, Elmina, 2019). He continued to report, "I've been on these waters during PANAFEST; we give a boat ride from the Cape Coast Castle to the Elmina Castle but usually only the fishermen are on the waters, and then now foreign fishermen too" (E8, Elmina, 2019). Another counterurbanite emphasized the need to utilize resources available and connect services across tourist destinations in the Central Region:

> There should be networking, and then also, the attractions are just too basic. Some even lack receptive facilities, like sitting places, urinals, so if we're really serious with tourism, we should put our house in order. We should create activities to make our guests spend, and also spend time. We have pineapple here; why can't we get a small pineapple juice making and station it somewhere, just fresh pineapple? We don't even have a restaurant here (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Although there is an abundance of guest houses in the general area (E3, Ayensudo, 2019), the lack of adequate tourism infrastructure, such as restaurants in the Castle, also results in shorter stays. According to a staff member at the Castle: "there was a restaurant at the Elmina Castle but it's no longer functioning because people were complaining that it's not a right place to have a restaurant; you need to have it outside the castle" (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). He further reported:

> There has been good development, but I think more ought to be done or it's not going to reflect on the local economy, because one, we need a lot of infrastructure, hotels, food joints. We need to create an environment such that the tourists can have a longer stay. If you can structure it in such a way that we're going to link other attractions, within the same vicinity, meaning that they're going to spend much longer time. That's going to also boost tourism and create a lot of employment for the people (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Proprietors believe that having good sanitation and waste management systems, in addition to diversified attractions and infrastructure, will go a long way to enhance tourism in the Elmina area. A counterurbanite reported, "generally, sanitation has really gone down and the lagoon for example is being abused, so there needs to be much education to raise the consciousness of the people, to understand that all these natural features are living beings" (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019). He continued to report:

> People defecate on the beach, people come to dump rubbish, and so it is like you take one step forward, two steps backwards. Then also, I will say the Elmina Cultural Heritage project was also to deal with sanitation, but sanitation has not improved in any way. I think the municipal assembly is not doing much. The project gave fire tenders and also cars to pick the rubbish, they could not sustain the momentum. There is no monitoring and evaluation. So, I think we should privatize to inject some seriousness into the system (E5 Elmina Castle, 2019).

The maintenance of tourism infrastructure was perceived as significant for tourism development in Elmina. The majority of accommodation facilities available to tourists need proper maintenance, says a tour guide at the Castle (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). He noted, "basically, the Central Region is noted for tourism, but unfortunately most of our hotels are not in the best of condition, apart from Coconut Grove and other few places" (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). He said some people have suggested reviving the abandoned Fort St. Jago:

> Even for Jago, they decided to use it as a guest house, but did not even materialize. Somewhere last year, the Fisheries Department of the University of Cape Coast decided to use that as their office and since then, they've not also taken it as well. So, the place is still lying idle. Visitors would like to see, especially those from the Netherlands, it was built by them. So, they want to see the architecture, the design, and take some pictures. It is at a higher altitude than the Elmina Castle, so people go there to see the scenery and get the view of Elmina (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Another concern he raised was conservation of the Elmina Castle:

> The Castles are about 500 years old; we have two schools of thought on that. One argues forcefully that, "leave it as it is, to maintain its originality, this is not a modern thing, and this is not like a hotel and other places". Others are saying, "make it look good, make it look modern" (GMMB, Elmina castle, 2019).

He added:

> We maintain it as it is, so that people coming in have a feel of the dungeons, you see that the place has been left just as it is. So, that kind of feeling will be there, we don't want to tamper with it because the most important part of what we do is the dungeons- so if you tamper with it, everything is gone. What we do is to restore, we don't renovate. All right, so you restore it to the best possible condition that the originality will be there. (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

According to the GHCT communications manager, they receive proposals from the GMMB but they cannot fund every maintenance project because they have a fixed budget for the castles and forts, and once they absorb that, there's only so much they can do. He thinks the way forward is for both the GHCT and GMMB to come together and look for alternative ways of funding:

> Now as an organization, we think it's time to begin to expand our vision, and in so doing, it means that we need more organizations to partner, and we need more sources of funding. We have that track record for 20 years, having managed a $2 million trust fund. We're audited every year by the United States standard because we are registered under the US, and so we have the top auditing firms both from the US and local from Ghana that work on our books on a yearly basis (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

The private, public and civic sectors see the conservation of Elmina's natural resources as significant to tourism and economic development. As a counterurbanite explained:

> The tourism industry benefits from the fishing industry and the ocean, and the tourism industry also benefits from the workforce. The whole thing is like a puzzle; we just need to put a few things right, and it will click, just like that and we will create employment for people (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

The public and civic sectors have initiated projects to improve infrastructure development and create employment in Elmina's tourist communities; however, some of these projects have not been successful, according to tourism officials and proprietors. For example, in 2000, the KEEA Municipal Assembly launched the Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Program (ECHMP) in collaboration with the Institute of Housing and Urban Studies in Rotterdam, the

GMMB, Ghana Institute of Local Government Studies, and the Department of International Relations, University of Groningen (Arthur and Mensah, 2006). ECHMP was aimed at "restoring and managing the mutual cultural heritage existing in Elmina" and encouraging a multi-stakeholder participation with the civil society, public and private partnership, private sector and entrepreneurial initiatives (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Shared Cultural Heritage, 2021). The program is also meant to promote good governance, stimulate economic activities, and enhance tourism and socio-economic development in Elmina and the municipality (Arthur and Mensah, 2006; Shared Cultural Heritage, 2021). E5 reported that the ECHMP, which was a collaboration between Ghana and the Netherlands to celebrate 300 years of diplomatic relations, requires effective monitoring and evaluation if it is to realize its goals. The counterurbanite tour operator reported:

> The Elmina Cultural Heritage Management Project was about to create jobs for the local people. The project was sponsored by the Dutch Embassy and it was done in collaboration with the traditional council, the municipal assembly, the Heritage Trust, the Ghana Tourism Authority and other stakeholders, as far back as 2002. They had the first phase which ended in 2006, and then the second phase from 2007-2015. The tangible thing is they desilted the lagoon, they rehabilitated some of the merchant houses. They started rehabilitating the Posuban Shrines, but it was not completed. They trained some people also to do the walking tour, but it did not succeed. (E5 Elmina Castle, 2019).

Thus, in spite of the changes and impacts of tourism activities on the destination communities, participants have identified several deficiencies associated with diversification, maintenance and project execution. These issues reveal that the tourism trajectory in the Elmina area has room to grow. Additional layering and conversion activities would help to diversify the tourism base and provide the infrastructure necessary to sustain the tourist clientele.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the tourism industry in Elmina did not stem directly from its current dependent path (fishing) but, rather, from a colonial path related to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Elmina Castle, constructed by the Portuguese and used as European headquarters to facilitate commodity and slave trade for over 400 years, became a national monument after Ghana's independence. This historical artefact was commodified by the public sector to create a

tourism path, a potential third economic sector after fishing and salt mining, to diversify the economy of Elmina and KEEA.

In-migrant and locally-born entrepreneurs are both involved in this trajectory, although their reasons for remaining or returning to the Elmina area, and for establishing a tourism venture differ. While locally-born and returnees (and African American in-migrants) desired to be close to family or their ancestors, non-African American in-migrants largely moved to Elmina for economic reasons. The decision to start a tourism related business in Elmina was both livelihood (economic) and lifestyle (non-economic) driven. Returnees and international in-migrants took lifestyle-enabling, leisure-lifestyle-enabling, or lifestyle-enhancing routes to tourism proprietorship, while domestic in-migrants moved along livelihood-enabling pathways.

Local and in-migrant entrepreneurs have created heritage products, i.e., artefactual, crafted, replica, and symbolic, in the tour, artefact, and accommodation and food sectors. The majority of entrepreneurs (9/11) have done this through the recombination mechanism by merging non-colonial heritage (local culture) with their human and financial capital. Two have also recombined via colonial heritage (slave trade history). Three have extended their ventures through a conversion mechanism by introducing alternative heritage and non-heritage products into their existing recombination businesses. Layering was, however, not a prevalent mechanism, with only one business renewing the tourism trajectory in the accommodation sector. These investments are attracting visitors and helping to build local capacity in, and beyond the tourism sector.

Despite these impacts, the tourism industry is faced with a lack of diversified activities, insufficient tourist infrastructure, and public sector limitations. Although tourism adds to the area's economic base, it has not yet reached its potential. Additional layering and conversion activities are needed to overcome the observed limitations. In the next chapter, tourism development in Cape Coast is discussed – a region that has followed a similar historical trajectory to Elmina, but one that faces its own unique deficiencies.

Chapter Five: Tourism in the Cape Coast Castle Area

This chapter describes the findings for the Cape Coast Castle and select nearby transitioning communities, organized by the five study objectives. The first section addresses objective one, i.e., how Cape Coast transitioned from its pre-colonial past to its current post-colonial tourism phase. The second section examines objective two, which reveals stakeholders involved in the tourism trajectory (locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs), their motivations and routes to tourism proprietorship. The third section examines objective three, which uncovers the mechanisms and types of heritage products proprietors use to drive the tourism trajectory. The fourth section explores objective four to understand the direct and indirect impacts that tourism entrepreneurs and civic organizations have on host communities. Finally, objective 5 uncovers the perceived deficiencies of the tourism industry in Cape Coast and remedies proposed by tourism stakeholders.

5.1 Development of the Cape Coast Area

5.1.1 Pre-colonial Period

The city of Cape Coast, traditionally called "Oguaa," (meaning "market" in the Fante language; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b, p. 1), emerged more than 600 years ago as a "small Fetu fishing village." Portuguese traders arrived here in 1471 (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007, p. 102), and changed the name of the village to Cabo Corso, meaning "short Cape" (Agyei-Mensah, 2006, p.708; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). They initiated trade with the people of Cape Coast, as they had done in the Elmina area, and to facilitate this, built the "first trade lodge in 1555 (small trade factories, sometimes virtually unfortified)" (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007, p. 102). They were joined later by British traders, including Captain William Towerson, who is believed to be "one of the earliest English traders to visit Cape Coast in 1556" (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007, p.102; Amoah, 1972). Other European traders from Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, and the Netherlands were also drawn to the area (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007; Apter, 2017), with the Swedes constructing Fort Carolusburg in 1653 (named after King Charles X of Sweden) and the Germans, Fort Fredericksburg (named after Fredrick William of Brandenburg) in 1683 (GMMB,

2021; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015). Fort Fredericksburg later became the "headquarters of Danes" in 1864, for a short period of time (Van Dantzig, 1980, p. 29 – 31).

According to Apter (2017), the Cape Coast market soon emerged as a western centre for regional trade (Figure 5.1). Exports of agricultural and mineral resources, including gold, palm oil, ivory, among others, were traded for manufactured goods, to "meet Europe's industrial capital needs" (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007, p. 103). Local chiefs took advantage of this new economic activity by implementing tolls to extract revenue from the traders along their various routes (e.g., those leading to Elmina and Cape Coast) and along the coast where European traders displayed their wares (Apter, 2017). This trade continued into the colonial era.

FIGURE 2. Cape Coast Market, ca. 1601. From Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)*, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones (Oxford, 1987), 62.

Figure 5.1 Cape Coast market in the 17th century
Source: Apter, 2017

5.1.2 The Colonial Era

The Atlantic slave trade, based in Elmina and the Central Region, expanded into Cape Coast while commodity trade was on-going (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). It is argued that the British benefitted most from this trade because by the late 17th century, Britain had a "strong national government and growing population, a thriving rural industry and enjoyed maritime superiority" (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, p. 71). Their dominance in Western Africa was secured following their capture of Fort Carolusburg from the Swedes in 1663 (Apter, 2017; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980). They subsequently expanded the structure, renamed it Cape Coast Castle in 1664, and changed the name of the town from Cabo Corso to Cape Coast (Agyei-Mensah, 2006; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, Figure 5.2). The British also acquired Fort Fredericksburg from the Danes in 1685 and reconstructed it in 1699 as Fort Royal, which served as an "out-fort of the Cape Coast Castle", but it was later abandoned (Van Dantzig, 1980, p. 31). To prevent attacks from rivals (particularly the Dutch), the British built blockades along the shore, which caused the Dutch to retaliate by attacking British ships (Van Dantzig, 1980). It is believed that the French also unsuccessfully attacked the Cape Coast Castle (in 1756) in an attempt to gain control of the area from the British (Van Dantzig, 1980).

Cape Coast was a key link in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007) – a position it held until enactment of the "British Abolition of Slave Trade Act" in 1807 (Nguah and Kugbey, 2015, p. 80; Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction). Slaves destined for sale to the Caribbean and the Americas were kept in dungeons at the Cape Coast Castle (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). Those ready for the New World were then taken to the Slave river (Donkor Nsuo) in Assin Manso, about 45 km from Cape Coast for their last bath before being shipped overseas to their new slave masters (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). According to a tourism entrepreneur, once slaves went through the "door of no return" at Cape Coast Castle, they left the shores of the Gold Coast, never to return (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). Cape Coast was clearly an important trade center for slaves in West Africa (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007).

The abolition of the slave trade ushered in a period of colonization, which lasted for almost 100 years[13] under British rule (Van Dantzig, 1980). As a British colony (Van Dantzig, 1980), the town soon became one of the most significant trading ports in West Africa, and the economic capital of the Gold Coast (Ghana) - a position it held until 1877 when the capital moved to Accra (Agyei-Mensah, 2006; Statistical Service, 2014b). By 1895, Cape Coast was Ghana's leader in rubber and gold exports and was attracting migrants and traders from around the world (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). Foreign companies, such as "F. & A. Sawnzys, Alexander Miller & Co., W.A. Lighterage Transport Co. Ltd, J.J. Fisher, Compagne Francaise de L'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO), Société Commerciale de I 'Quest Africain (S.C.O.A) and United African Company Limited (U.A.C)" dominated local trade (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007, p. 103).

Cape Coast continued to experience economic progress until the early 1900s when its economy began to decline due to reduced activities in the transportation and trade sectors. This occurred when new "railways were built from Sekondi to Accra inland to Kumasi, which diverted sea trade from Cape Coast to Sekondi" (Agyei-Mensah, 2006, p.708; Dickson, 1969). Subsequently, in 1928 the British colonial government built the "first artificial deep-water harbor in Takoradi", which resulted in more economic decline in Cape Coast (Agyei-Mensah, 2006, p. 708; Patterson, 1981). Industrial development in Cape Coast was thus largely ignored during the colonial era.

The British were also instrumental in establishing a strong educational base during this period. They constructed the first elementary school in 1765 and later built several secondary schools and colleges with affiliations to the Catholic and Anglican churches of England. By the late 1940s, Cape Coast had more educational institutions than anywhere else in Ghana (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). These initiatives contributed to Cape Coast becoming an important entrepreneurship center, since it attracted many students interested in the study of commerce or commercial ventures (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). The remnants of these institutions became public high schools after Ghana gained independence, and Cape Coast Castle

[13] Some historians (like Albert Van Dantzig) argue that the history of slave trade is separate from the "real" colonial history of the Gold Coast (Van Dantzig, 1980).

became a “West African Historical Museum” (Van Dantzig, introduction). These are discussed in detail in the section below.

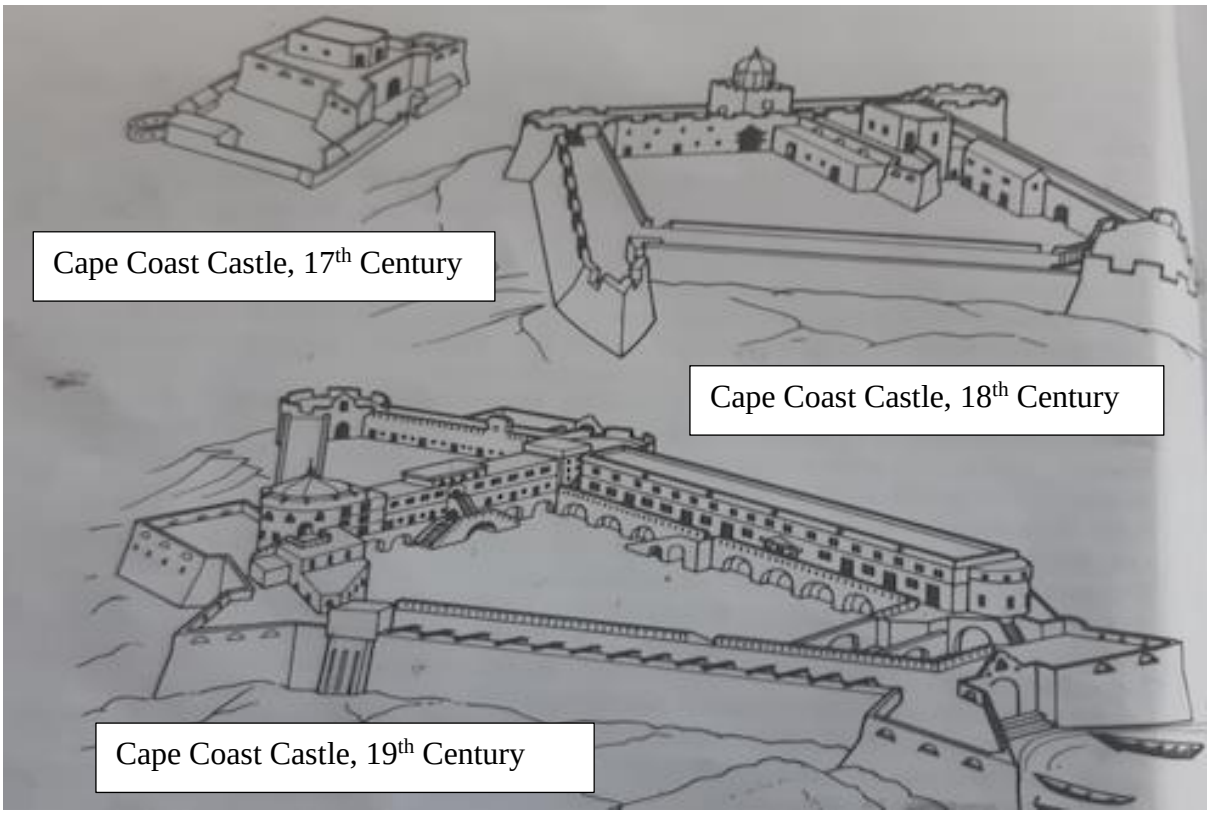

Figure 5.2 The evolution of Cape Coast Castle from the 17th to 19th centuries
Source: Van Dantzig, 1980, introduction

5.1.3 Post-colonial Period

Since gaining independence in 1957, Cape Coast has been designated the capital city of the Central Region and the Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (CCMA) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). The CCMA is “one of the oldest districts in Ghana”; it was transformed into a municipality in 1987 and later granted metropolitan status in 2007 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b, p.1). The metropolis is divided into two administrative districts, Cape Coast North and Cape Coast South with 16 towns and settlements and a population of 169,894 representing 7.7 percent of the Central Region’s population, per 2010 census data (CCMA, 2021; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). The CCMA covers an area of 122 square kilometers with a

predominantly urban population (76.7%) of whom 108,374 reside in the city of Cape Coast, and only 23.3 percent of people live in its rural localities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). The District Assembly is bordered by the Gulf of Guinea on the south, KEEA on the west, Abura Asebu Kwamankese district on the east, and on the north is THLDD (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b) (see figure 5.4). CCMA's economy is based on construction, mining, quarrying, and agriculture, with agriculture accounting for only 10.3 percent of all economic activity (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). Tourism also contributes significantly to the city's economic diversity. This diversified economic structure is a relatively recent development. Like Elmina, Cape Coast Castle was preserved and established as a national monument and museum in 1969 and 1973, respectively, and designated as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1979. Today, Cape Coast Castle is one of the three largest tourist destinations in Ghana, and it is managed by GMMB, with funding support from GHCT (Holden et al., 2011; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; UNESCO, 2020; Figure 5.3).

According to the regional director of GTA, Cape Coast is the hub of Ghana's tourism; its colonial heritage assets (Cape Coast Castle, schools, churches) attract many visitors, missionaries, researchers and students (Agyei-Mensah and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). For example, PANAFEST and Emancipation Day are known to bring people to Cape Coast, particularly, people of African descent and African diaspora (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). According to the Executive Director for CRAAG, PANAFEST has existed since 1992 and is now in its 27th year. He reported, "we are oldest and longest running Pan African festival of arts and culture on the African continent, and we are as old as the 4th Republic of Ghana" (CRAAG, Cape Coast, 2019). He further provided details about Emancipation Day:

> In 1998, we celebrated the first Emancipation Day by bringing the remains of two formerly enslaved ancestors who were exhumed from their graves in the diaspora, one female from Jamaica and one male from New York, the United States of America and brought back here and were reinterred at Assin Manso, at a big ceremony. And so, every year, we celebrate Emancipation Day at Assin Manso, and when it's a PANAFEST year, we celebrate them together. So together, between PANAFEST and Emancipation Day, we have grown to be the biggest time of the year and season that Africans from the diaspora come to unite back here in Ghana (CRAAG, Cape Coast, 2019).

On Emancipation Day, several activities are held to mark the end of slave trade. This includes a visit to the slave routes, the door of no return at Cape Cost Castle, and the Slave river in Assin Manso where two former slaves, Samuel Carson and Crystal were buried (Agyei-Mensah, 2006).

Like Elmina, private sector entrepreneurs have capitalized on colonial and non-colonial heritage (local culture) and natural resources to create tourism businesses in the tour operation, accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors. These businesses are concentrated in three areas: at the Cape Coast Castle, in the city of Cape Coast, and on the University of Cape Coast campus. At the time of this study, 24 tourism ventures were found at the Cape Coast Castle. These include 21 artefact shops (including a tour operator and an NGO), two restaurants, and one snack bar. Three other tourism businesses (guest houses with restaurants and artefact shops) were found in proximity to the castle. Some of these ventures were surveyed and/or interviewed (Table 5.1). The City of Cape Coast also has several tourism businesses: at least 56 licensed accommodation venues with restaurants were reported in 2019 by the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA, Cape Coast, 2021). Eight licensed restaurants were also recorded in 2015 by the Tourism Ministry (MOTAC, Accra, 2021).

In addition, the University of Cape Coast (UCC) provides an array of tourism products. Five businesses in the accommodation, tour promotion, food, and retail sectors were identified in and around the university. This institution is located about 7 km from Cape Coast Castle (figure 5.4). According to tourism entrepreneurs near the UCC, the area is good for business because it attracts more than just seasonal tourists. They noted that international students and visiting faculty usually visit Cape Coast Castle and purchase tourism products and services, which gives them a competitive advantage since their businesses are located closer to the university. For example, a returnee restaurant owner in the science complex (SC) reported noticing many foreigners who visit the complex to buy local crafts and artefacts (C2, UCC, 2019). A counterurbanite, and former student of the university who owns an artefact shop at the complex confirmed this (C9, UCC, 2019). Similarly, another counterurbanite who owns an artefact shop at the Cape Coast Castle reported taking his products occasionally to the university, particularly during events such as graduation because many students purchase his local bead slippers (C16, Cape Coast Castle). In fact, the first contact with this proprietor was outside the tourism department during a graduation ceremony in June 2019. An interview was later conducted with him at his shop outside the Castle.

Table 5.1 Tourism development in Cape Coast, as revealed by participating tourism stakeholders

Year of business [14]	Business / Destination[15]	Type of Business / Destination	Location / Municipality	Type of Heritage[16]	Heritage Product
1969/ 1973/ 1979	Cape Coast Castle (Public)	National Museum and UNESCO Heritage Site	Cape Coast, CCMA	Colonial, artefactual	Artefactual
1999	Travel & Tour	Tourism	Cape Coast, UCC	Non-colonial	Artefactual, replica
2001	Restaurant	Food	SC, UCC	Non-colonial	Crafted
2002	Hotel	Accommodation, Food	Cape Coast, UCC	Non-heritage	
2007	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Symbolic, crafted, replica
2007	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2009	Restaurant	Food	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted
2010	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Symbolic, crafted, replica
2010	Guest house, Artefact Shop	Accommodation, Food, Retail	Cape Coast	Non-colonial	Symbolic, crafted, replica
2011	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Symbolic, replica-crafted
2012	Artefact Shop	Retail	SC, UCC	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica Replica-crafted
2013	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2014	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2014	Artefact Shop, Guest house	Retail, Food, Accommodation	Cape Coast	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
2016	Artefact Shop (Civic)	Retail, NGO	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Symbolic, crafted, replica
2018	Travel & Tour	Tourism	Cape Coast	Colonial, Non-colonial, & Non-heritage	Artefactual, replica
2018	Travel & Tour, Artefact Shop (Private & Civic)	Retail, Tourism, NGO	Cape Coast Castle	Colonial & Non-colonial	Artefactual, symbolic, crafted, replica
N.d.	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Replica
N.d.	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica
N.d.	Artefact Shop	Retail	Cape Coast Castle	Non-colonial	Crafted, replica

[14] N.d. refers to "no date". Some entrepreneurs did not report the year or date they established their businesses.
[15] Unless otherwise stated, businesses are owned by private sector entrepreneurs.
[16]Colonial heritage refers to the region's slave trade heritage, i.e., artefactual products such as historical tours at Cape Coast Castle. Non-colonial heritage refers to the indigenous culture of Ghanaians before the arrival of Europeans and the culture (with some European influence) after independence, i.e., crafted, replica, and symbolic products such as traditional food, clothing, artefacts, music and dance. Non-heritage is neither colonial or non-colonial related; it refers to products and services that are not specifically related to Ghana's indigenous culture or heritage.

In summary, the colonial history of Cape Coast is still a significant aspect of its economy today. After it gained independence from the British, CCMA inherited historic buildings. Cape Coast Castle became a national monument and museum in 1969 and 1973 respectively, and subsequently a UNESCO heritage site in 1979. The public sector capitalized on this heritage to create a tourism path that later attracted investments from private sector entrepreneurs (Table 5.1). The motivations and activities of entrepreneurs involved in this tourism trajectory are detailed below.

Figure 5.3 Picture showing the city of Cape Coast and the Castle
Source: CCMA, 2020. http://ccma.gov.gh/.

Figure 5.4 Map of Cape Coast municipality showing study sites
Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b, p. 2

5.2 Tourism Proprietors in the Cape Coast Area

Surveys and/or interviews conducted with 19 businesses reveal that eight are owned by locally-born entrepreneurs, including two returnees. The remaining 11 are owned (9/11) or managed (2/11) by domestic in-migrants who moved from either a metropolitan area (counterurbanites; n = 7) or a smaller town (urbanites; n = 3) in Ghana. One of the in-migrants moved to Cape Coast in 2010 but did not report his place of birth in Ghana or last place of residence; his migration type and residential history are, therefore, unknown. Interviews with these businesses provided further information about who is involved in the tourism trajectory, their motivations, and pathways to proprietorship. Similar to chapter 4, the following section considers the residential and business-opening motivations (lifestyle and livelihood) of these cohorts (Tables 5.2a and 5.2b) and the paths that locally-born returnees and in-migrants took to tourism proprietorship (Table 5.3).

5.2.1 Locally-born Proprietors

The eight locally-born entrepreneurs operate businesses in the food, tour, and retail-artefact sectors in the Cape Coast vicinity. All eight were born in Cape Coast; six have traveled outside of Cape Coast for short periods but did not take up permanent residency elsewhere, and two are returnees who relocated to a larger city in search of better economic opportunities before returning home. Their reasons for remaining or returning to Cape Coast were lifestyle-driven (family or education). Seven of these entrepreneurs started a tourism-related business for economic reasons (livelihood), and one was fulfilling a passion or long-term dream (lifestyle). Proximity to Cape Coast Castle and the UCC was also an influencing factor (Table 5.2b). Interviews conducted with five (including two returnees) of these entrepreneurs further showed why and when they became involved in tourism.

The first locally-born seamstress, C1, who has lived all her life in Cape Coast (except for occasional travels), operates an artefact shop outside Cape Coast Castle. She developed a passion for sewing when she was 18, and since then, she has been making traditional Ghanaian clothes for over 20 years. Even though she did not indicate the year she started or moved her business near the Castle, she was motivated to rent a space outside Cape Coast Castle because "it's a good location for tourists and business" (C1, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). She further noted that living

and working in Cape Coast keeps her close to her son, an undergraduate student at the University of Cape Coast who supports the operation of her business.

Similarly, the second locally-born entrepreneur, C7, operates an artefact store outside the Castle; he also owns a tour operating company and an NGO. C7 has lived in Cape Coast all his life but travels to other regions of Ghana and West Africa for short-term work contracts, "not more than a month at a time" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He was first drawn to tourism when he worked as a waiter in a restaurant where tourists often asked him about places of interest they could visit or buy souvenirs while in Cape Coast, which gave him the idea of starting a tour guiding business. He recalled thinking, "this tourism business will be a good opportunity, so let me just go to the Registrar General Department and Ghana Tourism Board and register, and then promote it on Facebook, Instagram, and TripAdvisor" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He started his tour business in 2018 and later partnered with his friend, who owns an artefact shop near the Castle, to sell locally made paintings, beads, and clothes.

The third, C3, lives in Cape Coast but takes his visitors for tours across Ghana and West Africa. He operates his tour company from an office near the University of Cape Coast (UCC). His motivation for starting a tourism business in 2018 came from working for another tour operating company, where he had the opportunity to learn and grow. In his own words:

> Well, my motivation was one, I knew where I came from and the opportunity that was given to me. I started as a regular officer, rose to be the second in command. I wanted a new challenge and also to give young guys like myself opportunities because I think tourism is a very big area that can solve a lot of unemployment that we have in the country. I wanted to train a lot of community tour guides, feed them into various areas so that they can be the mouthpiece of the community when visitors come to their town (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

The remaining two locally-born proprietors are returnees who decided to return home to live, work, and attend school close to family. For example, C2 has been managing a local family restaurant at the University of Cape Coast Science Complex since her return in 2018. Even though she did not indicate how long she stayed in, or when she moved to, Accra, she hinted she was away for a couple of years. She also reported that her mother opened the restaurant in 2001, which has been the family's source of income for many years. She reported, "I am happy to be back home to live with my family and also go back to school" (C2, UCC, 2019). She took an early-stage-lifestyle-enabling pathway (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017) as she returned to Cape

Coast to be close to family and manage the family business to support herself and family. She also wanted some non-economic benefits, such as pursuing her education.

The second returnee, C8, moved to Accra and then to Kumasi to work as a shoe repairer before returning to Cape Coast to sell artefacts at the Cape Coast Castle. He became involved in tourism because of the economic prospects at the Castle, and he later opened his artefact shop outside the Castle, taking a late-stage-livelihood-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). He did not indicate the year he started his business or how long he was away; however, he mentioned being away for a few years. He recounted:

> I dropped out of school and travelled for some time. When I came back, I started selling on the streets then I started marketing for shops at the Castle. I will take their things outside the Castle to promote to tourists then I get commission when I sell. Then one artist trained me, and I started my own art shop (C8, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Each of the five locally-born entrepreneurs interviewed mentioned at least one lifestyle and one livelihood reason for becoming involved in tourism-related business in the Cape Coast Castle area. One returnee took a lifestyle-enabling route, while the other moved along a livelihood-enabling path to tourism proprietorship; the same trend was found with in-migrant proprietors.

5.2.2 In-migrant Proprietors

Interviews were conducted with all 11 in-migrant participants in Cape Coast; however, two were local employees who did not provide details about the owners of the business they manage (one business is owned by an NGO and the other by UCC). Similarly, of the nine in-migrant proprietors, one did not provide full account of his movement. Three of the nine proprietors moved to Cape Coast to attend high school or UCC, two moved to live with a family member and/or to start a business, and four moved solely to start a business. In addition to generating income and proximity to Cape Coast Castle and UCC, their journeys and experiences influenced their decision to start a tourism-related business. Eight of these in-migrant proprietors explained their routes to tourism proprietorship, but insufficient data prevented pathway identification for one counterurbanite.

Table 5.2a Cape Coast's tourism proprietors' residential motives

	Types of Motivation			
Proprietor Motivation and Residential History	**Lifestyle**			**Livelihood**
Motivation/ reason to move to, return or remain in the Cape Coast area	Family/ community ties	Education	**Total**	Employment/ Start business
Locally-born				
Local (n =6)	5	0	**5**	0
Returnees (n =2)	2	1	**3**	0
Domestic in-migrants				
Urbanites (n =2)	1	1	**2**	1
Counterurbanites (n =6)	1	2	**3**	3
Unknown (n = 1) (last place of residence not reported)	0	0	**0**	1
Total	**9**	**4**	**13**	**5**

Table 5.2b Cape Coast's tourism proprietors' business opening motives

	Types of Motivation					
Proprietor Motivation	**Lifestyle**			**Livelihood**		
Motivation for operating a tourism related business in the Cape Coast area	Passion/ Dream	Create local employment	**Total**	Provide income	Business location	**Total**
Locally-born						
Local (n =6)	2	2	**4**	6	2	**8**
Returnees (n =2)	1	0	**1**	1	2	**3**
Domestic in-migrants						
Urbanites (n =2)	1	1	**2**	2	2	**4**
Counterurbanites (n =6)	2	2	**4**	6	3	**9**
Unknown (n = 1) (last place of residence not reported)	1	0	**1**	1	1	**2**
Total	**7**	**5**	**12**	**16**	**10**	**26**

Four in-migrants moved along an early-stage-livelihood-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). The first is a counterurbanite trader who moved from Kumasi, the capital city of the Ashanti Region of Ghana, to Cape Coast in 2010 to operate an artefact shop outside the Cape Coast Castle. He reported:

> I lived my childhood years in Kumasi around the Manhyia Palace and started hawking artefacts at a tender age. With time, I learnt to make those artefacts and sold them. I came occasionally to Cape Coast to ply my trade, and when I realized there was a market for it here, I acquired a street space around the Cape Coast Castle to sell my wares (C13, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

The second counterurbanite, C19 was attracted to Cape Coast because of the economic prospects of the area. This counterurbanite experienced urbanization and return migration during his movement journey. He was born in Asamankese, a town in the Eastern Region of Ghana. He first moved to Accra to work as a trader for a number of years and then returned to Asamankese before moving to Cape Coast in 2013 to open an artefact shop at the Castle (C19, Elmina Castle, 2019). He noted:

> Like I said, I was once an Agric student; I didn't even plan to be in an art business, but it was a friend of mine who after the hustling in Accra, introduced me to the carving business. But one thing is that those who do the artwork, the carvers themselves, don't earn as much as the sellers. After 6 years, I decided that I needed to find my own shop to sell my artwork so I came and found this space (C19, Elmina Castle, 2019).

The third is an urbanite from Bolgatanga, a town in the Upper East Region of Ghana. He moved to Cape Coast in 2007 to operate an artefact shop inside Cape Coast Castle because of limited economic opportunities in his town. He recounted:

> It was slow in my community, and Cape Coast was recommended as good for tourism business. I came to rent this store in the Castle and then I called my brother from Germany who also helped me with a little money, and then I started the business (C11, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

The fourth in-migrant whose last place of residence is unknown, is an artist who moved to Cape Coast in 2010 to establish his art business, and later added a guest house and a restaurant to his business. He described his motivation for starting a tourism business near the Cape Coast Castle:

> I'm an artist by trade, and I have a shop where I sell my products, which include paintings, shirts, and tie and dye. I have had this shop for nine years to date. Along the line, I realized that my business was slow, my goods didn't sell as fast, so I started thinking of what else I could do. I loved the beach, so I acquired a small space along the beach and turned it into my studio where I worked on my stuff. I realized that my

> friends who came to visit loved my space and would often spend the night even though it was sandy. I then started thinking about turning it into a space where tourists on a budget could lodge and that's how Bamboo Village came into being (C17, Cape Coast, 2019).

Two other in-migrants took slightly different pathways; they moved along a late-stage-livelihood-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). They are both counterurbanites who moved to Cape Coast from Kumasi for school, and later started a business to support themselves. C16, who moved to Cape Coast in 2011, operates an artefact shop inside Cape Coast Castle; however, he did not report when he started his business. The second moved to attend the University of Cape Coast in 2008 and opened an artefact shop in 2012 at the UCC Science Complex after her bachelor's degree, to support herself through medical school. At the time of the interview, she was working in a hospital in Cape Coast but visits the store occasionally to take stock and restock; her younger sister who is still a student at Cape Coast University manages the store. She further reported:

> This is a family business; we sell leather sandals with beads or Kente. My dad makes and sells them in Kumasi. After my biological science degree, I applied for medical school, while waiting for admission, I started marketing the sandals to my friends. I'll tell my dad to make about 20 Kente sandals for me to sell in Cape Coast. The store that I am in, there was this table in front of it that was not being used, so I'd bring the sandals and put them on it, and people walking around would buy from me. The woman had abandoned the shop, it was a local restaurant. When I got admission, I rented the store from the woman, so that's how I extended my family business to Cape Coast (C9, UCC, 2019).

The last in-migrant, a counterurbanite, moved along an early-stage-lifestyle-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). C12 was born in Anomabo, a small town in the Central Region; he first moved to Accra to work as a fridge and air condition mechanic for a number of years. In 2014, he decided to move to Cape Coast to be closer to his family. He chose Cape Coast because of its close proximity to his family home in Anomabo and also because it is a good location to fulfil his long-term goal of establishing a tourism business. Although Accra is also a good location for a tourism business, he noted that his move to Accra was originally to raise money and return home after a few years to start a small business, to be able to support himself and his family. However, Cape Coast appeared to have more economic prospects than his hometown, he emphasized (C12, Cape Coast, 2019). He operates an artefact shop, a guest house and restaurant near the Castle.

Table 5.3 Pathways taken by interviewees (returnee and in-migrant proprietors) in the Cape Coast area (n = 9)

Pathways / Migration			**Indicators**			
Tourism Proprietors	Tourist business type	Performance	Main destination reason	Business opening stage	Business outcome	Business motive
Locally-born						
C2, Returnee	Early-stage-lifestyle-enabling	I returned home to be close to family, and decided to work in my family business to earn income.	Family or Amenity	Early	Lifestyle-enabling	Want
C8, Returnee	Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	I returned home because of the economic prospect of Cape Coast Castle. I later opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
Domestic in-migrants						
C11, Urbanite	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of the economic prospect of Cape Coast Castle. I opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C13, Counterurbanite	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of the economic prospect of Cape Coast Castle. I opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C19, Counterurbanite	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of the economic prospects of Elmina Castle. I opened a tourism business to support myself and make an impact.	Economics	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C17, Last place of residence unknown	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here because of the economic prospect of Cape Coast Castle. I opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C16, Counterurbanite	Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here for school. I later opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C9, Counterurbanite	Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here to attend university. I later opened a tourism business because I needed the income.	Economics	Late	Livelihood-enabling	Need
C12, Counterurbanite	Early-stage-lifestyle-enabling	I moved here to be close to family. I opened a tourism business to support myself and to fulfill a long-term goal.	Family or Amenity	Early	Lifestyle-enabling	Want

Three other in-migrant interviewees (one urbanite staff, one counterurbanite staff, and one counterurbanite proprietor), whose routes cannot be classified, also reported why they moved to Cape Coast and became involved in tourism. The urbanite from Nzema district in the Western Region moved to Cape Coast in 2006 for healthcare. The artist reported:

> I was sick, so it was my ailment that made me leave Nzema land. And after I had been cured, it was like I had stayed in the hospital for a bit, so I had to think about starting something. I started painting in the hospital. I told the doctor who treated me that this was what God gave to me, because I was born to be an artist. When I scribbled as a child, I would get praised for my work, and as I was growing up, I looked at my previous works and tried to come up with something different every time. The doctor sometimes took contracts for me and brought them to the hospital, and I worked on them. I did print banners, T-shirts (C18, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

He continued to report that after he left the hospital in 2016, an NGO hired him to make paintings for their store outside the Cape Coast Castle, which he now manages. He noted, "I can say that since I came here, I've become a bit exposed because at the leprosy camp, I didn't have that many visitors, but here, at least I know the castle, I sit in the open air" (C18, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). The second, C15, a counterurbanite hotel manager, moved to Cape Coast from Accra to attend UCC in the early 1990s; she was employed by the university and was later transferred to manage the hotel. Since C18 and C15 do not own the business they manage, their pathways cannot be classified. The third, a counterurbanite proprietor, is a professor in the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management at the UCC. He was born in Takoradi and his parents moved to Cape Coast in the early 1980s when he was a baby, hence his route to tourism proprietorship cannot be classified since his motive at the time of migration cannot be determined. After his tourism degree from UCC in 1999, he started a tourism consulting firm, partly because he wanted to promote tourism in Cape Coast and in the Central Region. He narrated:

> My interest came in two-folds, one because of my academic training, we were the first batch of tourism students in University of Cape Coast admitted in 1996 and graduated in 1999. But then most importantly, it was born out of frustration, because of the evident lack of activity going on, the evident apathy towards understanding what tourism is about. I saw a burning need and I felt we should be able to position ourselves as a destination to provide certain goods and services. I've been at this for about 20 years because when I graduated, I started a company with my friend; we called it Joe Tourism Consortium. We went a little bit into consultancy, product development, but the funds weren't coming. I think now, for the next five years, the focus is going to be more on looking at promotion and facilitation (C14, UCC, 2019).

To summarize, tourism proprietors cited more than one reason for moving to Cape Coast and starting a tourism-related business. While local and returnees (locally-born; n = 8) indicated family and education (lifestyle) as their primary motive for remaining or returning to Cape Coast, in-migrant proprietors (n = 5) moved to Cape Coast to find better economic opportunities. However, like their locally-born counterparts, three in-migrants moved to Cape Coast to live with family and/or attend school. The majority of proprietors started a tourism-related business for livelihood reasons. All eight locally-born (including two returnees) and eight in-migrant proprietors cited income as their motive for establishing a business, while one in-migrant was fulfilling a dream or passion primary. Some proprietors (locally-born; n = 3 and in-migrants; n = 4) indicated wanting non-economic benefits as well. The two locally-born returnees moved along early-stage-lifestyle-enabling and late-stage-livelihood enabling routes, respectively. Unlike returnees who took different pathways, the majority of in-migrant proprietors (6/7) moved along similar pathways (four early-stage-livelihood-enabling and two late-stage-livelihood-enabling). However, one in-migrant took an early-stage lifestyle-enabling route. The following section explores the mechanisms and types of heritage products these proprietors use to drive tourism in the Cape Coast area.

5.3 The Tourism Development Trajectory in Cape Coast: Mechanisms and Heritage Products

Locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneur participants used various mechanisms to enhance the tourism industry in Cape Coast. They did this by merging the city's colonial history (i.e., Atlantic Slave Trade) and non-colonial heritage (i.e., indigenous culture; Figure 5.5). As shown in Table 5.1, surveys and/or interviews with 19 businesses show that entrepreneurs capitalized on these historical assets to create artefactual, symbolic, crafted, and replica heritage products via two forms of recombination (colonial heritage and non-colonial heritage). They renewed and extended this trajectory through layering (non-heritage) and conversion (alternative heritage) to drive tourism in Cape Coast (Table 5.4). Each of these mechanisms is considered, in turn, below.

5.3.1 Recombination

Similar to Elmina (chapter four), original recombination occurred in Cape Coast when the public sector created a tourism trajectory by commodifying a colonial heritage, Cape Coast Castle, to diversify the economy of the municipality (Table 5.1). Later, through private and civic sector initiatives, branching innovating tourism businesses emerged, which used two forms of recombination; one that capitalizes on the colonial artefact and another that capitalizes on non-colonial history (i.e., indigenous customs, food, clothing, music).

Recombination of colonial heritage was undertaken by two local proprietors in the travel and tour business, who merge an artefactual heritage product (colonial history) with financial, human, and social resources to provide organized tours to Cape Coast Castle. One locally-born proprietor reported that he educates his visitors about the colonial history of Cape Coast and the region; he also organizes an initiation ceremony for African Americans who would like to connect with their ancestors (C3, Cape Coast, 2019). These ceremonies are held at the Castles (Cape Coast or Elmina), where African Americans receive a tour of the colonial history and are assigned a Fante or Akan name. He narrated:

> We do the Cape Coast Castle; African Americans and "returnees" who want to have some form of connection, we have a naming ceremony for them. We also do the Bamboo Cathedral, it's a place that they have allowed two bamboo to grow; they're joined together, formed like a canopy, it's very beautiful; you can relax under it, and they also have their river. Their river flows into what we call the Sweet River. The Sweet River separates Cape Coast from Elmina, it's a major boundary. When the Europeans came, it served as a boundary between the British Gold Coast and the Dutch Gold Coast. So, from the river up to Elubo, where Ghana shares a border with Ivory Coast, was the Dutch Gold Coast, and from that same Sweet River, up to Aflao where Ghana shares a border with Togo was the British Gold Coast. So, when we go there, we give them a little history about the river (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

He continued to report, "80% - 90% of our work is online, we have our website and our social media handlers" (C3, Cape Coast, 2019). Similarly, the second locally-born entrepreneur, C7, provides tours to Cape Coast Castle and other colonial heritage sites in the region. He reported:

> We have so many places to take them, in Cape Coast we do the Castle. We also go to Assin Manso; we inform visitors about the Slave river and slave history (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

This proprietor also advertises on his website and multiple social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, although he reported receiving the majority of bookings through TripAdvisor (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). These two entrepreneurs also provide other tour services that capitalize on non-colonial culture.

Recombination of non-colonial heritage was used by the majority of participating businesses (18 / 19) in the Cape Coast area. Eight locally-born (including two returnees) and nine in-migrant entrepreneurs, and one civic organization merged indigenous culture and knowledge with new capital assets to create businesses in the tour, accommodation, food, and retail sectors. For example, the two locally-born proprietors, C3 and C7, who organize tours to colonial heritage sites (artefactual heritage product), also merge replica heritage products to provide tour packages to other destinations in Cape Coast and the Central Region. In addition, they use crafted heritage products to create opportunities for visitors to experience the culture of local residents, as in community tours where tourists immerse themselves in the day-to-day activities of residents. C3 explained:

> Our focus is more with the in-bound travel where we project Ghana as a major tourism destination. We talk to people, let them know about our unquestionable hospitality, and let them come and enjoy the best of our culture and heritage, the wildlife, the beaches, the festivals and the others in Cape Coast. When you talk about tourist attractions, you can create tourist attractions out of anything, so just inculcate it into something that tourists can see (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

C7 also reported, "we go to places like the shrines, the market, and the beaches, because we have packages that are for two to three days" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). Another interviewee (C14), a counterurbanite whose business focuses on tourism promotion, collaborates with other tour operators, like C3 and C7, and service providers in Cape Coast and the Central Region, to create online tour and vacation packages. This proprietor creates new packages to meet the everchanging needs of tourists and travelers in Cape Coast and the Central Region (C14, UCC, 2019). For example, he created the Ramadan Tours to attract domestic Muslim tourists looking for tour packages during their annual Eid celebration. His packages include tours to historic sites in the region (artefactual) and other attractions that reflect the culture of Cape Coast and Central region, an example of a crafted heritage product. The tourism professor explained the nature of his business:

> The nature of my job is that I connect with the local service providers. So, for example, we're trying to promote a Ramadan Tour, and we're trying to get deals for it. It's just like booking.com; we're getting deals from the service providers, the hotels, restaurants, and we're packaging it. What we do to bring traffic to our site is we put out packages, so when you go there, you can get a discount deal (C14, UCC, 2019).

He continued to report that domestic tourists tend to use their services more, even though some of their clients, in his opinion, are not "tourists". In his own words:

> About 30 to 50% of our clients are tourists. Students, investors, and other travellers also use our services, and the reason is simple, many of the so-called tourist resources are also used by other travelers. Although in Ghana, we purport to have a tourist season that is between June or July and say October. It's not that sharp, like you'll see in Girona or Costa Brava, Spain. I was there during the lean season, then you'll understand the proper tourist lean season. The whole place is deserted because tourists aren't coming. We don't have that here; probably, it's because of the weather. Therefore, it's difficult to tell the percentage of tourists, so the service providers have to take heuristic guesses (C14, UCC, 2019).

Other proprietors who have commodified non-colonial heritage operate in the food, accommodation, and retail sectors. Two locally-born entrepreneurs, C2 and C4 own restaurants in Cape Coast that serve only locally prepared Ghanaian dishes, a type of crafted heritage product. C2, is a returnee who sells "waakye" (a popular Ghanaian dish made with rice and beans, served with tomato and hot sauce and a choice of protein) at the UCC Science Complex. She also reported that although some of her customers are tourists, it is difficult to differentiate the Ghanaian tourists from the University students and staff.

Two domestic in-migrants, C12 and C17, who operate a restaurant and guesthouse near Cape Coast Castle, also reported providing crafted heritage products and serving local Ghanaian dishes in their restaurants. C17 (who also sells crafted heritage products in his artefact shop near the Castle) further noted that his guest house is made from bamboo (a type of replica heritage product). He continued to report:

> I currently have two dorms with six beds each and a private room for guests and tourists who patronize my services. The washrooms are however shared. The dorm goes for €7 per night whilst the private room goes for €10. I always have people in. In future, I look forward to upping my architecture to attract more people (C17, Cape Coast, 2019).

The remaining 11 businesses, which include six owned by domestic in-migrants, four owned by locally-born proprietors (including one returnee), and one operated by an NGO, commodified non-colonial heritage in the artefact-retail sector. They merged indigenous culture with new capital assets (financial, social, and human/cultural). They sell symbolic heritage products in the form of paintings and replica heritage items like clothes, shoes and bags, that reflect Ghanaian culture, particularly of those in southern and northern Ghana (see figure 5.5). They also make beads, a type of crafted heritage product. A locally-born proprietor, C1, who sells replica heritage products, i.e., machine-sewn traditional clothing outside the Cape Coast Castle explained the nature of her business:

> My business is a walking distance from the Cape Coast Castle, the location makes economic sense. When I started out here, there weren't too many people in my line of business as they are currently. My goods range from GH₵5 -GH₵ 50 depending on the product. I sell purses, shirts, shorts, trousers, bags and backpacks. My business is mostly patronized by foreign tourists. Very few Ghanaians patronize my stuff (C1, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Similarly, an urbanite from Bolgatanga in the Northern part of Ghana capitalizes on replica and crafted heritage, and also symbolic visual paintings and symbolic tactile products (e.g. miniature forest elephants), and other symbolic products that represent Ghana's natural and cultural heritage. He mentioned that most of his clients are foreigners who visit the Castle or buy his pieces online. He reported, "I sell online through a woman in the US who I send goods to, so anything she needs, she calls me and orders and she sells online" (C11, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He further narrated, "I started with a few items and it grew. I started with hand-made beads, then I added the bracelets and the tail (fly swatter) (C11, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). Another urbanite artist, C18, makes symbolic paintings, but also sells crafted and replica heritage products, for a civic-owned artefact shop outside the Cape Coast Castle. A counterurbanite entrepreneur (C19), a wood carver, makes crafted wood sculptures and symbolic tactile products (miniature animals) that represent the history and culture of Ghana. C19 has added other culturally related crafted products such as hand-made beads and replica products like traditional bags and clothes purchased from other parts of Ghana to his product line. He has also collaborated with some of his foreign clients to sell his products online (C19, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He reported sourcing his carving materials locally:

> I started with wood carving in 2011, the things I use for wood carving are from Cape Coast and Elmina, and the beads I have a client who has been bringing them from

> Koforidua in the Eastern Region. Sometimes when foreigners come, they complain that the carving is too heavy and they can't carry it, that's why I do not produce too many of them now. So, most of my stuff, I sell them online- www.royallink.com. I made a sculpture for a client, so we became friends. He created that website and he decided to put my stuff there. I also have some African Americans who come here and see stuff that they like; we exchange numbers; we communicate and then they send the money and I ship it to them. Most of them too, they give an order, I do it and I put it down for them when they are ready to come pick it up (C19, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

In another example, a counterurbanite who sells leather slippers with hand-made beads (a product that combines replica and crafted heritage – replica-crafted) reported, "I work with my sister, she makes the beads and I make the shoe sole" (C16, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He added, "many foreign tourists buy my stuff." However, another counterurbanite from Kumasi, C13, who sells replica and crafted heritage products outside the Cape Coast Castle said the majority of his customers are domestic tourists. He reported:

> I deal in bangles, waist beads, wrist bands, paintings, T-shirts, just to make mention of a few. A typical waist bead takes me about 10 minutes to fix, and I procure my goods from Kumasi. My clients are mostly local tourists who walk in to patronize my products, but there are instances where I have some foreign tourists. There have also been times where people get in touch via WhatsApp and place orders (C13, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

While the majority of businesses surveyed in Cape Coast used the recombination mechanism to advance tourism in the region, only one business used the layering mechanism.

Table 5.4 Mechanisms driving tourism development in the Cape Coast area

	Mechanisms / Processes				
	Recombination		**Layering**	**Conversion**	
Residential Status	New colonial heritage business	New non-colonial heritage business	New non-heritage business	Existing business that introduces non- heritage over time	Existing business that introduces alternative heritage over time
Locally-born, C1		Artefacts			
Locally-born, C3	Heritage / historic tours	Ecotourism, community tours			Ecotourism[17], community tours
Locally-born, C4		Restaurant			
Locally-born, C5		Artefacts			
Locally-born, C6		Artefacts			
Locally-born, C7	Heritage / historic tours	Ecotourism, walking tours			Artefacts
Locally-born returnee, C2		Restaurant			
Locally-born returnee, C8		Artefacts			
Counterurbanite, C9		Artefacts			
Counterurbanite, C12		Guesthouse, restaurant			
Counterurbanite, C13		Artefacts			
Counterurbanite, C14		Travel & tour promotion			
Counterurbanite, C16		Artefacts			
Counterurbanite, C19		Artefacts			
Urbanite, C10		Artefacts			
Urbanite, C11		Artefacts			
Unknown, C17		Artefacts, guest house, restaurant			
UCC, C15[18]			Hotel, Restaurant		
Civic, C18[19]		Artefacts			

[17] Ecotourism in other parts of Ghana and West African countries.
[18] Business is owned by the University of Cape Coast but managed by a counterurbanite employee.
[19] Business is owned by an NGO but managed by an urbanite employee.

5.3.2 Layering

As described in chapter four, in a tourism context, businesses that use the layering mechanism do not directly capitalize on place-based heritage (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a), but their business may draw on the regional context in which they operate (Isaksen 2011; Steen and Karlsen, 2014). In Cape Coast, one business in the accommodation sector used the layering mechanism. The hotel and restaurant, located near the University of Cape Coast Tourism Department, was opened in 2002. The manager of the hotel indicated that the business does not brand itself as a heritage tourism firm; hence, they do not offer any specific heritage product, but they serve a variety of clientele, some of whom are tourists (C15, UCC, 2019). She explained:

> We provide accommodation, food services, and we have some conference facilities at the other part of the gate. We have students from outside the country who stay here; in fact, this is the third group we've had in two weeks. I will say about 50% of our clients are international students and tourists. Other clients include the workers, lecturers, students at the university, and even people from outside the university. Some people come here for funerals, weddings, and even some visiting lecturers also use this place (C15, UCC, 2019).

Although the business does not provide specialized services to attract tourists, they benefit from the business students or tourists bring to the area. Besides being known as Ghana's tourism hub, Cape Coast is popular for its high schools and colleges, which bring business to the former colonial city. Although layering was limited in the surveyed business, the final mechanism, conversion, was more prevalent.

5.3.3 Conversion

Unlike Elmina, the innovations of proprietors in Cape Coast reflected only one form of conversion; one that introduces alternative heritage-based products and services into existing firms. Alternative heritage assets were introduced by two locally-born entrepreneurs, C3 and C7 who also commodified colonial and non-colonial heritage in their tour businesses. C7, for instance, collaborated with a friend to open an artefact shop that sells symbolic, crafted and replica products outside the Cape Coast Castle, to meet the needs of some of his customers who want to take back souvenirs. He advertises his tour services to tourists who visit his shop, in addition to advertising online. He reported getting most of his paintings from Aburi, a town in

the Eastern Region of Ghana, because it's "cheaper even when you factor transportation" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

The second local tour operator, C3 used conversion to extend his services beyond Cape Coast and the Central Region. He capitalizes on place-based natural and cultural heritage assets to provide travel and tour packages similar to his artefactual and replica heritage tours in Cape Coast, to other destinations in Ghana, and beyond Ghana's borders.

> We do tours in Ghana and other West African countries. We do Accra, Kumasi, the Volta region, the Mole National Park in the Nork, Wechiau Hippo sanctuary in the Upper West, we go to Sirigu Village in the Upper East Region. In fact, we do almost every region in Ghana (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

C3 added that his packages are based on customer needs, "the interest of the client will give us an idea of where we should send them to" (C3, Cape Coast, 2019). The locally-born tour operator further reported:

> Already we have the popular tourist attractions sites, like the castles, and the Kakum National Park. But if they really want to experience something authentic or any form of ecotourism, then there are a few places in addition we send them, where oftentimes, tour companies don't go. We take them to some villages to have some village life immersion (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

In brief, locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs in the Cape Coast vicinity have merged colonial and non-colonial heritage with their accumulated capital assets to create tourism-related businesses. The majority of entrepreneurs (six in-migrants and four locally-born), and a civic organization used non-colonial heritage to create symbolic, crafted, and replica heritage products in their accommodation, food, and retail-artefact ventures. Two locally-born proprietors used non-colonial heritage to offer artefactual heritage tours to Cape Coast Castle and other historic sites in the Central Region. Although only one business used a layering mechanism in the accommodation sector, two locally-born entrepreneurs extended the tourism trajectory through a conversion mechanism by introducing new alternative heritage products to their existing tour business, to meet the needs of new clientele. The impacts proprietors and businesses are having in the tourism industry are discussed in the following section.

Artefact Shops, Cape Coast Castle

Restaurant and Beach front guesthouse near Cape Coast Castle

Figure 5.5 Tourism businesses in and around Cape Coast Castle
Source: Pictures taken during fieldwork, 2019

5.4 Impact of the Tourism Development Trajectory in the Cape Coast Area

Cape Coast Castle and UCC are attracting private and civic sector investments in the tourism industry in CCMA. As detailed below, these investments are directly impacting local communities by attracting visitors to the area, which indirectly builds the capacity of these local communities by potentially generating financial, social, human, and physical capital assets.

5.4.1 Direct Impact

Like Elmina, direct impacts are referred to as increased visitation within the Cape Coast area. Tourism plays a significant role in attracting visitors to Cape Coast, says tourism officials and entrepreneurs. The program manager with GHCT, for example, noted that Cape Coast and the Central Region records more visitors compared to other destination towns or regions in Ghana (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019). Entrepreneurs also asserted that Cape Coast Castle receives more visitors in July and August, and also during public holidays, such as Independence Day on 6th March. Likewise, according to an African American entrepreneur, Cape Coast sees more visitors during special events, such as PANAFEST. He reported, "we invite African leaders, artists, participants from all over Africa to come and join us for PANAFEST and Emancipation Day" (E8, Elmina, 2019). He continued to report:

> Last PANAFEST, 2017, we were able to reach out and finally get our African family from South America meaning Brazil, from Suriname and Columbia to come in in their strength, and they will be back here this year, for this Year of Return and PANAFEST. So, we've brought north, central, south and the Caribbean of the Americas as well as parts of Europe, of the African family, coming back here to celebrate with us here in Cape Coast (E8, Elmina, 2019).

Like in Elmina, visitor arrivals in Cape Coast peaked during the 2019 Year of Return events, as evident in the five-year arrival data received in 2020 from the director of Cape Coast Castle (Table 5.5), which a counterurbanite in the tour promotion business says is the best way to determine tourist numbers. He noted, "if I want to know how many people came to Cape Coast, I have to proxy based on visitation figures at the Castle" (C14, UCC, 2019).

Proprietors reported seeing more foreign visitors than domestic. For example, locally-born (six) and in-migrant (five) entrepreneurs and one NGO noted that their businesses benefit from visitors from Europe, North America, and other African countries (including international

students and visiting scholars), although domestic visitors purchase their products and services as well. One locally-born proprietor reported, "our clientele is mostly people coming from US, UK, and other European countries (C3, Cape Coast, 2019). However, two other entrepreneurs say they have more domestic tourists buying from them, even though some of their customers are foreign nationals. As the regional director of GTA explained, "when visitors and students come here, they will need transportation services, accommodation, food, and souvenirs" (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019).

Table 5.5 Summary of tourist arrivals at Cape Coast Castle from 2015 to 2019

	Year					
Month	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	**Total**
January	2698	5353	3900	3493	4728	**20,172**
February	3556	5133	4652	4355	3634	**21,330**
March	7658	14135	8649	11298	12545	**54,285**
April	5561	5308	5503	6436	6981	**29,789**
May	4707	4801	3190	4256	5181	**22,135**
June	3382	5803	1334	6457	6065	**23,041**
July	8026	7433	7002	9671	8695	**40,827**
August	7187	7913	7225	7787	13152	**43,264**
September	2831	4316	5147	5341	5026	**22,661**
October	3129	5554	3080	4075	4759	**20,597**
November	5747	4710	3520	5254	7024	**26,255**
December	6988	5149	2370	6564	10334	**31,405**
Total	**61,470**	**75,608**	**62,572**	**74,988**	**88,124**	**362,762**

Source: Cape Coast Castle management, 2020

5.4.2 Indirect Impact

To determine how businesses are indirectly contributing to tourism and local development in the Cape Coast area, the 15 (out of 19) locally-born and in-migrant proprietors who participated in the interviews were asked how their tourism activities impact the communities in which they operate. The findings show tourism proprietors are building the capacity of local communities through their investments in financial, human, and physical capital assets (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Although proprietors were not specifically asked about the formation of social capital, unlike in Elmina, the development of social capital was not evident in participants' responses. However, some proprietors capitalize on their accumulated social capital to develop other capital assets.

The first capacity building asset discussed is financial capital. Locally-born and in-migrant proprietors are building financial capital through their investments in new tourism businesses, which generates income for local resident employees and service providers. Participants reported seeing the development of new tourism businesses and an increase in the number of ventures owned by migrants. An urbanite entrepreneur, for example, noted that there are more in-migrants opening artefact shops at the Castle. He reported, "since I started outside the Castle before moving inside, more people especially from Kumasi and the North are starting this line of business, they know its profitable because of the tourists" (C10, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). The majority (12) of proprietors interviewed reported renting the retail shop and office spaces from which they operate. Others (2) acquired land from local owners to build their guest house and restaurant. Entrepreneurs further generate financial capital by using local services. For example, C14 uses the services of local tour guides, printing, advertising, and transportation companies in his tour promotion business, which generates income for other local businesses.

The businesses activities of entrepreneurs are directly creating employment for local communities; eight of 15 proprietors reported hiring local residents. The remaining seven businesses have no employees; however, one of them, C1, reported receiving help from her son though she does not consider him an employee. Another, a counterurbanite, C13, says he relies on his friends to manage his artefact shop whenever he is away.

The eight entrepreneurs (four locally-born and four in-migrants) who do secure outside help, employ a total of 20 local residents (19 full time year-round and one temporary employee),

which is an average 2.5 employee per proprietor. Locally-born entrepreneurs (including two returnees) create slightly more jobs compared to in-migrants (Table 5.6). One locally-born proprietor, C7, says he only hires one person on a temporary basis from a neighboring town at his artefact shop when he is away. He reported, "I am expecting a group from Oakland to take on a tour, I will be gone for 12 days, so I will employ someone for those days" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). When asked why he doesn't hire a local from Cape Coast, he said, "because the indigenous Cape Coasters don't want to work long hours, they will come to work and just leave without telling anybody, so that's some of the factors we consider" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). Likewise, two entrepreneurs, one locally-born, C3, and one counterurbanite, C14, reported hiring locally and also from Accra. C3 noted:

> I have six full-time staff who work at the office here but my tour guides are from Accra. sometimes, there are too many tours running at the same time. So, at the moment, we rely on my colleague tour guides in Accra to come and help. Unless we are able to recruit somebody locally but they need to have confidence to lead tours before we will give them the opportunity, because if they go and mess up at one tour, it will cost me a lot, so we're trying our best. One of my staff used to work at the Cape Coast Castle as one of their leading tour guides, so all of them have some tourism background and experience, so with that, it makes it easy for me to just teach them one or two tricks (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

Table 5.6 Local residents employed by tourism entrepreneurs in the Cape Coast area

Local Jobs Created by Entrepreneurs (n = 8)				
Employer	Full-time year-round	Temporary/ seasonal	Total	Average # of jobs
Locally-born	**10**	**1**	**11**	**2.75**
"Local" (n =2)	6	1	7	3.5
Returnees (n =2)	4	0	4	2
Domestic in-migrants	**8**	**0**	**8**	**2.67**
Counterurbanites (n =2)	6	0	6	3
Unknown (n =1)	2	0	2	2
Civic (n =1)	1	0	1	**1**
Total # of jobs	**19**	**1**	**20**	**2.5**
Average # of jobs	**2.38**	**0.13**	**2.5**	**-**

Entrepreneurs further generate financial capital by using local products and services in their business, as the regional director of GTA explained, "tourism is not only about the attractions, when visitors and students come here, they will need transportation services, accommodation, food, and souvenirs, and these generate revenue" (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019). Some proprietors interviewed reported partnering with local service providers. For example, a counterurbanite entrepreneur, C14, uses the services of local tour guides, printing, advertising, and transportation companies in his tour promotion business, which generates income for other local businesses. Similarly, fifteen other businesses (including six owned by locally-born and seven by in-migrant entrepreneurs) reported sourcing their supplies from local providers in Cape Coast and the Central Region, although some buy from other parts of Ghana as well. A counterurbanite returnee with a restaurant at the UCC Science Complex noted, "I buy my rice from Cape Coast, but beans are cheaper from Techiman, and I get my vegetables, meat, and fish from Accra because they are cheaper there" (C2, UCC, 2019). Another counterurbanite, C17, reported buying the bamboo he uses in designing his guesthouse from local suppliers in Cape Coast. In another example, the urbanite artist who manages a civic owned artefact shop outside the Castle reported:

> I get my materials from the market here in Cape Coast. The woven Kente stuff here is by an old man in a town in the Elmina district, and the bags are from a special needs school in Cape Coast, Aboom (C18, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Likewise, the counterurbanite manager of the hotel near the UCC tourism department also noted:

> The hotel purchases its supplies from Cape Coast and outside the Central Region. The manager reported, "the drinks at the restaurant, especially yogurt and some fruit juice we get them from Accra. We consider the quality and the cost" (C15, UCC, 2019).

However, an urbanite with an artefact shop at the Castle doesn't buy directly from Cape Coast or the Central Region; the majority of his suppliers are in the Northern Region where is from, although he uses local transportation services in Cape Coast. He reported, "I buy my stuff from the north and Accra. The leather bags are cheaper in the north. We buy only the bracelet from Accra (C11, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Proprietors are evidently generating financial capital in their communities and this has been found to facilitate the development of other capital assets. Interviews with participants revealed that the creation of jobs contributes to human capital in the Cape Coast area. Proprietors are contributing to this capital type by acquiring skills in their fields of work and by training their

employees. Out of 17 proprietors interviewed, 11 (five locally-born and six in-migrants) reported their level of formal education; five had completed high school (two locally-born and three in-migrant proprietors). One returnee had some high school education. Another five reported receiving post-secondary education; a higher number than reported in Elmina. These include two locally-born entrepreneurs with college diplomas (including one returnee), a counterurbanite who had some college education, another counterurbanite with an undergraduate degree in medicine, and finally, a counterurbanite with a graduate degree.

In addition to receiving formal education, some proprietors received tourism specific training through work and education. For example, a returnee artefact shop owner reported being trained by an artist (C8, Cape Coast castle, 2019). Another, a counterurbanite, said that although painting and artwork is his passion and a gift, he took some courses in Cape Coast at Cape Tech after he became involved in the tourism sector (C19, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). A locally-born proprietor also reported:

> I did a course at HOTCATT in Accra, the government sole-mandated tourism school. To run any business, you really have to understand the ins and outs of it. Spending almost a decade with a company gave me a lot of experience. I did a lot of in-training and also went to Accra to do a lot of tourism-related training, and any time there is a refresher course I take it. One of the requirements for you to be given a tour operating license is to show that you are tour guide with experience, or you have some education related to tourism (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

Another locally-born proprietor noted:

> I was in the hospitality industry, which is related to tourism, so I went to UCC, University of Cape Coast to do hospitality management. Right now, I work in hotel as a front office personal on the weekends (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Similarly, a counterurbanite had both his undergraduate and graduate degrees in tourism related disciplines.

Entrepreneurs are further building human capital by providing skill training to their staff and young people in their community. Two proprietors recalled that some of their employees moved on to start their own businesses. C2, a locally-born proprietor reported that many of her former employees started their own restaurants because of the experience they gained on the job. The urbanite artist, C18, who manages an artefact shop for an NGO also trains young people to make paintings, which are sold in the shop. As described in chapter two, communities with high

human capital have the ability to generate more income and financial capital (Becker, 1993), which in turn contributes to building physical capital.

Physical capital is the final contributor of capacity building in the Cape Coast area. Similar to Elmina, tourism entrepreneurs contribute to the improvement of social conditions, such as education, infrastructure, and health and sanitation. Interviews with 15 tourism-related businesses reveal that at least two locally-born proprietors are involved in this capacity. One locally-born entrepreneur, C7, established an NGO to promote education in his community by capitalizing on his social capital. He creates connections and develops long-term relationships with visitors who use his tour services or buy from his artefact shop and introduces them to the work he does in his community to generate support. His motivation came from his own experience growing up in a fishing community. He expressed concern about the lack of learning materials in deprived communities of Cape Coast, although basic education is free in Ghana. He narrated:

> I registered a non-for profit 10 years ago to focus on education in one of the schools in our fishing community. What I do is when my group come, we go to donate book supplies to the school. Reflecting on what I have gone through and looking at what is happening in our community, I had to do something to help the upcoming generation because these same people will turn out to be thieves, junkies in the community. Some of these kids are from my family and some from other communities; some didn't even get the chance to go to school because their parents can't support them (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

C7 also uses his social capital to raise funds for deprived children and schools. He reported, "my NGO donates money to a community school so they can take in the kids whose parents cannot afford it, I have enrolled about ten children so far and some are already in high school" (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019). He continued to report:

> Before you came, I was asking a little boy here why he didn't go to school, and he was like, "My mom didn't give me money to go to school." And I asked, "What about your dad?" His dad is not around. So, a child like that growing up in this community, what will become of him? Education is technically not free. It was better when we were paying fees because textbooks were given to kids and they return it after lessons, but now you have to buy like 8 or 10 textbooks per term. Some cannot afford especially because the men around here are fishermen and fishing business is seasonal, and it does not give many security so taking care of children is not their priority. The mothers take all the burden. We try to support financially. This is a very sad situation in most fishing communities, not here alone (C7, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Another locally-born tour operator invests in education and infrastructure, and health and sanitation. Unlike C7, C3 does not have an NGO but he also capitalizes on his social capital to support local communities. C3 maintains connections with many of his local and international visitors, some of whom later support his community initiatives, as he noted:

> One of the challenges I have observed in our basic schools is that most of the kids cannot read and write, so we try to bring in some volunteers. Currently, there's a volunteer from America in one of the schools in the fishing communities. Her major assignment is to deal with kids who cannot read and write or have a peculiar challenge. For someone to have time for them and build them up through phonetics and others. Because the teachers and teaching materials are often times over stretched, and if there's a child in the class who has a deficiency or a challenge, he or she is left behind (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

At the time of this study, C3 reported that his team is building a community school in addition to the current educational projects they facilitate. He also helps improve health and sanitation conditions in deprived communities:

> When we're not so busy with our tours, we have some massive community initiatives that we run. Just this Monday, we started doing sanitary pad donations, and we've been running this for almost two weeks now. We have reached almost 1500 young girls, we supplied each girl with enough sanitary pads to last almost three months, in the Ekon, Brafio Moree, Semyon and two other communities within the Central Region. So, a few weeks ago, it was World Menstrual Hygiene Day, and we saw the documentary on what some of these young girls from deprived areas use as sanitary pad, and it was very disheartening. We quickly engaged with one of our partners in America, and through their initiative, we received 20,000 pieces (C3, Cape Coast, 2019).

The innovations of tourism entrepreneurs are attracting visitors to Cape Coast, creating local employment, and building the capacity of local communities through civic engagement and investments in human/ cultural, financial, and social capital. Proprietors are further building local capacity through their community-based projects, which impacts the development of communities in CCMA. However, tourism officials and proprietors reported some deficiencies of the tourism trajectory, which are highlighted in the next section.

5.5 Deficiencies in the Tourism Trajectory and Proposed Remedies

Tourism stakeholders revealed at least three deficiencies in Cape Coast's tourism trajectory and offered a variety of solution to overcome these shortcomings. First, the lack of diversified tourist offerings and inadequate infrastructure; second, the lack of cleanliness due to poor sanitation; and finally, a narrow market. Each is discussed briefly below.

Tourism officials and proprietors believe that the city can do more to diversify attractions and improve general infrastructure. They echoed the need for creating more attractions, noting that the city has many untapped resources. According to the program's manager at GHCT, even though much has been done, there are ways of developing other attractions. He noted the efforts his establishment is making to grow the tourism industry:

> We are intensifying our programs in terms of creating more opportunities in the tourism sector to be able to compete with other global entities like Kenya, South Africa and the rest of them. We've not done even a quarter of the potential that we have in Cape Coast and the Central Region" (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

The communication manager also noted that their mandate extends beyond the maintenance of the castle, as summarized:

> ...secondly, is also to become the catalyst for other projects in other regions of Ghana, while we're also looking at other possible, viable projects that could support the Cape Coast or Central Region at large (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

They hope to receive the government support they require to realize these goals.

The GTA Director for Central Region explained that diversifying attractions means improving the existing infrastructure to accommodate the growing industry. People move to Cape Coast every year because of the number of educational institutions and tourism, consequently, available infrastructures are stretched, as he reported:

> …the number of people is on the increase because of our schools and tourist attractions, so it means that we cannot continue doing things the same way. Just like we need more houses, we need more roads, so people are coming in, what kind of roads, rest stops, health facilities and schools, are they going to use? Even in terms of telecommunication, it's not every area that you'll get a signal (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019).

Participants believe that improved infrastructure would positively impact the experience of visitors and investors in the area, which would in turn increase the number of new and return visitors, and subsequently grow the tourism industry.

A second deficiency reported was the lack of cleanliness. Key informants shared their concern for poor sanitation, particularly around the Castle. To address this, some urban developers have proposed the relocation of communities living close to the Castle and developing the area to promote the tourism industry and address sanitation issues. As a tour guide explained:

> Some are saying right after Cape Coast Castle up to Elmina Castle, in-between these two places, nobody should build there. They should leave the beach and then the government or investors can invest in high-rise buildings like guest houses, bars, clubs, and everything in there (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

Others have argued that the best way to address sanitation challenges is to involve the locals in tourism development and educate them on the benefits of having a clean natural environment. The GTA regional director thinks that until local communities feel a sense of belonging or ownership to the Castles, these shortcomings may continue to persist. He reported:

> Sometimes, you cannot blame the people, the benefits are not trickling down, and Cape Coast is an expensive city. The money that goes to the castle, the poor fisherman living around the castle is not directly benefiting, and so he cares less if you tell him, “Don't throw rubbish around the castle” (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019).

However, a museum artist at the Cape Coast Castle indicated that attempts have been made in the past to directly involve the locals in tourism, particularly, the community youth around the castle to gain employable skills, but that this was not sustainable. He narrated:

> I was employed here to give training the youth, the street children they have to benefit from the castle. I taught them multi-purpose art and craft work, batik craft, a tie and dye designer, bamboo and wood craft. Since here is a tourist center, we got a showroom where the youth can bring their works and sell. It was organized by West African Museum and Monument Board, and then Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, but after one year, the training couldn’t go on because of funding (Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

In addition, a counterurbanite proprietor, C14, reported that tourism is neither directly benefiting local service providers as much as it is portrayed. He provided an example drawing on his own research:

> I used five hotels in 2017, and their total expenditure on just four items was about $650,000, because I knew if I ask the hotels what their income was, they won’t tell me. So, I use expenditure, and I can safely say about GH¢3 million (about a million dollars) a year in revenue. But when you trace where those expenditures are sourced from, then you understand the problem. Even vegetables are sourced from Kumasi. I traced back and then they said, “We buy it Abura Market.”, which is Cape Coast. So, I

> went to Abura Market and asked the chief supplier, "Where do you get it from?" "Kumasi?" So, you can understand why? They're getting all these numbers, but in reality, the only thing that is coming is the markup, the tax on the markup that these service providers are getting, and possibly maybe the direct revenue the staff of the hotels are getting. So, again, it comes down to policy (C14, UCC, 2019

Lastly, the narrow market of the tourism sector was reported by C14 as third deficiency. This individual believes that the tourism industry is currently dependent on the increasing number of millennial visitors, who do not have high purchasing power. He believes that tourism promotion in the city should target Ghanaian visitors who can afford to spend on leisure, because Cape Coast is an expensive city to live in or visit. He reported:

> You know, something interesting is happening in Ghana: There's an emerging middle class, domestic, and they can spend a lot on leisure. It will interest you to know that the tourists who are coming, the in-bound, is dominated 70% by millennials who are shoe-stringed, traveling on a budget, so we're not making much from tourism. If you go out at leisure places, you'll see them, five or six cramming in a taxi. Three or four sleeping in a hotel room meant for one, you see them six, seven people sharing a pizza. So, the future is really with the domestic middle class, not the in-bound (C14, UCC, 2019).

As demonstrated, the activities of tourism proprietors and civic organizations are impacting the local economy of Cape Coast and CCMA, through visitation and capacity building. However, there are number of deficiencies, such as limited attractions and infrastructure, poor sanitation and lack of community ownership, and insufficient revenue generation that is inhibiting significant growth of the tourism industry. Hence, there is a need to harness existing natural resources to develop tourism and other economic sectors, and further build the local economy and that of the region.

5.6 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has shown the path development trajectory of Cape Coast, from pre-colonial to present-day post-colonial. Like Elmina, tourism emerged from the city's colonial past through public sector initiatives that conserved and commodified Cape Coast Castle, which historically served as headquarters for slave and commodity trade and the colonial government. The castle attracted private and civic sector investments, particularly locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs, whose lifestyle choices and livelihood influenced their decision to become involved in tourism.

Locally-born and returnees mostly stayed or returned to Cape Coast for family and education purposes. However, the majority of in-migrants were pulled to Cape Coast for economic reasons, although a few of their movements (two) were lifestyle-driven. On the contrary, both locally-born and in-migrant proprietors became involved in tourism for economic reasons, choosing their present location because of proximity to Cape Coast Castle or UCC. One in-migrant's business motive, however, stemmed from the need to make an impact in the tourism industry. While the two locally-born returnees took either lifestyle-enabling or livelihood-enabling pathways to tourism proprietorship, most (five) in-migrants moved along livelihood-enabling routes. However, one in-migrant took a lifestyle-enabling route, as did one of the returnees, C2.

Proprietors capitalized on both colonial and non-colonial heritage. Only two proprietors (locally-born) commodified colonial history to create a tour business through the recombination mechanism. Most proprietors (six in-migrants and four locally-born) recombined their capital assets to create non-colonial heritage and symbolic, crafted, and replica heritage products in the accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors. Layering was the least frequent mechanism found, used by only one business. However, two locally-born proprietors extended their tour business using a conversion mechanism.

While proprietors' motivations for becoming involved in tourism stem from economic needs, their passion to make an impact in their communities is seen in their commitment to building local capacity. Their activities are directly attracting visitors to the Cape Coast area, while their businesses benefit from these visitors. Additionally, tourism enterprises are indirectly generating financial capital by doing business with local suppliers and by creating local jobs. Their presence is also enhancing human capital in the Cape Coast area; the majority (ten) have received a formal education – five have a high school diploma, and another five have post-secondary education, including acquiring professional training in their area of work. Proprietors are further generating human capital through employee mentorship and skill training. Their investments are also building physical capital assets as evident in their business infrastructures and altruism.

Despite these impacts in Cape Coast, proprietors and key informants call for more diversified attractions and adequate infrastructure development in the tourism industry. They also advocate for better sanitation in destination communities, and the attraction of more domestic

tourists. Like in Elmina, more layering and conversion mechanisms could limit these deficiencies and enhance the tourism trajectory in the Cape Coast area. In the next chapter, an analysis of Kakum National Park (KNP) is presented – one that capitalizes initially on the region's natural, rather than cultural heritage resources.

Chapter Six: Tourism in the Kakum National Park Area

Chapter six describes tourism activities at the Kakum National Park, specifically, the visitor center and two adjacent communities. Similar to the preceding chapter, it is organized in five sections. The first part describes how tourism was developed at Kakum National Park, using information from secondary sources and interviews conducted with community leaders and park officials. The second part addresses objective two, which identifies who is involved (locals, in-migrants, and civic organizations), their motivations for creating tourism businesses in and around the park, and their routes to proprietorship. The third part examines objective three to understand the mechanisms and the type of heritage products these tourism stakeholders are using to create tourism businesses at the Park and adjacent communities. The fourth part, which meets objective four, discusses the impacts that Kakum National Park, local and in-migrant proprietors, and civic organizations are having in the Kakum Conservation Area. The final section explores objective five to present deficiencies of the tourism trajectory in the Kakum park area and solutions proposed solutions by tourism stakeholders.

6.1 Development of the Kakum National Park Area

6.1.1 Kakum National Park Before 1994

Kakum is a forest located in the Central Region of Ghana named after the Kakum River "whose headwaters lie within the boundaries" of the forest (Forestry Commission of Ghana, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). Historically, the river served as a source of water for inhabitants of "Cape Coast and 133 other towns and villages" (UNESCO, 2021). The forest, which "ranges from true rain forest, moist evergreen forest, to seasonally dry semi-deciduous forest, contains about 200 species of herbaceous and woody plants, and endangered and rare mammals such as the Diana Monkey, Bongo, Yellow-backed Duiker and elephant" (Forestry Commission of Ghana, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). The large forest and its proximity to a water source attracted farmers and loggers to the area who subsequently developed agricultural lands to cultivate crops like cocoa, banana, plantain, cassava, and maize. Logging activities concentrated on the harvest of mahogany (Khaya Ivorensis) tree species (Appiah-Oppong, 2011; Kakum National Park,

2021; UNESCO, 2021). The rainforest was soon surrounded by isolated farming islands, with 52 villages relying on crop farming and logging for their livelihood (Appiah-Oppong, 2011; UNESCO, 2021). These included Abrafo and Mesomagor, where, in addition to crop farming, small animals such as snails and tortoises were hunted (Constance, Bempong, and Yeboah, 2015; Mesomagor, 2019).

The villages and communities around the Kakum forest grew over time, resulting in increased use of the forest for farming, logging, and hunting, which reduced the forest area by 72 percent (UNESCO, 2021). In 1925, Kakum forest was declared a protected area to conserve the forest's ecosystem and prevent further loss of biodiversity (UNESCO, 2021). Kakum was officially established as the Kakum Forest Reserve Area between 1931 and 1932 and was managed by the Forestry Division of the Ghana Forestry Commission (Amoah and Wiafe, 2012; Kakum National Park, 2021). For more than 50 years (during periods of both colonial and post-colonial eras in Ghana), the economy of the Central Region continued to rely on timber exports from the reserve (Appiah-Oppong, 2011; Kakum National Park, 2021). This continued until 1989 when the Central Region "developed an integrated tourism development program to conserve the natural, historic, and cultural assets, and boost the region's economy" (Appiah-Oppong, 2011; Kakum National Park, 2021).

In the same year, management of the reserve was moved from the Forestry Division to the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission of Ghana (Kakum National Park, 2021). In 1992, the Kakum Forest Reserve was reclassified as a national park called the Kakum Conservation Area under the Wildlife Reserves Regulations (Ll 1525) of the Ghana Wildlife Division (Kakum National Park, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). Due to its "faunal richness, the conservation area was split into the Kakum National Park and the Assin Attandanso Forest Reserve" (GWD, 2021; Kakum National Park, 2021). Today, the split sustains the livelihoods of Cape Coast and 33 communities who "continue to need timber and potable water provided by the Kakum River" (Kakum National Park, 2021). A key informant at the park reported that some parts of the Kakum National Park were allocated for farming because when the forest became a conservation area, surrounding villages demanded a "portion for farming and grazing activities" (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019). He further emphasized the importance of acknowledging the Kakum National Park as the Kakum Conservation Area because the park includes the adjacent Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve (see Figure 6.1):

Kakum and Assin Attandanso are two different reserves. So, we have the Kakum Reserve, which is 250 km^2 and then we have Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve. It's just adjacent to the Kakum National Park. They decided to combine the two under the same management, Forestry Commission, so that's 360 km^2. When you come to Kakum, don't make a mistake by saying that the forest is only the Kakum National Park. We call the area the Kakum Conservation Area (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019).

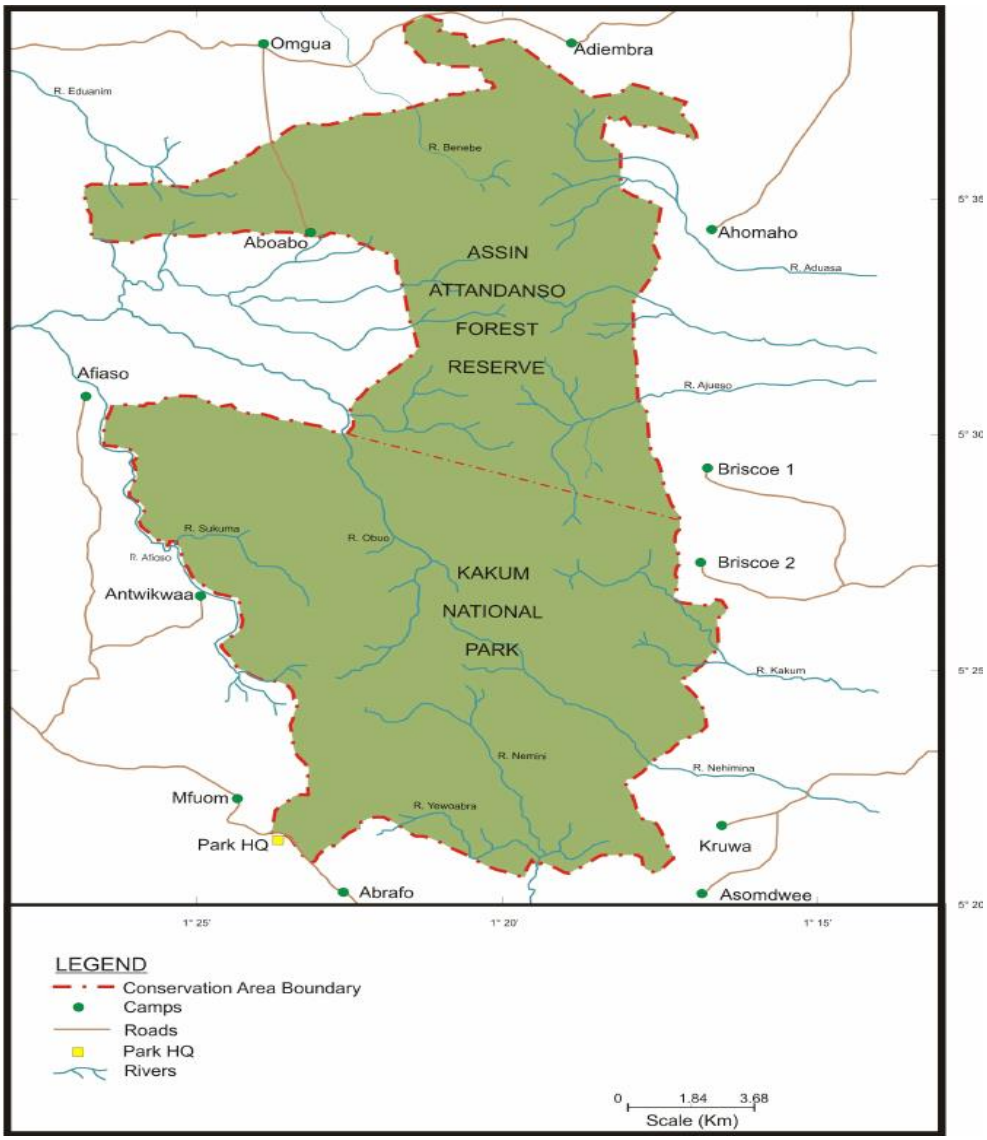

Figure 6.1 Conservation Area of the Kakum National Park and Assin Attandanso Reserve
Source: Monney, Dakwa and Wiafe, 2010

6.1.2 Kakum National Park Since 1994

Kakum National Park, located about 30 km from Cape Coast and Elmina, became a tourist destination and opened to the public on March 5, 1994 (GWD, 2021; Appiah-Oppong, 2011). The Park, a Government of Ghana initiative, was estimated to have received an initial funding of $3.4 million from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), $2.4 million from the Ghanaian government, and additional funding from other local and international agencies (Appiah-Oppong 2011; UNESCO, 2021). The Kakum National Park is currently managed by two organizations, the Ghana Wildlife Division (GWD) of the Ghana Forestry Commission, and Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT). The Community Relations Officer at GHCT reported:

> This is Kakum National Park, but we are two organizations here, Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust, an organization that manages the Kakum visitors' center and the canopy walkway, and we have WD, which is Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission; they manage the national park" (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

The goal of the Kakum National Park is to "(1) protect the rainforest, including its biodiversity, habitats and natural processes; (2) promote ecotourism and environmental education; and (3) promote economic development in villages surrounding the park" (Appiah-Oppong, 2011). To realize these goals, management at the park continues to promote tourism, support local communities, and preserve the rainforest's ecosystem. According to a key informant with the GWD, the park has endangered species which require protection. He further reported that encroachment of adjacent farms was also an issue. He states:

> We have a lot of plant species, we have 105 vascular plant species, 57 of them are trees, and we have grasses, climbers and shrubs. Then we also have a lot of the wild animals, the biggest of them all are the forest elephants in the Assin Attandanso part of the park but because of poaching activities, we're losing most of them. Elephants here are considered endangered species. We also have the bongos which are a very endangered species, Bongo is a bigger antelope, they are called Duikers, so we have the bay duikers, the black duikers, the yellow-backed duikers. The pangolins are also endangered (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019).

The community relations officer at GHCT emphasized that poaching is a challenge at the Kakum conservation area and the hunters know their way around the forest since it was their land and daily livelihood. To prevent poaching and farming near the park, the wildlife division put together a team of anti-poachers, who live in surrounding communities, to prevent the hunting of

endangered species and to ensure the protection of the rainforest and its natural habitat (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019). A tour guide at the park reported, "we have 52 communities living around the park, and we have our men living in eight camps in the communities to protect the forest" (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019). A member of the anti-poaching team, the leader of the patrol team at the neighboring Mesomagor village, described the mandate of his team:

> Our basic or core business is law enforcement. We're here to deter poachers, arrest them if we get them, put them before court, so they can be prosecuted. We also do the counting of animals that we come across; we also take into cognizance the pomology. Pomology, that's the fruiting trees that the animals feed on, we take care of the vegetation, semi-deciduous and semi-evergreen; we also take care of the rivers and then the streams. When we get to an area, we comb the area, searching for poaching activities, as well as their camping bases, and that's what we've been doing, basically (GWD, Mesomagor Camp, 2019).

Evidently, protecting the Kakum conservation area is important to tourism development at the Kakum National Park, the Central region, and Ghana. In addition to preserving the forest, management of the park ensures the ongoing improvement and maintenance of tourist attractions at the park. As described in Chapters Four and Five, the mandate of the GHCT includes providing funding for the maintenance of the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, and the Kakum National Park. The communications manager at GHCT confirmed that every year, 40 percent of the interest from the $2 million endowment fund goes to the Ghana Wildlife Division to support the funding of projects at the Kakum National Park. He continued to report, "the agreement or the way the constitution around our relationship with Wildlife Division is they maintain the forest, while we are given room to establish eco-friendly or eco sustainable tourist facilities within the Kakum National Park" (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019). In 1995, the park added a canopy walkway, and a visitor center in 1997, both with financial and technical support from USAID, and Conservation International (Kakum National Park, 2021; PAPACO, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). The GHCT community relations officer at the park reported:

> The stores at the visitor center have been here for about 18 or 20 years. The restaurants, the shops are all owned by the Heritage Trust, we established the structures. We have individuals or private entities operating within those structures, so we've rented them out. For instance, Aid to Artisans Ghana, their head office is in Accra, trade fair center-but they operate here, and they also have a space in the Elmina castle. But Mama Africa is from Cape Coast, and then the Rainforest Restaurant/Café, is also owned by one woman from Cape Coast, which formally used to be an old lady from Abrafo but she's passed away. Forest Coolers is also a restaurant, they're supposed to sell ice cream but now,

> they've also expanded their tentacles, and they're selling some local foods and drinks (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019).

Twenty years after the canopy walkway was built, GHCT added a children's park, which has a "boardwalk, and miniature canopy walkway", and a replica of species available in the forest, to diversify attractions and entertain children (Modern Ghana, 2017). The then Acting Director of the park reported, "we cannot rely only on the canopy walkway, we are showing that the forest is not only for timber production but demonstrating that ecotourism is a major conservation tool" (Modern Ghana, 2017).

At the time of this study, the visitor center, which sits on a 512-acre parcel of land (GWD, 2021; Kakum National Park, 2021), had two restaurants, two artefact shops and one photoshop, and a refreshment kiosk (see figure 6.2) in the forest that serves hikers and visitors returning from the canopy walkway. The canopy walkway is the main attraction at the Kakum Park, according to GHCT's communications manager. It is the first and only rainforest walkway in Africa, "carefully designed to depend upon trees for support, no nails or bolts were used. Instead, steel cables were carefully wrapped around trunks to provide the necessary stabilization" (Sarkodie et al., 2015). Visitors experience a spectacular view of the rainforest and animals from the tropical forest's 350-meter-long suspended bridge, along hardwood trees as high as 65 meters (GTA, 2021; GWD, 2021; Sarkodie et al., 2015; UNESCO, 2021). According to a tour guide, birds and butterflies are easily spotted from the canopy walkway. The forest elephants are extremely difficult to spot because they are nocturnal and are afraid of noise, so they move further into the forest, and are normally seen at night (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019). He reported:

> The last count, we had 266 species of birds and a lot of butterflies. In Ghana, two-thirds of the butterflies are located here, we have 800 species of butterflies; 600 of them are at Kakum Conservation Area. Then we have a lot of monkeys, colobus monkeys, Diana monkeys, chimpanzees, squirrels, porcupines, and reptiles like snakes, crocodiles and lizards. Some snakes are easy to spot, the squirrels sometimes come around to eat, in the evening when you're in the forest, you'll see them, or early in the morning. Over 90% of the wild animals are nocturnal, so that's why we recommend the treehouse because a lot of our visitors complain about their inability to see some of the four-legged wild animals, especially the elephants. We don't have lions, the closest of that dog family is leopard (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019).

Table 6.1 Tourism development at Kakum National Park, as revealed by participating tourism stakeholders

Year of business	Business / Destination[20]	Type of Business / Destination	Location / Municipality[21]	Type of Heritage[22]	Heritage product
1994	Kakum National Park (Public & Civic)	Ecotourism / Conservation Area	Abrafo-Odumase, THLDD	Natural	Artefactual
1995	Canopy Walkway (Civic)	Ecotourism	Kakum National Park	Natural & non-heritage	Artefactual
1997	Visitor Center (Civic)	Retail / Food	Kakum National Park	Non-heritage	
1997/2007	Cultural/Dance Group, Guest house	Accommodation	Mesomagor, Assin South	Non-colonial	Crafted
2003	Refreshment Kiosk	Food	Kakum National Park	Non-colonial	Crafted
2006	Artefact Shop (Civic)	Retail	Visitor Center	Non-colonial	Symbolic, Replica-crafted
2013	Restaurant	Food	Visitor Center	Non-colonial	Crafted
N.d.[23]	Photoshop	Retail	Visitor Center	Non-heritage	
N.d.[24]	Artefact Shop	Retail	Visitor Center	Non-colonial	Crafted, Replica
2018	Children's Park (Civic)	Ecotourism	Kakum National Park	Natural & non-heritage	Replica, Tactile

The neighboring Mesomagor village also features a tree house built by the GHCT (GHCT Community Relations Officer, Kakum Park, 2019). The treehouse enhances tourism in the village, and "the revenue that they get also supports the community" (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019). The village also has a traditional music and dancing group, and early morning and

[20] Unless otherwise stated, businesses are owned by private sector entrepreneurs.
[21] Kakum National Park "falls within Assin South and Twifo Heman Lower Denkyira Districts (THLDD), traditionally under the Twifo, Assin, Denkyira and Fanti (Abakrampa)" (GHCT, 2020).
[22] Natural heritage refers to all features naturally occurring in the ecosystem. Non-colonial heritage refers to the indigenous culture of Ghanaians before the arrival of Europeans and the culture (with some European influence) after independence, i.e., crafted, replica, and symbolic products such as traditional food, clothing, artefacts, music and dance. Non-heritage refers to products and services that are not specifically related to Ghana's indigenous culture or heritage.
[23] N.d. refers to no date. The counterurbanite who manages the shop reported starting his role in 2014, however, did not disclose when the business was established.
[24] The locally-born sales associate reported starting his role in 2014, however, did not disclose when the business was established.

evening hikes (UNESCO, 2021). As shown in table 6.1, these local businesses, owned and managed by private sector entrepreneurs and civic organizations, have contributed to tourism development at the Kakum National Park. Other individuals have facilitated tourism activity in at least two neighbouring communities.

Communities around the Kakum National Park rely predominantly on farming. However, some are taking advantage of their proximity to the park and the visitor center to add tourism activities, to generate income and to share their culture with visitors. Two licensed guest houses with restaurant were recorded in two communities, according to 2019 data received from Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA, Cape Coast, 2021). This section looks at two villages, Abrafo and Mesomagor, whose residents are involved in tourism, although farming remains their dominant economic activity. Figure 6.3 shows the map of Kakum National Park and these transitioning communities.

Abrafo-Odumase is a twin village with a population of about 1000 located in the Twifo Herman Lower Denkyira District (THLDD) of the Central Region, about 1.5km from the southern entrance of the Kakum National Park (Abrafo and Denkira King, 2019; Mensah, 2017; Sarkodie et al., 2015). While crop farming remains the main occupation in the village, some residents are beginning to create tourism business in and around the park (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019), and others have found employment with the park (Sarkodie et al., 2015). According to the community relations officer at GHCT, residents of other small communities around the park are moving to Abrafo to work at the park or engage in tourism activities, such as operating small retail stores, hotels and restaurants. The findings of this study showed that three out of six tourism businesses at the visitor center of the park are owned or managed by in-migrants who reside in Abrafo. The relations officer also noted that some residents are providing their homes to visitors at affordable rates since the only guest house at the park is closed, and Kakum National Park is conveniently located in Abrafo (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019).

> Those smaller communities-like Gyaiawareɛ, Ɛbɛkawopa and some of the other communities around, they come to Abrafo-Odumase where Kakum visitors' center is located to settle or go to school. Big hotels are coming up in the area because of the park. I, for instance, I am from Cape Coast and I work here. The wildlife people and those smaller shops around, some are from Cape Coast and they work here. We have some of the tour guides from the north of Ghana coming to stay here and work (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019).

Despite Abrafo's gradual transition into tourism, the King detailed the need for more business initiatives to diversify the economy of the village. He believes that tourism can offer a solution to unemployment in Abrafo as farming is becoming unsustainable (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019). These associated challenges are discussed in detail in the impact section. Another community in the conservation area with tourism amenities is Mesomagor.

Tree House

Canopy Walkway

Children's park

Figure 6.2 Tourist attractions at Kakum National Park
Sources: Modern Ghana, 2017; Sutherland and Sutherland, 2021; VisitGhana, 2021; GHCT, 2021 (http://www.ghct.org.gh/).

Mesomagor, in Akan, literally meaning “we are self-sufficient”, is a small village of about 400 inhabitants located in the Assin South District in the Central Region of Ghana (Mesomagor Community leader, 2019; Mesomargor, 2021). The village is on the “eastern border of the Kakum National Park, 40 km Northwest from Cape Coast” and about 70 km from the park’s entrance (Mesomagor, 2021; Mesomagor Community Leader, 2019; 00Mensah, 2016). According to one of the community leaders of the village, Mesomagor was originally a hunting community that was discovered by a hunter in 1900 who chanced upon abundant animal species here on one of his hunting trips. After the death of the hunter, a farmer inherited the village in 1944, and farming became the dominant economic activity. The community leader vividly captures the history of Mesomagor village in the narrative below:

> This town was born in 1900 and it was started by one person who was a hunter. He was originally from Amoabeng, the town before this one. He was on his hunting expedition when he chanced upon this land, there were a lot of animals like the elephant, bongo and buffalo. The water source he used is just close by. It’s called Teakɔbene. Teakɔbene was so clean that if you dropped a penny or coin into it, you could easily find it. Whenever the hunter killed game and went back to Amoabeng, he told his fellow hunters in Amoabeng to go to Mesomagor because it has a lot of game, and the hunters complained that it was quite a journey, but he was always able to kill a lot of game and carry them back to Amoabeng for food and also for sale. As time went on, he started hunting with his wife and children, and whilst he still pressed his fellow hunters to come along, they still gave the excuse of the distance. So, he said, “Sɛ mo amaa, me ne mema, yɛ so agroɔ.” Which means, “If you guys won’t come along, me and my children alone are enough to play any game we like.” When the hunter died in 1944, his estate was inherited by a farmer who had a friend from Agona Abodom, who was looking for land to grow his cocoa. The first king was called Nana Mossi, because his face and physique looked like that of the Mossi people from the Northern Region. The second king was called Abrebrese, and he was not good with guns. If you come to him asking for land, he'll take you to parcels of land and say, “This is for your cocoa farm, this land is for your house, you too, build here …” and that’s how the town began farming. When the town has a gathering, we chant, “Me ne mema …” then others respond, “… yɛ so agroɔ” meaning, I and my family, we can do things on our own. We don't want to depend on others (Community Leader, Mesomagor, 2019).

Mesomagor attracted people from far and near, to farm, find medicinal plants, or to collect raw materials for basket weaving. The population of the village dropped after the Kakum forest was conserved, since many farmers left the village because they lost their farmlands and livelihoods. The community leader recalled:

> In 1989, we heard the government was taking over the forest, we used to be over 600 inhabitants but with the establishment of the park, some people returned to their hometowns because they can no longer enter the forest for their livelihoods, jobs were lost, so we reduced to about 300 but we are now about 400 or 500 (Mesomagor, 2019).

The park, however, provided a new opportunity for tourism in the village. Today, Mesomagor is predominantly a farming community with a tourism initiative. Tourism in Mesomagor developed as early as the late 1990s; it is the only community on the boundaries of the park with a "community-based ecotourism plan" (Mensah, 2016). Kakum National Park offers visitors a trip to Mesomagor, for those interested in experiencing both the natural heritage and culture (non-colonial heritage) of the people (Mesomagor, 2021). Only trained tour guides are allowed to take visitors into the conservation area with permission from the Wildlife Division. The key informant community leader, who is also a tour guide, reported, "if I have to go into the forest, it should be because I'm taking a visitor, and I have to contact the wildlife Division with reason" (Mesomagor, 2019). Tourist activities at Mesomagor include early morning and evening hikes, bird watching, elephant sightings from a tree house or by following their foot paths past their piles of dung (UNESCO, 2021). Visitors also have the opportunity to experience traditional food, and traditional music and dance by the Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra Group. The leader of the Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra Dance Group and manager of the guest house reported that some tourists who visit the Kakum Park also spend some time in the village. Visitors stay at the guest house or the tree house, enjoy local food and music while immersing themselves in the day-to-day life of the villagers (K6, Mesomagor, 2019). Figure 6.4 shows the attractions at Mesomagor. In the mid 2000s, the community created a website to promote tourism and attract visitors to the village. Below is an excerpt from the website featuring the attractions in the village:

> Have you ever been in the forest reserve at night, resting safely on a platform high up in a big forest tree - hearing all the calls and noises of the forest animals and maybe watching a group of forest elephants passing by? The village of Mesomagor offers you all this. Visiting us gives you the great opportunity to get in touch with real African rural life. You can lodge at our comfortable village guest house, eat local food specially prepared for you by a well-trained women group, make friends with the local people who readily will welcome you, take you round through their village and farms during the day and accompany you to a *tree*-platform in the nearby Kakum Forest Reserve at night if you wish. But even more: Mesomagor offers you the unique opportunity to watch a traditional bamboo orchestra and its dancers performing Ghanaian music and dance, and to enjoy a traditional story-telling evening where old

Ananse stories and fairy tales are told, accompanied by lively improvisation of songs and drama pieces - a glance at traditional village culture you will never forget! Come to Mesomagor and enjoy memorable hours down to the ground in Africa! You will always remember (Mesomagor.org)

Map of Kakum National Park

Map showing study sites in and around Kakum National Park

Figure 6.3 Map of Kakum National Park showing transitioning communities and study sites Source: ArcGIS, Environment Computing, Mapping, Analysis and Design, University of Waterloo, 2021

Tree House

Kuchekucheku Bamboo Orchestra Music and Dance Group

Figure 6.4 Tourist attractions at Mesomagor
Source: Mesomagor, 2021

In summary, tourism development at the Kakum National Park resulted from the commodification of one of Central Region's natural resource (the Kakum forest) in 1994. This public/civic sector initiative added an economic trajectory to the area, while also preserving the forest's ecosystem. However, according to a community leader (Mesomagor, 2019), this trajectory has compromised sustainability of the agricultural pathway, upon which many residents (of Abrafo and Mesomagor) rely. As shown in the following section, some have turned to tourism as an alternative livelihood.

6.2 Tourism Proprietors in the Kakum National Park Area

Surveys and/or interviews conducted with six tourism businesses, four at the park's visitor center, one in the forest, and another in Mesomagor village reveal that two locally-born and one counterurbanite own businesses in the tour, accommodation, and food sectors. The other three businesses are in the retail-artefact sectors, managed by locally-born and in-migrant employees; one is owned by an NGO and two by private sector entrepreneurs whose full residential histories were not determined. Details of proprietors' migration and business motives are considered in the following section. Tables 6.2a and 6.2b shows motivations for remaining or

moving to the Kakum area to operate a tourism-related business and Table 6.3 shows the pathway (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017) taken by the counterurbanite proprietor.

6.2.1 Locally-born proprietors

The two locally-born proprietors are from neighboring Jukwa and Mesomagor communities of the Kakum National Park. Their decision to remain in the THLDD or Assin South area stems primarily from their desire to remain close to family. Their motives for operating a business in their current location were, however, livelihood driven (income and proximity to the park), although they also had a passion for tourism-related work. For example, K2, a locally-born proprietor from Jukwa with a refreshment stand in the forest, mentioned that his father, a former employee with the GHCT at the park, secured the spot in the forest in 2003 after he retired to sell light refreshments to visitors. He later developed an interest in managing this family business because it allowed him to meet new people every day. Besides income from farming, the refreshment stand provides alternative income for his family. K2 reported:

> It is my Dad's business, he worked with the heritage trust at the Kakum park, and when he retired, he was given a spot in the forest to sell to tourists from the canopy walkway. We sell honey, cocoa, and coconut. Since it is my family's business, I have been helping my dad since I was16 years old. Our food kiosk serves as a rest stop for tourists after hiking (K2, Visitor Center, 2019).

The second locally-born entrepreneur is a native of Mesomagor who formed the Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra Group in 1997. According an interview with a community member of the village, and member of the group, K6, the owner of the dance group has passion for music, and he decided to use his talent to promote tourism in their village. K6 also noted that the proprietor's initiative has helped people like him to make additional income while doing what they love - music and dance. Another locally-born employee from Jukwa, K5, who is a sales associate for an artefact shop at the visitor's center of the park, reported that the business is owned by a female entrepreneur in Cape Coast, however, he did not provide further information about this entrepreneur.

Table 6.2a Kakum National Park tourism proprietors' residential motives

	Types of Motivation	
Proprietor Motivation and Residential History	**Lifestyle**	**Livelihood**
Motivation/ Reason to move to, or remain in the THLDD or Assin South area	Family/ Community ties	Employment / Start a business
Locally-born (n =2)	2	1
Counterurbanite (n =1)	0	1
Total	**2**	**2**

Table 6.2b Kakum National Park tourism proprietors' business opening motives

	Types of Motivation						
Proprietor Motivation	**Lifestyle**				**Livelihood**		
Motivation for operating a tourism related business at Kakum Park and Mesomagor	Passion/ Dream	Retirement activity	Create local employment	**Total**	Provide income	Business location	**Total**
Locally-born (n = 2)	2	1	0	**3**	2	1	**3**
Counterurbanite (n =1)	1	1	1	**3**	1	1	**2**
Total	**3**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**3**	**6**

6.2.2 In-migrant Proprietors

The counterurbanite proprietor, K1, was born in Takoradi in the Western Region of Ghana and moved to Accra as a caterer and later opened her own bakery. After retiring, she moved to Abrafo to open a restaurant in 2013 at the park in partnership with a colleague. The economic prospects of the park influenced her destination choice as she needed to generate

income to support herself during retirement. However, she also wanted some non-economic benefits, such as keeping busy while continuing to enjoy her passion for cooking and catering. This influenced her decision to start a tourism-related business upon arrival, thus taking an early-stage-livelihood-enabling route (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). She reported:

> The park was a good place to sell because of tourists, location good for business. When we first came, we were on that side where we started with the canopy, and when the board chair realized that school children had food to eat when they visited, he gave us permission to set up this structure. We give them moderately priced food that everybody can buy (K1, Visitor Center, 2019).

Two other counterurbanites from larger towns in the Central and Western Regions, respectively, are also involved in the tourism-related jobs, however, as employees. One works for an NGO, which established an artefact shop at the visitor's center to create employment and help community youth. The counterurbanite sales associate, K4, explained the motive of the business and the person who established the NGO:

> The shop is owned by an NGO - ATAG (Aid to Artisan Ghana) started by a woman, Alan Kyerematen's sister. When she died, her husband took over its operations. It was Heritage that was manning this shop, and my mom used to work for Heritage, until 2006 when they switched to this NGOs. So, I can say since ATAG took over, it's been 12 or 13 years (K4, Visitor Center, 2019).

The second counterurbanite staff, K3, is a photographer at the visitor center; he makes custom photo gifts for tourists who visit the park. He hinted that the photography shop he manages at the visitor's center belongs to a family friend who lives in Takoradi. He reported:

> My father and my brothers were all into photography. So, when I completed school, I told my brother who's in Canada now that I wanted to do photography, he said he had a friend in Takoradi. So, I went to his friend who had a place here in Kakum and within a week or two, the man hired me to oversee it. I prefer this place because my wife lives in the next village and since the place is a tourist area, we meet people every day, foreigners and Ghanaians (K3, Visitor Center, 2019).

Table 6.3 Pathways taken by a counterurbanite proprietor at Kakum National Park

Pathways / Migration			**Indicators**			
Tourism Proprietor	Tourist business type	Performance	Main destination reason	Business opening stage	Business outcome	Business motive
K1, Domestic in-migrant (Counterurbanite)	Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	I moved here to retire because of the economic prospect of the park. I opened a tourism business to support myself and to keep busy.	Economic	Early	Livelihood-enabling	Need

In summary, the motives of two locally-born participants to remain in the Kakum Conservation Area were lifestyle-driven (family, passion, and/or retirement). However, the in-migrant entrepreneur, K1's destination choice and business motive were livelihood-driven, although she desired some non-economic benefits. Proximity to the park was a factor of influence in proprietors' location decisions. The counterurbanite, K1, took an early-stage-livelihood-enabling route to tourism proprietorship. While the pathways of the proprietors for the remaining three businesses are not known, the business motive of the owner of the NGO was to facilitate change in the communities around the park. Details about how proprietors developed their tourism business at the Kakum National Park and Mesomagor, and the type of heritage products they sell, are described in the mechanisms section below.

6.3 The Tourism Development Trajectory at Kakum National Park: Mechanisms and Heritage Products

Tourism businesses are using a variety of mechanisms to enhance tourism development at Kakum National Park, by capitalizing on the region's natural (i.e., Kakum Conservation Area) and non-colonial (i.e., indigenous culture) heritage. As shown in Table 6.1, these initiatives emerged following the conservation of the Kakum forest and the subsequent creation of Kakum

National Park through public and civic sector investment. The park, which is now managed by the Ghana Wildlife Division and Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust, attracted civic organizations and private sector entrepreneurs (locally-born and in-migrants) who capitalized on this natural heritage tourist destination by opening businesses that cater to its visitors.

To determine which mechanisms are driving tourism development at Kakum National Park, three businesses were asked in a survey about the type of business they operate (i.e., tourism/accommodation, food, retail or other). Six businesses, including those who responded to the survey, were further asked in a semi-structured face-to-face interview to describe the nature of their ventures and whether they provided products or services that capitalized on local heritage. The results show that three entrepreneurs (two locally-born and one in-migrant) used a variety of symbolic, crafted, and replica heritage products to create tourism-related businesses through mechanisms of recombination and conversion (see table 6.1). The interviews further reveal that from the other three businesses owned by an NGO and two private sector entrepreneurs, two used recombination to sell crafted, replica and/or symbolic products, while one, which used a layering mechanism, did not capitalize on any heritage-related product (See table 6.4 and figure 6.5). Each of these mechanisms and heritage product types is described in detail below.

6.3.1 Recombination

As described in chapter four, recombination merges new capital assets with a region's existing heritage to create new tourism businesses (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). In Kakum National Park, original recombination occurred when the Central Region combined its natural heritage with capital assets from the public and civic sectors to turn the Kakum Conservation Area into a National Park, for ecotourism (See Table 6.1). Later, private and civic sector initiatives largely capitalized on this natural heritage by merging financial and human/cultural capital with non-colonial heritage (i.e., indigenous customs, food, clothing, music etc.), to open businesses in the tourism /accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors.

The first proprietor, who is locally-born, commodified Mesomagor's long-standing tradition of music and dance to create a cultural dance group in 1997 to entertain tourists in the

park and the village, a type of crafted heritage product. The group's musical instruments are all made locally using bamboo from the village. A member of the group explained:

> Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra is here to entertain tourists. Some tourists also come to tour the forest. This traditional dance started a long time ago. History has it that our ancestors used it as a form of entertainment at the beginning of every new month. It was a way to get over the fatigue of farming. They used it to entertain themselves. They used to play amid dance and some story telling. It was established over 50 years ago before Ghana gained independence through Kwame Nkrumah, when Ghana was changing from the Gold Coast to its current name, Ghana, so it's been a while. Through technology, we've changed stuff as we've moved along till foreigners came and saw it. They took pictures back to wherever they came from. The leader of the group also has a website through which people get to know about us (K6, Mesomagor, 2019).

He continued to report that the group started by doing street events, and they also had a contract with Kakum National Park to play every two weeks. He noted, "when they had a lot of tourists, not all could go on the walkway at once, so we played, danced and entertained those waiting and they paid us monthly, but that contract has expired" (K6, Mesomagor, 2019). A member of the dance group in Mesomagor also reported educating visitors about the animals in the forest, and medicinal benefits of plant species. He narrated:

> Some trees are medicinal - herbs. We have trees for stomach-ache and upset, if someone has a cough too, we have plants that heal those conditions. Whilst we're guiding the tourists through the forest, we also take the opportunity to educate them on these medicinal plants (K6, Mesomagor, 2019).

The second locally-born entrepreneur, a crop and bee farmer, opened a refreshment stand in the forest, near the visitor's center, to sell crafted heritage products - locally grown farm produce (coconut, honey and cocoa) to tourists. Similarly, the third proprietor, K1, is a counterurbanite with a restaurant at the visitor's center. She serves locally prepared Ghanaian dishes (a type of crafted heritage product) that are particularly known to people in Southern Ghana.

Two other businesses also recombined non-colonial heritage. The artefact shop owned by an NGO sells crafted heritage products, such as hand-made beads, several replica products (traditional clothes, shoes, bags), replica-crafted products (machine sewn leather slippers with handmade-beads), and symbolic paintings and miniature animals that reflect the Ghanaian culture. Staff at the shop reported that community kids make the artwork they sell to visitors to

the park (K4, Visitor Center, 2019). The second artefact shop owned by a private sector entrepreneur who resides in Cape Coast sells crafted (hand-made jewellery and beads) and replica heritage products (clothes, bags, and slippers sewn with traditional Ghanaian print materials) at the visitor's center.

As demonstrated, the original recombination of natural heritage and public and civic sector capital investment was the catalyst that led to recombination of a different type of cultural heritage observed at Kakum National Park. Even though recombination is the dominant mechanism used by the majority of entrepreneurs, one business used the layering mechanism.

Table 6.4 Mechanisms driving tourism development at Kakum National Park

	Mechanisms / Processes		
	Recombination	Layering	Conversion
Residential History	New non-colonial heritage business	New non-heritage business	Existing business that introduces alternative heritage over time
Locally-born, K2	Refreshment Stand		
Locally-born, K6	Cultural dance group		Guest House
Counterurbanite, K1	Restaurant		
Civic, K4	Artefacts		
Other, K5	Artefacts		
Other, K3		Photography	

6.3.2 Layering

Layering, as defined in chapter four, is undertaken by tourism businesses that do not directly use a region's heritage (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018) but may draw on the regional context in which they operate (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). One business owned by a private sector entrepreneur used a layering mechanism to provide photography services to tourists who visit the Kakum National Park. The manager of the shop, K3, takes and prints pictures of visitors on the canopy walkway, other attraction experiences, and the environs of the park. He also makes

printed personalized gifts and souvenirs, such as T-shirts and caps, upon request. While this business does not directly capitalize on non-colonial heritage, indigenous culture, or heritage products, his business benefits from visitors to the park. Likewise, only one local entrepreneur used the conversion mechanism.

6.3.3 Conversion

In a tourism context, conversion is the introduction of non-heritage products or services to an existing firm (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018). As described in chapter four, businesses may also add alternative heritage related products in conversion. The results of this study show that the locally-born entrepreneur who used recombination of non-colonial heritage to create the Bamboo Orchestra Dance Group in Mesomagor added a guest house in 2007, using a conversion mechanism. This entrepreneur introduced alternative heritage service to the dance group by capitalizing on resources available in the community. Even though the guest house does not directly use the community's heritage and heritage products, it was built to serve as an office space for the dance group and also accommodation for tourists who visit the village to watch the group play and decide to stay overnight or longer. A member of the dance group reported:

> The dance group has a guest house, where tourists lodge when it gets too late to return. It's a three-bedroom house, and each room has three beds, so it can take quite a number of people. We decided we needed a meeting place, a place where we could keep our equipment and a place for guests in the night-to sleep in. So, we built this guest house, but we've been in existence for 22 years (K6, Mesomagor, 2019).

Artefact Shops at the Visitor Center

Source: Pictures taken during fieldwork, 2019

Refreshment Stand in the forest

Source: Pictures taken during fieldwork, 2019

Guesthouse in Mesomagor

Source: Mesomagor, 2021

Figure 6.5 Tourism Businesses at Kakum National Park

To summarize, the majority of businesses (5/6), including three owned by two locally-born and one in-migrant, merged non-colonial heritage resources to create tourism businesses through the process of recombination. They all used a heritage-related product in their business (symbolic, crafted, and/or replica). One of the locally-born proprietors did not introduce a heritage product in his second business (guest house), which added an innovation to his existing business (traditional music and dance) using a conversion process. Likewise, one non-heritage-related business in photography used a layering mechanism. The next section describes how entrepreneurs' activities of recombination, layering, and conversion are impacting local communities. It also highlights public and civic sector development that has resulted from tourism in the Kakum Conservation Area.

6.4 Impact of the Tourism Development Trajectory in the Kakum National Park Area

The creation of the Kakum National Park is attracting public, private and civic sector investments. These are having a number of direct and indirect impacts on local communities. The former is demonstrated by the attraction of visitors to the area. The latter is evident in capacity building initiatives that generate financial, human, and physical capital assets. These impacts are considered below.

6.4.1 Direct Impact

As defined in chapters four and five, direct impact is defined here as increased visitation. Dubbed as "Ghana's most visited tourist attraction" the Kakum National Park receives about 120,000 visitors a year, with peak season between March and August (Ghana Wildlife Division, 2021; Visit Ghana, 2021). The community relations officer at GHCT confirmed that the majority of visitors to the park are Ghanaians, but also many are foreigners who bring in significant revenue, because locals pay less, and it is free for communities around the park. According to this individual, in the past, the park received more foreign than local visitors, "but now Ghanaians have gained interest in tourism, they visit here more often." A tour guide with the wildlife division said schools, churches and other organizations in Ghana organize field trips to the park, and the majority of foreign visitors are from the United States, United Kingdom,

Germany. The manager of the photography shop, K3, also reported that many of their customers are African Americans, Europeans, and local and international students. Many local tourists visit during the public holidays and the foreigners usually visit in the summer months (Tour Guide, Kakum Park, 2019). Tourism proprietors and staff noted that the park receives more visitors during public holidays in Ghana, and also in June and July. K3 reported:

> Actually, here, everything is seasonal. It's not all the time that you will see people here. Sometimes you may see about five people in a day. But during the peak season, we can get 3000 upwards visitors a day-those Ghanaian calendar holidays, people do come here. Because everyone has a phone with a camera now, they don't use our services as much and we have to pay rent (K3, Visitor Center, 2019).

The treehouse and the dance group in Mesomagor have also attracted many visitors to the village. A patrol team leader noted, "since I've been here, we've had about 20 to 25 tourist groups go to the treehouse, the largest group we've had was about 12 people" (WD, Mesomagor, 2019). A member of the dance group also reported, "some have even returned here five times, most from European countries and African Americans" (K6, Mesomagor, 2019). As detailed in the following section, increased visitation is clearly impacting local communities of the park.

6.4.2 Indirect Impact

The park, private and civic sector businesses have indirectly facilitated capacity building in local communities by generating financial, human, and physical capital assets (Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Like in Cape Coast, the development or formation of social capital was not evident in respondents' answers, although in Cape Coast some proprietors capitalized on their social capital to develop other capital assets. To determine these indirect impacts, the six tourism businesses interviewed were asked how their activities impact the community in which they operate. Park officials, NGOs, and community leaders were also asked whether or not the establishment of the park is benefiting local communities.

The first indirect impact, and a contributor of capacity building, is financial capital generated from businesses who spend money in the Kakum area and employ local residents. Financial capital is also generated from local employment that arises from the establishment of the park. Locally-born and counterurbanite proprietors and civic organizations are building financial capital in the communities around the Kakum National Park by using the services of,

and buying the majority of their supplies from, local businesses and the park. For example, the counterurbanite restaurant owner, K1, and the manager of the photography shop, K3, mentioned paying rent to the park for their business spaces. K3 sources her restaurant supplies in the Kakum area, Cape Coast, and the Central Region. However, K3 mentioned buying most of the materials he requires for designing and printing from Accra. In addition, research participants noted renting their residences from local homeowners. K1 further reported, "those who work here, a lot of them have hired houses and are living in" (K1, Visitor Center, 2019).

Employment has also generated financial capital for local residents. The activities of tourism businesses at the Kakum National Park are generating jobs for the communities around the park. To determine whether entrepreneurs were creating local employment, six businesses were asked in a face-to-face interview if they hired local residents or residents of the Central region. They were further asked how many employees were full-time, part-time, seasonal, or year-round. The results show that all six businesses employ approximately 40 local residents from communities around the park, including Abrafo, Jukwa, and Mesomagor (see table 6.5).

Locally-born entrepreneurs, however, generate more jobs than the in-migrant. The majority of these jobs (30) were created by two locally-born entrepreneurs, followed by seven local jobs generated by two other businesses owned by private sector entrepreneurs. Two more jobs were created by one NGO and one by the counterurbanite proprietor. Ten of the local residents are full-time year-round employees and five are full-time seasonal workers. More than half of local residents (25) employed by a locally-born proprietor are part-time and seasonal performers/dancers for the Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra in Mesomagor (see table 6.5). A member of the group explained that some members of the dance group also help with maintenance of the guest house, and others are tour guides who take visitors to the forest.

Another locally-born proprietor, K2, with a refreshment stand in the forest reported hiring five full-time, year-round employees who work on their crop and bee farms, and some assist with food processing and sales. The photographer at the visitor's center also mentioned that all his five full-time seasonal employees are local farmers from villages around the park. They work in different capacities in his photoshop during the park's peak season. He reported:

> They live and farm in the village, so I have to give them that freewill, and call them to work when we are busy. We print on t-shirts, caps, etc. When more people visit the park, we get really busy so we have all of them working, there is somebody up there taking the pictures, there's another person running for cards, one person is printing, another one

> calling them to receive their pictures, and one person taking the money. (K3, Visitor Center, 2019).

The NGO with an artefact shop at the visitor center also creates employment for many young artists in the community, in addition to their two full-time year-round store staff.

Table 6.5 Local residents employed by tourism businesses at Kakum National Park

Local jobs created by entrepreneurs and civic organizations (n = 6)					
Employer	Full-time year round	Full-time seasonal	Part-time seasonal	Total	Average # of jobs
Locally-born (n = 2)	5	0	25	**30**	**15**
Counterurbanite (n = 1)	1	0	0	**1**	**1**
Civic (n = 1)	2	0	0	**2**	**2**
Other (n =2)	2	5	0	**7**	**3.5**
Total # of Jobs	**10**	**5**	**25**	**40**	**6.67**
Average # of jobs	**1.67**	**0.83**	**4.17**	**6.67**	**-**

Aside from local jobs created by private sector entrepreneurs and local NGOs, local residents are also employed by the park's Wildlife Division (public) or the GHCT (civic) to work in varying capacities According to the community relations officer with the GHCT, "the communities around Kakum National Park, which are predominantly farming, have benefited from the establishment of the Kakum National Park and the opening of the canopy walkway" (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019). He continued to report that community members have gained employment (directly or indirectly) at the park. For example, "we have about 15-20 community tour guides who are working here, to assist the wildlife tour guides" (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019). A community leader at Mesomagor, who is also a tour guide, reported:

> When the people from Kakum established the national park, a lot of people lost their livelihoods so they trained us to be tour guides. I took a course in tour guiding from the University of Cape Coast. We are three, but I am the only native. One is currently with the Wildlife Division at Jukwa-Abrafo (Kakum park), and the other one is from the Enyan District. I must say though that there were a lot more who were trained (Community Leader, Mesomagor, 2019).

Tourism businesses at Kakum National Park are also building capacity by introducing and developing human capital. To ascertain this second indirect impact, entrepreneurs were asked if they acquired any skills needed to operate their business and if this knowledge was transferred to employees. Two entrepreneurs reported their level of formal education; the counterurbanite received a college diploma in food and nutrition, and one of the two locally-born proprietors completed high school. Other businesses (two) reported training staff to perform their duties. For example, ATAG, an NGO whose headquarters is located in the capital city of Ghana, Accra, is using its artefact shop at the visitor's center of the park to generate human/cultural capital among young people. The organization supports marginalized or deprived youth by providing them with employable skills. The store's sales associate noted:

> The organization is interested in street kids, we train them to do the products for this shop, so they can earn a livelihood. When they give us their work, we look at what everybody has brought in, and at the end of the month whatever we've made is divided into three, one third goes to the kids, the other third to the NGO to help sustain it, and the rest to the workers who work in the shop. This creates employment for them. Also, since the shop is an NGO, we don't pay tax. (K4, Visitor Center, 2019).

He also reported that some of the young people sell their pieces to other businesses and individuals, and others acquire more skills and develop a career in the field of arts and crafts, which further generates human capital. Similarly, the counterurbanite manager of the photography shop mentioned that some of his former employees have moved on to start their own business. He noted:

> I think we have to do something to help them, so they can focus ahead and also create something. One currently deals with car parts, he sells engines or spare parts (K3, Visitor Center, 2019).

Physical capital, the third source of capacity building examined, deals with infrastructure development. Tourism can benefit low-income communities through investment in infrastructure, such as roads, communication services, sanitation, and water and energy (UNDP, 2011), as described in chapter two. The creation of the Kakum National Park has indirectly prompted non-tourism infrastructure development in the THLDD and Assin South district. Community leaders in Abrafo and Mesomagor believe the park has drawn attention to their communities and have attracted people and development to the area. The King of Abrafo noted, "as Kakum National Park stands on a world pedestal, so does Abrafo-Odumase, because this is where the park is located" (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019). The King continued to report that

a community clinic was built by USAID, and also a philanthropist from the United States for many years supported Abrafo village. He narrated:

> Soon after the establishment of the park, a visitor from the University of Miami came to help the community, we gave her three acres of land, she built an eatery, guest rooms she and her colleagues could use whenever they visited, every two years. This lady gave us a community center, a market, a teachers' quarters, a library, and so, I must say she has in fact done a lot for us, and we indeed acknowledge her efforts. Even last year, they came by to build us a maternity ward, but work hasn't started in the building yet, because the district assembly and the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust have not equipped the ward with the necessary equipment to ensure it runs smoothly (Abrafo and Denkira King, 2019).

A community leader in Mesomagor also highlighted some of the benefits they derived from establishment of the park, such as improvement in general infrastructure, which has also created employment and facilitated development in the village. He recalled how they had to walk to a neighboring town to attend school or to sell their farm produce. He believed the development of the park made it easier for them to advocate for development projects:

> There was no school here, so we had to go to Amoabeng, and after form three, you had to go to Jakai by walk which is almost 20 km from here. So, you go on Sunday and come back on Friday evening. Now we have a school and it's basically at our doorstep. Also, there was no road, so we had to walk, carry our farm produce to Amoabeng junction to catch a bus to Nyankumasi market on Tuesdays and Fridays. One of our elders, Mahadi, went to the district assembly to help us get a road. And now we also have electricity (Community Leader, Mesomagor, 2019).

A community teacher from Mesomagor, with a diploma in business education from the University of Cape Coast, indicated that access to education in the village has been very beneficial. The school was established about 25 years ago, two years after parts of the village's forest was designated for the Kakum National Park. The school had about 300 students at the time of the interview, and employs teachers in Mesomagor; however, the majority of the teachers are from neighboring towns who commute by motorbike to the village daily (Community teacher, Mesomagor, 2019).

Additionally, the communities in the conservation area have been given the opportunity to submit annual project proposals to GHCT. According to the communications manager at GHCT, one of the mandates of GHCT "is to ensure the continued support for the communities that gave up their land to make the Kakum Conservation Reserve area, these are our primary focus" (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019). The anti-poaching team lead for Mesomagor confirmed that

the activities of GHCT focuses on the communities. He reported, “if the communities put their grievances before them, they consider it, if you ask for three or four projects, they can’t do it all, so they’ll choose one, and then go to another community” (WD, Mesomagor, 2019). However, the communications manager emphasized that community leaders decide on the projects, not the GHCT

> We don’t determine what project they do; they determine, and ours is just to ensure that whatever is tabled is where the budget goes, and then it is done in time for the right reasons. The Community Advisory Committee, made up of chiefs and representatives of the people from each of the communities and the municipal assemblies, come together every year to decide which communities and what project in particular, should be done (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

One such projects was the mechanized borehole facility built for the people of Mesomagor, to help address the water shortage in the village. The water project was commissioned on January 23, 2019, according to a community teacher in the village. He explained, “we put five requests before the GHCT, they decided to do the mechanized borehole for us, the project started in June 2018. I must say some of our burdens have been lifted, because we had no good source of water” (Community Teacher, Mesomagor, 2019). In another example, a sales associate for an artefact shop reported that GHCT built a toilet facility in his community, Jukwa (K5, Visitor Center, Mesomagor, 2019). Abrafo village also benefited from an ICT Center in 2012, according to the Coordinator of the center:

> I’m the ICT center attendant for Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust. I’ve been in charge of the ICT center since it started operation in 2012. We started operation with 60 computers in the main learning center and five computers in the business center. The attached business center is to support the ICT center and serves the community when they need printing and photocopying services. About 1060 students from primary one to Junior High School from different schools have received training here.

He continued to report:

> We also trained some staff at the Kakum National Park, teachers, and community members in both software and hardware. The main idea for this ICT center is to serve the people in the Kakum Conservation area, to impart knowledge, because GHCT saw that the people in this catchment area don't have ICT facilities. Since 2012 about 300 community kids have taken part in ICT exams during B.E.C.E. Every year, we have an ICT quiz, which has English, Math and Science additions, to look at their performance and the impartation of the ICT, and it’s been very effective. The youth especially are improving in terms of ICT (GHCT, Abrafo, 2019).

The coordinator expressed excitement about the progress of his students, "the ICT center has brought a lot of impact to the people in this community and even beyond. One of the students I trained can do hardware without any supervision, like installing new operating systems, drivers, changing components on the motherboard, and detecting troubleshooting" (GHCT, Abrafo, 2019). The ICT center has also benefited visitors who conveniently access communication services which may not be available in rural areas. He recalled, "a German tourist came here to convert her document from German language into English and printed. She was so excited to find such service in a remote area" (GHCT, Abrafo, 2019).

As demonstrated, the creation of Kakum National Park has attracted visitors to the area. It has also enabled investments from private and civic sectors, whose activities have contributed to local capacity building through financial, human, and physical capital asset investment. These investments are also impacting other economic sectors in the Kakum area. In spite of these developments, tourism stakeholders and the communities around the park reported deficiencies in the tourism trajectory which impact the development of the area. These deficiencies and their proposed are described in detail in the next section.

6.5 Deficiencies in the Tourism Trajectory and Proposed Remedies

Similar to Elmina and Cape Coast (chapters 4 and 5), tourism and community stakeholders identified at least three deficiencies in the tourism industry in the Kakum National Park area, and suggested ways to address these deficiencies. First is the limited attractions and tourism amenities, second is inadequate infrastructure development, and third is limited park employment opportunities for local residents.

Tourism proprietors, park officials, and community leaders believe that the park needs to add other amenities and more attractions to boost tourism and the local economy. They reported that the lack of diversified attractions and amenities has resulted in shorter stays and has partly led to the declining number of visitors to the park. Hence, a key informant with the Wildlife division suggested that having a guest house and more attractions will diversify the park and motivate visitors to stay longer. A participant at the visitor's center emphasized the importance of having a swimming pool to attract more visitors who would stay longer in the area and patronize local products and services:

> If they could add a swimming pool, a volleyball court, and also a zoo, tourists will stay here longer. Some people sweat from the canopy walkway and they have to go to Hans or somewhere else, but if they had a pool, a lot more people would stay here longer (K4, Kakum Park, 2019).

Another employee at the visitor's center suggested that the park could diversify its offering every five years to attract more visitors, particularly returning tourists who would like a new experience.

As described in chapter two, this lack of innovation could potentially exhaust Kakum's tourism path if new activities are not introduced to further renew (layering) and /or extend (conversion) the path. As found in the other two study sites, layering and conversion would facilitate economic diversification and potentially spur the growth of the local economy of the Kakum Conservation Area (Steen and Karlsen, 2014).

The second deficiency reported by community leaders and tourism stakeholders is inadequate infrastructure development. For example, with the development of the park, the Abrafo king expected adequate infrastructure development in the village. He reported, "we were of the view that with our collaboration, issues of health, employment and the provision of good drinking water would have been taken care of by the government" (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019). At the time of this study, the community clinic in Abrafo had been closed for about a year for lack of physicians and other health workers. The community employed a private practitioner to work at the clinic; however, after the maternity ward was built, their request for health workers from Ghana's Ministry of Health, has not been addressed. Community members have to travel to a neighboring village, Frami or Cape Coast for health care, according to the king. The king also mentioned that some government projects in the community are incomplete. For example, "we have a community bio toilet that was done in the year 2000, when President Kufuor was president, but it wasn't completed" (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019).

Another concern shared was the bad state of road and telecommunication infrastructure in Mesomagor. The village has a narrow untarred road, making it difficult for tourists to visit, farmers to transport their produce to neighboring villages and towns, and for teachers to commute to and from the village. Community members sometimes have to create road paths. As one interviewee reports: "the road is narrow, it needs the grader to create space and why should we be creating the path when there are machines that can get the job done in some three days" (Community Leader, Mesomagor, 2019). He continued to report, "the community lacks a cellular

tower and it is difficult to pick up reception from distant towers, you have to stand in a particular spot to make a call" (Mesomagor, 2019). A community teacher also emphasized the need for better road and telecommunication infrastructure. He believed that these would attract more visitors, investments and economic opportunities to the village. He reported, "we want our roads to be a bit tarred, we want more streetlights, there are only two in the community, when it's nightfall the place is very dark, and also, the phone network issue is a very big challenge" (Community Teacher, Mesomagor, 2019). Similarly, the coordinator at the ICT center in Abrafo complained about limited access to the internet, which affects the services and training they can provide.

The community of Abrafo is faced with similar deficiencies. The state of the Abrafo road, leading to the entrance of the Kakum National Park, is a major concern. A key informant with the GHCT reported, "our main problem is the road, as you saw when you were coming, visitors complain a lot about the rough nature of the road" (GHCT, Kakum Park, 2019). At the time of the interview, tourism proprietors speculated that the state of the road may be partly responsible for the decreasing number of visitors to the park. The counterurbanite restaurant owner at the visitor center reported:

> The tourist numbers have reduced drastically, so people are not coming in as before. Some still come, but when the road started deteriorating, the numbers are not as before, especially when it gets to occasions. When I first started here in 2013-2014, on 6th March and July1st, business was brisk because a lot more people came, and their cars could be seen in traffic from the next village, the numbers are not as before (K1, Visitor Center, 2019).

With the amount of revenue and benefit the Central Region and Ghana derive from tourism at the park, the Abrafo King expected the maintenance of the road to be prioritized. The deteriorating road conditions could potentially result in loss of visitors and revenue, and loss of income for farmers who use the road to transport their produce (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019).

> You'll be amazed at the amount of revenue that leaves here, particularly on public holidays such as 6th March and May Day but our road is in this terrible state you find it. If the revenue from Kakum should depreciate, it's because of the road. Foreigners won't come and use their cars on this road and return. Even Ghanaians who might go through this road, with the high cost of spare parts, are unlikely to come by again. As we speak currently, when a new vehicle is acquired by the drivers who ply this road, within six months, the vehicle is no longer motorable. The Ghana government and the officials at the park should try their best to help us (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019).

The King further recounted:

> Two thirds of the Central Region's cocoa are transported through this road; we feed Cape Coast, Jukwa, Heman, Twifo Praso, Ati Morkwa. Also, this road is a major road for Akyempim, all the mining towns (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019).

The third and final deficiency reported is the limited park employment opportunities available to local residents. The King of Abrafo reported that although many of the community members are qualified to work at the park because of their knowledge of the forest, the park does not employ as many individuals as it did in the past. This is unfortunate since many locals lost their livelihood due to the conservation of the forest and the creation of Kakum National Park. He reported:

> In the past, when positions became vacant, the chief and his elders were in the know, and recommended a couple of people in the community for employment, whilst the government brought others from Accra, but for about four years now, this no longer exists. What we see now is all recruitments come from Accra, and when the new recruits are brought in, they know close to nothing about the forest. Working in the forest has nothing to do with the degrees, the secondary school graduates here can do the job, because they know the forest, and if they were to take on more of our people, the community will be the eventual beneficiaries. We have graduates in town who can be taken on as park managers, instead of always looking outside the community for employees. It is true that job opportunities are hard to come by these days, but if there are vacancies, the youth in this town should be considered (Abrafo and Denkyira King, 2019).

The Queen Mother of Abrafo-Odumase added:

> In the 13 years I've been here, the park employed some of the indigenes of the town, but most of those employed are not natives of this town. The forest the town gave out was their source of livelihood, it was a place our forefathers got herbs to sell, snails for food, and that's how they took care of their families (Abrafo-Odumase, 2019).

Additionally, community leaders in Abrafo and Mesomagor say the main economic activity of the area (farming) is proving to be unsustainable, not only because of growing population, poor road conditions, and limited access to farmland, but also because of increasing loss of crop yields to forest elephants. For many years, farmers in Abrafo and other communities have experienced destruction of crops by elephants even before the Kakum Conservation Area was established, however the communities continue to experience increased loss of farm produce

(Mensah, 2017; Monney, Dakwa and Wiafe, 2010; Sarkodie et al., 2015). Monney et al. (2010) found that within a period of at least four weeks, farmers experienced "50 raids by elephants covering a total land area of about 24,925.8 m2, in a form of consumption and destruction by trampling and uprooting of mature and immature crops". The destruction of crops by elephants was persistent at the time of this research. A community leader in Mesomagor reported:

> Sometimes, the elephants destroy our farms, and there's no compensation. They leave the forest and come to eat our food; those who farm along the forest, food that can be consumed in a year, they eat in a day, all these bring hardship to us (Mesomagor, 2019).

However, a tour guide with the wildlife division explained that farmers have been advised to farm further away from the borders of the park, and to also plant spices that deter elephants.

> Most of the communities are-cocoa farmers. Most of our elephants during that season, enter their cocoa farms and destroy most of their pods and seedlings. They come over to complain to us. The government doesn't pay compensation, but we go out to educate them about preventive measures. We asked them to plant peppers around their farms because elephants are scared of peppers. And also, beehive, because they're also scared of noise, yeah. But they do it this year, the following year, they don't and they've farmed close to the park (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019).

These issues have prompted tourism and community stakeholders to advocate for the creation of additional economic opportunities and sustainable ecotourism development in the area to enhance community livelihoods and to stem youth out-migration. According to sales associate, K5, the youth in his community, Jukwa, prefer to travel to bigger cities after high school because of a lack of local employment. A member of the dance group in Mesomagor also reported, "once the kids are done with SHS, everybody wants to move on to the bigger towns but only return when it's Christmas, or Easter" (K6, Mesomagor, 2019). A community teacher also reported, "when the kids complete JHS, they move out to Accra, Kumasi or Takoradi and other big cities because there are no jobs here" (Mesomagor, 2019). Young people are encouraged to return home and farm; however, many are not interested because the communities lack basic amenities, and "they no longer enjoy life out here", says a community leader in Mesomagor.

However, a community tour guide from Abrafo village believes that many local residents are unaware of the employment opportunities at the park. He suggested that there is a need to

create awareness of this and to advocate for community ownership and a sense of belonging to the park. He reported:

> We all are benefiting from the park, but most of our employees are not even living around the park, and some communities don't even know that they have a stake during employment. Because when I came here, I only saw a few people employed from this community, Abrafo. Where are the others? No, they're not feeling part. They are not telling them that this is what they can get from the park. If you're employing them, you tell them, if you destroy the forest, you are not going to get any of the work to do. Some of the communities are very small villages with about 100 people. Let's make them feel ownership, feel part of the park by getting them involved (WD, Kakum Park, 2019).

As shown, tourism in the THLDD and Assin South District is faced with a number of deficiencies. Increasing tourism amenities and attractions at the park have been suggested as a remedy to boost the tourism industry, create employment and develop the local economy. The limited employment opportunities for locals at Kakum National Park has led to continuous reliance on the dominant economic path (crop farming) of the area, but increasingly, farming activities are declining due to limited farmlands and inadequate infrastructure. These issues have led to the out-migration of young people in many of the communities that surround the park. Careful planning is therefore important in tourism development to ensure that new economic pathways are not taking essential resources from the communities involved, but, rather, are providing them with new market opportunities and access to basic amenities (UNDP, 2011).

6.6 Conclusion

Chapter six has shown how the tourism path in the THLDD and Assin South, unfolded before and after parts of the area were protected. The Kakum National Park, which was designated as part of Ghana's reserved area, emerged as a result of over-logging and the need to protect the forest's biodiversity. The public and civic sectors commodified this natural resource to create a new economic path, eco-tourism, to diversify the economy of the area and create jobs for the communities who lost their livelihoods after the park was established. Locally-born and counterurbanite proprietors, are among those who are capitalizing on the park and local culture in their tourism related businesses.

Locally-born and counterurbanite' motivations for remaining or moving to the Kakum Conservation Area were reflected in their lifestyle choices. Their business motives were, however, livelihood-driven; this is evident in the pathway the counterurbanite took to tourism

proprietorship (livelihood-enabling). Tourism businesses have employed a recombination mechanism to create symbolic, crafted and replica heritage products from the area's non-colonial assets, but there is little evidence, to date, of path renewed and extension through the layering, and conversion mechanisms. While there are relatively fewer businesses at the park, compared to Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, the activities of tourism businesses are adding to the economic and social diversity of the Kakum Conservation Area. They are creating local employment and building the capacity of local communities through their capital (human and financial) investments. The creation of the park was also found to generate community-based projects, which have resulted in education, health and sanitation infrastructures.

While ecotourism contributes to the economic diversity of the area, several deficiencies were noted, which are contributing to ongoing unemployment and youth out-migration. Hence community and tourism stakeholders ask for more public sector investment to grow tourism as an alternative economic activity to farming, and to diversify the economy by introducing other activities. The significance and implications of the findings of this study at Kakum National Park and the other two tourist destinations (the Elmina and Cape Coast Castle areas) are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven: Critical Realism Analysis

The goal of chapter seven is to combine the findings from the previous chapters and to apply the three stages of critical realism ontology (demi-regularity identification, abduction, and retroduction) to these key findings. As revealed in chapter three, demi-regularities are the patterns, tendencies, number of occurrences, and themes identified from empirical data (Fletcher, 2017). Abduction is a process of "inference or thought operation, implying that a particular phenomenon or event is interpreted from a set of general ideas or concepts" (p. 205; Fletcher, 2017). Retroduction describes the generative mechanisms and conditions that produce the observed demi-regularities (the events). For each of the five objectives, an over-arching demi-regularity is identified that captures the main trends observed for the entire sample. These trends are then re-described using existing knowledge and theory (Bhaskar, 2014). Given the breadth of the identified demi-regularities, retroduction is then applied only to patterns that are not readily explained through abduction (see table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Components of retroduction (objective 1)

Potential Enabler (entity)	**Entity's causal power**	**Entity's liability**	**Conditions**	**Generative mechanism**	**Event (the demi-reg)**	**Non-event**
Objective 1 demi-regularity: *the establishment of public/civic tourism venues in the CR preceded private sector investment in the tourism trajectory, which today accompanies the region's historic economic pathways***.**						
Government	To produce policy/ programmes, initiatives, civic partnerships to initiative tourism		Poor economic conditions	Deteriorating economic conditions	Tourism trajectory initiated, diversifying the economy	
Investors	To open an entrepreneurial tourist venture		Tourism base already established by public/civic sector	Government enacts specific programs to facilitate private investment Rental space becomes available Mesomagor is recognized for tourism	Entrepreneurial tourism ventures open	

Table 7.1 Components of retroduction cont'd (objectives 2 and 3)

Potential Enabler (entity)	**Entity's causal power**	**Entity's liability**	**Conditions**	**Generative mechanism**	**Event (the demi-reg)**	**Non-event**
Objective 2 demi-regularity: *most tourism proprietors in the Central Region have external living experience; their decisions to move and open tourist business (most often early-stage) are more often livelihood, than lifestyle-driven*						
Livelihood - motivated in-migrant investor	To open a livelihood-driven tourism venture in the CR		Public sector tourism initiatives provide ready-made tourist market; government establishes educational institutions	Young migrants gain business knowledge through education (Cape Coast)	Livelihood driven tourism ventures open	
			Economic conditions provide employment opportunities for youth	Cape Coast becomes a metropolis.		
Objective 3 demi-regularity: *recombination (using non-colonial heritage) is the dominant mechanism used by CR proprietors in their tourism ventures, most of which offer crafted or replica heritage products.*						
Investors	To engage in recombination of non-colonial, rather than colonial heritage		Public sector tourism attractions that commodify colonial heritage already in place	Recognition of gap in tourism offerings	Tourism venues that recombine proprietor's capital with non-colonial heritage open	
	To offer crafted and replicated products		Public sector tourism attractions offer authentic products	Initial government funding, & civic initiatives provide training to youth in craft-making (Cape Coast & Kakum). Private sector training for youth in Cape Coast & Elmina on walking tours	Tourism venues that sell crafted and replica products open	

Table 7.1 Components of retroduction cont'd (objectives 4 and 5)

Potential Enabler (entity)	**Entity's causal power**	**Entity's liability**	**Conditions**	**Generative mechanism**	**Event (the demi-reg)**	**Non-event**
Objective 4 demi-regularity: *the CR's heritage tourism trajectory attracts international and domestic visitors; their presence indirectly builds the capacity of local communities through proprietor actions, particularly those of counterurbanites and local residents.*						
Local investors	To employ many local residents (thereby building local capacity)		Presence of local performers	Arrival of visitors seeking authentic performing arts	Employment of locals	
Local returnee investors In-migrant investors			Limited economic opportunities and high rates of poverty	Presence of altruistic motivations		
Objective 5 demi-regularity: *the tourism trajectory in the Central Region is characterized by limited diversity in tourism offerings and infrastructure*						
Investors	To provide infrastructure or innovative products through conversion or layering	Low annual income provided in tourism Lack of tourism asset knowledge Lack of community engagement in state tourism projects				Limited diversity of tourist offering and infrastructure

7.1 Functional Change in the Central Region

The first objective sought to describe the changing functionality of communities located in proximity to three of Ghana's major tourist destinations (the Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park). The specific goal was to determine how the heritage tourism trajectory first evolved. This objective was met by gathering information from key informants (tourism officials and community stakeholders in Accra and Central Region), from interviews conducted with tourism entrepreneurs, and from existing literature.

The overarching demi-regularity that emerged from this analysis is that *the establishment of public/civic tourism venues in the CR preceded private sector investment in the tourism trajectory, which today accompanies the region's historic economic pathways.* This trajectory initially emerged in Ghana in the late 1970s, with the creation of three major tourism paths in the Central Region. Two of tourism paths commodified Ghana's colonial heritage (Elmina and Cape Coast Castles), which served as trade centers and home to European masters during the colonial era. The third arose from natural heritage (the Kakum forest), which was initially preserved in 1925 to protect the rainforest.

These tourism paths later benefited from the opening of private sector tourism ventures that capitalized on the region's cultural (indigenous culture or non-colonial heritage) and natural heritage. These ventures historically took the form of retail stores and guided tours, but, over time, businesses in the accommodation and food sectors have increased markedly (MOTAC, Accra, 2019). In 2019, for example, the Central Region boasted 334 licensed hotels and restaurants, with 97 concentrated in the Elmina (35) Cape Coast (59), and Kakum National Park (3) areas (GTA, 2021). However, some of the accommodation ventures that participated in this study were not on the list of documented hoteliers, implying that they may be informal.

Today, these trajectories are accompanied by earlier paths that were dependent on natural resources (fishing, farming, mining, and forestry, in particular). In two places, Elmina and Cape Coast, primary sector activities continue to dominate, in rural localities in particular, although tourism contributes significantly to the economy of both areas. The same is not the case in the THLDD and Assin South district. Here, the creation of a tourism path (Kakum National Park) compromised the current dependent path (farming and forestry). As shown in chapter six, the communities around the park lost a significant portion of their farmlands and livelihoods when the Kakum Forest Reserve was turned into a national park in 1992. In Mesomagor, for example, the population declined because residents moved to other towns as farming was their sole economic activity. Although the park was necessary for the conservation of the forest's ecosystem, the communities believe they could have been given more access to more farmlands or provided with more sustainable alternative economic opportunities (Abrafo King, 2019). Although the park has created new economic opportunities, the findings suggest that the majority of communities are not directly benefiting from the park. As described below,

these situations may be related (using abduction) to several concepts drawn from the economic geography discourse.

The twin concepts of creative destruction and enhancement may be used to contextualize the varying situations that exist at the three study sites. Creative destruction occurs when new firms or innovations displace existing ones (Schumpeter, 1942), while creative enhancement refers to the successful co-existence of new and existing innovations (Mitchell, 2013). Creative destruction appears to be the case in the THLDD and Assin South areas, where an external development (in this case, a government initiative) dictated a development direction that compromised the dependent path. According to community leaders, the government's failure to sustain the economic and social development plans aimed at improving the standards of living of communities through the establishment of the park has left many communities impoverished. The situation in the Kakum area, however, shows partial creative destruction as the creation of the Kakum National Park did not completely displace the dependent path and it has also created new alternative economic activities (although insufficient) and preserved the Kakum forest (MoT, Accra, 2019). In contrast, creative enhancement appears to be occurring in the Cape Coast and Elmina area where tourism has not displaced the primary sector trajectory but exists alongside.

The existence of multiple paths is also recognized in the EEG literature. Indeed, as Steen and Karlsen (2014) argue, path-dependent regions can create diversified economies, especially if history is considered an essential enabler. The concept of co-evolution captures the co-existence of different economic trajectories as it allows for different developed paths to co-exist within a region or destination (Brouder et al., 2017). As shown in chapter two, Gold Coast, Australia, for example, has multiple tourism activities that emerged from a pre-existing beach resource (Ma and Hassink (2013). To further understand how co-evolution occurred in the Central Region, the third step in critical realism research, retroduction, is applied.

Government action, as a response to shifting economic conditions, is responsible for the co-evolution of economic trajectories in the Central Region. In the language of the critical realist, government's (the *entity*) ability to facilitate economic diversification through tourism, (the *causal power*) was released when economic *conditions* deteriorated (the *generative mechanism*), prompting it to take actions that would diversify the local economy (the event). The following narrative describes this unfolding.

As the findings of this study have demonstrated, the Central Region has undergone significant economic change since the arrival of the first European traders in 1471. The presence of external traders provided the opportunity to extend the region's dependent path (gold mining) to gold trade with Europeans, while maintaining other dependent primary activities of fishing, farming, and forestry. The region was the first in Ghana to be settled by Europeans and it became the major trade point in West Africa (Arthur & Mensah, 2006). By the early sixteenth century, trade in human (the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade) and natural resources was introduced in the region; however, this only benefited a few local chiefs and elites in Ghana, and European colonies, particularly those under the control of Portugal, Netherlands and England (Nguah & Kugbey, 2015). The existence of trade centers, i.e., Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and forts, facilitated this new form of trade for 400 years.

The region transitioned when slave trade was abolished in the early 1800s. This led to a period of colonization in Ghana under British rule, which lasted until 1957 (Van Dantzig, 1980). During this period, the region's economy grew significantly with the establishment of new businesses in the trade and transportation sectors, with much influence stemming from foreign companies and investments (Agyei-Mensah & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). Even after the capital city (Cape Coast) of Ghana moved from the Central Region to Accra in 1877, the region continued to experience economic growth.

Over time, trade ports and industrial development shifted from the Central Region to other areas, including Western, Ashanti, and Greater Accra (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). This led to another stage of economic decline in the boom-bust cycle of the Central Region, even after Ghana gained independence from the British. Since independence in 1957, Ghana's economic planning agenda (Adu-Ampong, 2018) has been geared to boost economic growth. As a result, a port was established in Tema in 1962, and import substitution industries were built in Accra, Tema, and Kumasi (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). Unfortunately, these exogenous developments were mostly concentrated in the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions, which reduced economic growth in the Central region and at its main trade center (the Cape Coast port). As a consequence, its role as a port eventually collapsed (Agyei-Mensah, 2006) and by the late 1970s, the economy and population of the region, particularly, Cape Coast, were declining, as people migrated to industrialized cities in search of better economic opportunities (Agyei-Mensah, 2006).

By the early 1980s, the economy of the Central Region had further deteriorated due to limited available economic opportunities. In response, regional economic policies were targeted towards restructuring and marketing the region, and its capital town, Cape Coast, as a desirable trade and tourism destination, in an attempt to attract investments and visitors (Agyei-Mensah, 2006). The regional administration, in collaboration with the Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM), the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), and the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) embarked on a Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation (NRCHP) Project (GHCT communications manager, Cape Coast, 2019; Government of Ghana, 2012). The project, which was initiated in 1989, was aimed at boosting the region's economy through tourism by promoting the region's colonial assets (Elmina and Cape Coast Castles), beaches, culture, and natural resources to the outside world (Government of Ghana, 2012). Although the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles had been designated as national monuments in 1973, and as UNESCO world heritage sites in 1979, tourism promotion was limited, prior to the establishment of the Tourism Ministry (now the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture) in 1993 (Addo, 2011). In 1994, the Kakum National Park was also established to conserve the region's rainforest and to promote ecotourism (Appiah-Oppong, 2011). In August 1996, "the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT), a not-for-profit NGO, was established to consolidate and further the progress made through NRCHP Project" (GHCT, 2021; Government of Ghana, 2012, p. 94). GHCT is tasked with protecting and maintaining the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, and Fort Jago, and also with managing the visitor's center at the Kakum National Park (Government of Ghana, 2012).

In 2000, the KEEA Municipal Assembly also launched the Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Program (ECHMP), in collaboration with the Institute of Housing and Urban Studies in Rotterdam, the GMMB, Ghana Institute of Local Government Studies, and the Department of International Relations, University of Groningen (Arthur & Mensah, 2006). ECHMP is aimed at "restoring and managing the mutual cultural heritage existing in Elmina" and encouraging multi-stakeholder participation with the civil society, public and private partnerships, private sector, and entrepreneurial initiatives (Arthur & Mensah, 2006; Shared Cultural Heritage, 2021). The program is also meant to promote good governance, stimulate economic activities, and enhance tourism and socio-economic development in Elmina and the municipality (Arthur & Mensah, 2006; Shared Cultural Heritage, 2021). These actions support

Ghana's identification of tourism as one of several pillars for economic growth and poverty reduction (Holden et al., 2011; Preko, 2020).

The 1996-2010 tourism development plan was part of Ghana's Vision 2020, to make Ghana a middle-income country (Government of Ghana, 2012, p. 4). The most recent 15-year national tourism development plan (2013-2027), outlines strategies for diversifying the industry, promoting socio-economic development, and "making Ghana the preferred tourism destination in Africa" (Government of Ghana, 2012, foreword). This puts Central Region at the core because Cape Coast and Elmina Castles are the most significant historical and cultural tourism assets in Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2012). The region is known to be one of the preferred destinations in the country, particularly because of its colonial heritage, the Kakum National Park, its popular beach resorts, and colorful festivals (Government of Ghana, 2012).

Historically, the tourism industry was largely driven by the public and civic sectors (Addo, 2011), but private sector investments soon followed. This event (i.e. the release of potential investors' causal powers) also stems from public sector actions (both state and regional) that created favourable conditions for tourism (i.e. a base of tourists from which to draw), and which helped potential entrepreneurs overcome inherent liabilities (lack of capital). The latter is evident in Ghana's "2005 Medium Term Tourism Policy," which points to the need to invest in local tourism entrepreneurs through training and capacity building to create employment (and to promote infrastructure development) (Akyeampong, 2011). Tourism is seen as an avenue for economic development, one that will create jobs and facilitate better waste management, better health system, and improved roads (Addo, 2011; Adu-Ampong, 2017; Bruner, 1996). It is also viewed as one way to reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, particularly goals eight (decent work and economic growth) and nine (industry, innovation and infrastructure).

To facilitate tourism development, the regional government actively seeks ways to promote the tourism sector to potential investors. In two places, Elmina and Cape Coast Castles, the government turned former colonial offices and residences into retail stores to rent out to tourism proprietors. A proprietor recalled, "the monument board gave us access to the castle in 2003 by splitting up a vacant room into three different shops" (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019). Spaces were also made available outside the Castles; some of these were made available by the civic organization responsible for the Castle, and others by local resident landowners. In Kakum

National Park, this action came from the GHCT (civic); they initially built three retail stores and a restaurant at the visitor center to rent out to tourism entrepreneurs, each of whom offer crafted and replica heritage products to visitors. Later, the park rented out additional spaces at the visitor center and in the forest to entrepreneurs who opened tourism ventures. The Government also recognized Mesomagor as part of tourism attraction for visitors of the Kakum National Park, as the village features a tree house and a vast forest, which was part of the Kakum forest reserve. This recognition facilitated the opening of the Kukyekukyeku dance group by a local proprietor, to entertain visitors.

More recently, CEDECOM held a conference at Elmina's Coconut Beach Resort in May 2019, aimed at developing strategic plans to promote the region as a preferred investment destination and to attract more prospective business investors to the region (LGS, 2021). Although this recent event does not explain the involvement of the study's participants in the tourism sector, it points to the ongoing efforts being taken by government to facilitate release of potential investors' causal powers. In the next section, the characteristics and motivations of those operating tourism venues in the Central Region is described (objective 2).

7.2 Tourism Proprietor Characteristics and Motivations

The second objective of the study was to uncover who the Central Region's entrepreneurs are, and why and when they became involved in the tourism path. The overarching demi-regularity associated with this objective is expressed in two parts: *most tourism proprietors in the Central Region have external living experience; their decisions to move and open tourist business (most often early-stage) are more often livelihood, than lifestyle-driven.* This demi-regularity emerged from surveys and interviews conducted with 36 tourism businesses in the three major tourism destinations. The quantitative information provided by these sources is presented in a series of tables (Tables 7.2 – 7.5), which present data for each of the three study sites, and for the region as a whole.

The first part of this demi-regularity deals with who is involved in the tourism path, based on residential living experience. As described below, information to support this regularity is provided in Table 7.2. It shows that newcomer in-migrants (13 domestic and 3 international) own a slight majority (16 of 29) of enterprises, with nine located in the Cape Coast area, six in the Elmina area, and one at Kakum National Park. Counterurbanites (n=12) dominate the in-migrant

cohort; 10 domestics (3 in Elmina, 6 in Cape Coast, and 1 in Kakum) and 2 internationals found in Elmina), followed by two urbanites (domestic) in Cape Coast, and two whose residential status is unknown (1 domestic and 1 international). The remaining 13 ventures are owned by locally-born stakeholders. Included within this cohort, however, are two international returnees (located in Elmina) and two domestic returnees (located in Cape Coast), three of whom are counterurbanites (one found in Elmina and two in Cape Coast) and one whose last place of residence is unknown. Thus, the majority (20 of 29) of participants who own the sampled tourism businesses in the region (16 in-migrants, and 4 returnees) have external living experience.

Residential history is frequently used in the migration literature to uncover returnees, newcomers, counterurbanites and others (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, b; Stockdale, 2016). Th findings reported here somewhat conform to this literature and may be contextualized (via abduction) using Mitchell & Shannon's (2018a) *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Figure 2.2). As noted in Chapter 2, this framework identifies three enablers for tourism development including new entrepreneurial capital, which may be introduced from outside the local community. This study found that most proprietors in the Central Region sample have external living experience, drawn either from international or domestic locations and, hence, are a source of new capital. In the Cape Coast and Kakum National Park vicinities, only Ghanaians comprise the in-migrant cohort. In contrast, three international newcomer in-migrants were found in the Elmina area (Ampenyi community), two of whom are African Americans, with one reporting former residence in the Netherlands[25]. Their presence here both validates the framework, and also confirms what Yankholmes & Timothy (2017) found in Elmina and Cape Coast, what Åkesson (2015) revealed on the islands of Cape Verde, and what Geyer & Geyer (2017) recorded in South Africa. The two international returnees found in Elmina also aligns with Kleist's (2015) earlier research in Ghana.

[25] While other foreign owned establishments were identified in Elmina, particularly European and African American, the researcher was unable to successfully secure an interview from their proprietors.

Table 7.2 Business participants' profile

	Numbers of participants (n = 36)[26]			
Destinations	Elmina Castle Area	Cape Coast Castle Area	Kakum National Park Area	Total
Total # of Participants	11	19	6	36
Occupation of Participants				
Business owner (proprietor)	9	17	3	29
Staff[27]	2	2	3	7
Gender				
Women	2	6	1	9
Men	7	11	2	20
Proprietors' Residential History				
Locally-born proprietors	3	8	2	13
Local proprietors	1	6	2	9
Locally-born returnee proprietors	2	2	0	4
Newcomer in-migrant proprietors	6	9	1	16
Domestic	3	9	1	13
International	3	0	0	3
Counterurbanite	5	6	1	12
Urbanite	0	2	0	2
Proprietors' Education				
Some high school	0	1	0	1
High school	2	5	1	8
Some college	0	1	0	1
College	0	2	1	3
Undergraduate	0	2	1	3
Graduate degree	1	1	0	2
Non-response	5	6	1	12
Proprietor's Age				
18-24	1	0	0	1
25-34	0	6	1	7
35-44	1	4	0	5
45-54	0	1	0	1
55-64	2	0	0	2
65 & older	1	0	1	2
Non-response	4	6	1	11

The study also revealed that counterurbanites and urbanites were the only two in-migrant cohorts contributing new capital, with lateral migrants (i.e. those originating in similarly sized communities) absent from the in-migrant sample. The latter is not unexpected since lateral

[26] Some of this information is drawn on in later sections.

[27] In five cases, the business is managed by local staff, who did not provide information about the owner. In one case, the business owner was not available at the time of the interview; local staff provided basic information about the business owner.

migrants have mostly been identified in the global north, especially in Europe (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012; Stockdale, 2016) and North America (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, 2018b), with very few studies recognizing their presence in Africa (e.g. Cotton, 2019). The presence of urbanites confirms what migration studies have reported in Africa and other developing countries (Awumbila et al., 2008; Potts 2009), although counterurbanization is increasingly being reported (Geyer and Geyer, 2017). Counterurbanite activity in the Central Region also confirms what Potts (2005, 2009) has reported in Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Mali, and what Geyer and Geyer (2017) have found in South Africa. As shown in chapter two, counterurbanization is a common trend in most amenity-rich places as people from urban centers are pulled to the rural lifestyle or rural idyl, particularly in the developed world (Akgün et al., 2011; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017; Moss, 2006). This is also the case for international counterurbanites identified in the Central Region (i.e. Elmina), as noted below.

In Ghana's Central Region, lifestyle and livelihood motives influence the decision of proprietors to reside and open businesses in the region. However, as revealed by the second part of the demi-regularity described above, *the decisions to move and open tourist business (most often early-stage) are more often livelihood, than lifestyle-driven.* Evidence to support this statement is first presented in Table 7.3. Although it shows that lifestyle (family/community) was the most important reason cited by locals (8 of 13) and returnees (4 of 4) to remain in, or return to the Central Region, it also reveals that most newcomer in-migrants (11 of 16) cited livelihood reasons (i.e. for employment, to start a business) for migration (five in Elmina, five in Cape Coast and one in Kakum), as did all domestic counterurbanites in Cape Coast and Kakum National Park (with one exception). Thus, although lifestyle (family/community) drove the residential decision of local residents and returnees, livelihood factors were key amongst the in-migrant groups.

Table 7.3 Proprietors' motivations

	Proprietor Data (n = 29)			
Residential motivations[28]	Elmina Castle Area (n = 9)	Cape Coast Castle Area (n =17)	Kakum National Park Area (n = 3)	**Total**
Livelihood				
Locals	0	0	1	**1**
Returnees	1	0	0	**1**
Newcomer i**n-migrants**	5	5	1	**11**
Lifestyle				
Locals	1	5	2	**8**
Returnees	2	2	0	**4**
Newcomer in-migrants	2	5	0	**7**
Business-opening motivations[29]				
Livelihood				
Locals	1	6	2	**9**
Returnees	2	2	0	**4**
Newcomer in-migrants	6	9	1	**16**
Lifestyle				
Locals	1	2	2	**5**
Returnees	2	1	0	**3**
Newcomer in-migrants	4	4	1	**9**

Table 7.3 also shows that livelihood was the dominant reason for opening a local business amongst all proprietor cohorts at each of the three sites (9 in Elmina, 17 in Cape Coast, and 3 at Kakum National Park). This is the case for local residents and returnees, although a number (n = 8) of these locally-born participants was also driven by their desire for some non-economic benefits (passion or fulfilling a dream, retirement activity, impact community). Livelihood motives influenced the decision of all in-migrants (n = 16), with nine participants citing lifestyle reasons as well (this includes four in-migrants who moved for lifestyle reasons). Although proprietorship was undertaken by these individuals for livelihood reasons, some non-economic benefits were desired as well.

Supporting evidence for the objective two demi-regularity is also provided in Table 7.4. This indicates the timing of business opening amongst 18 participants (those who moved into their respective community). It reveals that a slight majority (7 in-migrants and 4 returnees) started an early-stage venture immediately upon arrival, with others (6 in-migrants and 1 returnee) opening a late-stage business venture, post-movement. Early-stage openings were of

[28] Some proprietors cited both livelihood and lifestyle reasons for residential motives.
[29] Each proprietor mentioned at least one livelihood and / or one lifestyle business motive.

particular importance in the Cape Coast area, with only three of nine proprietors opening a business later at a later date.

Table 7.4 Timing of business opening

	Number of Proprietors (n = 18)			
Time of business opening	Elmina Castle Area	Cape Coast Castle Area	Kakum National Park Area	Total
Early-stage opening	**4**	**6**	**1**	**11**
Returnees	2	1	1	4
Newcomer in-migrants	2	5	0	7
Late-stage opening	**4**	**3**	**0**	**7**
Returnees	0	1	0	1
Newcomer in-migrants	4	2	0	6
Total	8	9	1	18

Table 7.5 combines motivation and business opening information to identify the dominant routes taken by participants to proprietorship, thereby framing the findings within Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) conceptual framework *Routes to tourism proprietorship.* As described in Chapter two, this framework identifies six macro routes taken by in-migrants (who may be newcomers or returnees) to proprietorship based on motivations (for migration and business opening), each with two sub-types, distinguished by the timing of business opening. In combining these variables, the framework demonstrates that migration and business decisions can be economically/or non-economically driven (Bosworth and Finke, 2020; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017).

Table 7.5 Participants routes to proprietorship

	Number of Proprietors (n = 18)			
Tourism proprietor pathways	Elmina Castle Area (n = 8)	Cape Coast Castle Area (n = 9)	Kakum National Park Area (n = 1)	**Total**
1a Early-stage-livelihood-enabling	1	4	1	**6**
1b Late-stage-livelihood-enabling	2	3	0	**5**
2a Early-stage-livelihood-enhancing	0	0	0	**0**
2b Late-stage-livelihood-enhancing	0	0	0	**0**
3a Early-stage-lifestyle-enabling	0	2	0	**2**
3b Late-stage-lifestyle-enabling	2	0	0	**2**
4a Early-stage-lifestyle-enhancing	2	0	0	**2**
4b Late-stage-lifestyle-enhancing	0	0	0	**0**
5a Early-stage-leisure lifestyle-enabling	1	0	0	**1**
5b Late-stage-leisure lifestyle-enabling	0	0	0	**0**
6a Early-stage-leisure lifestyle-enhancing	0	0	0	**0**
6b Early-stage-leisure lifestyle-enhancing	0	0	0	**0**

Table 7.5 shows that only three of the six identified macro routes were taken, with livelihood-enabling (route #1) being the dominant pathway (taken by 11 of 18 proprietors). This route was of greater importance in the Cape Coast area, with seven of nine participants moving along this path (with three of eight in Elmina and one in the National Park). In each of these cases, individuals moved to their respective destinations mainly for livelihood (economic) reasons and opened a business mainly to enable this livelihood (although it is important to note that many economically-motivated proprietors also desired some non-economic benefits as well). Six of the 11 participants established their venture immediately upon arrival (#1a), aligning with Bosworth's (2010) contention that those whose movement motives are production-led (i.e. economically or livelihood-driven) tend to open early-stage enterprises in their post migration performance. The other five (of 11) opened their businesses at a later date (#1b), hence

confirming that timing of business opening by livelihood seekers may vary, as Mitchell and Shannon (2017) found in their Newfoundland study.

The remining individuals (7 of 18), all located in Cape Coast and Elmina, moved to their destination for lifestyle reasons. Five of these opened a business to enable this lifestyle (route #3), with two opening businesses at an early stage (#3a), and three at a later date (#3b). The presence of two African Americans in the latter category confirms what Yankholmes and Timothy (2017) found in their study of the Cape Coast and Elmina areas. Only two individuals engaged in proprietorship to enhance their chosen lifestyle (taking route #4a). Both individuals settled in the Elmina area and opened a business upon arrival. One of these is a returnee, and the second a European counterurbanite who moved to Elmina "to buy a beach resort" because they "fell in love with the location" and subsequently "opened a tourism business to fulfill a dream" (E2, Elmina, 2019). Lifestyle-routes are not prevalent, however, although this is not the situation in other international locales (Akgün et al., 2011; Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2015).

Although in the minority, the presence of lifestyle enhancing or enabling routes in the Central Region conforms to the tourism and migration literature. This extant research does not explicitly describe migration using Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) routes, but many scholars agree that lifestyle (family/community) is a very important reason influencing the decision of migrants, particularly returnees, to move home (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017, p. 3; Stockdale, 2016). King and Christou (2010) for example found the presence of Greek-American returnees are linked to kingship ties, with Kleist (2015) also noting the presence of international returnees in Ghana. This finding is corroborated here since domestic and international returnee destination decisions were based on their desire to be close to their families and communities. The literature also suggests that lifestyle reasons are more important than livelihood reasons for some counterurbanite cohorts (e.g. anti-urbanites), particularly in the global north (Akgün et al., 2011; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017; Moss, 2006). As found here, this is also the case in the Central Region, where international counterurbanites cited amenity or family (lifestyle) for relocating, specifically in the Elmina area.

Scholars also agree that lifestyle motives may be the key factor influencing a proprietor's decision to open a tourism venture, often sometime after migration has taken place (Morrison, 2006). As the findings have shown, returnees and counterurbanites with lifestyle motives in particular tend to use their externally accumulated capital to open small tourism businesses, post

movement (Bosworth, 2010; Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). Although lifestyle factors were noted by many proprietors in this study, livelihood reasons dominated. Furthermore, in no cases did a lifestyle entrepreneur (Morrison, 2006) open a late-stage business, a situation predicted by Müller (2006), who equates consumption-led motives with opening late-stage ventures.

The paucity of leisure-lifestyle routes (#5 and #6) is, however, noteworthy and contrasts markedly with the situation in the global north (Mitchell and Shannon, 2017). Here, lifestyle-oriented retirement migration is one of the main flows into smaller settlement areas that contain significant amenities or family ties (Akgün et al., 2011; Stockdale et al., 2000). Some of these individuals may choose to open a tourism business either for economic reasons, or to enhance their lifestyle (Vuin et al., 2016; Williams and Hall, 2000). This situation is limited in the Central Region, at least amongst the sampled population. Although two individuals are of retirement age in the sample, only one moved (to Elmina) for lifestyle reasons after retirement (E10), and then proceeded to open a tourism business to support himself and his family, and to "help my community." In doing so, he took an early-stage, leisure lifestyle-enabling route to tourism proprietorship.

An application of retroduction to these findings reveals that the dominance of livelihood-motivated individuals found in the Central Region, particularly in the Cape Coast area, may stem, in part, from the presence of superior educational institutions. These, potentially, have attracted young people to the area who are then provided with the knowledge necessary to pursue entrepreneurial commercial ventures. Using critical realism language, the attainment of knowledge (the generative mechanism) released the causal powers of returnees and newcomers to open commercial tourism enterprises (the event) in the Cape Coast area.

Educational facilities have been present in the region for many years. They first emerged under British colonial rule, with opening of the first elementary school in 1765 and later with establishment of several secondary schools and colleges affiliated with the Catholic and Anglican churches of England. By the late 1940s, Cape Coast had more educational institutions than anywhere else in Ghana (Agyei-Mensah & Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2007). These initiatives contributed to Cape Coast becoming an important entrepreneurship center, since it attracted many students interested in the study of commerce or commercial ventures (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b). It is conceivable that the strong educational foundation laid by the British has attracted young people who are likely to settle or later find jobs in the area, including those in the

tourism sector. Indeed, as seen in Table 7.2, the majority of proprietors in the Cape Coast area are relatively young (with only one participant over the age of 45) and, furthermore, most of those with post-secondary education reside in the Cape Coast Castle region (6 of 9 in the sample). Their ability to pursue educational opportunities, made possible by government action may, in part, explain their presence in this region, and, hence, the dominance of livelihood-enabling pathways.

Economic conditions, too may help explain the dominance of livelihood-motivated individuals in the Cape Coast area. Being Ghana's trade center, the seat of government, and capital city until 1877, Cape Coast has been known to attract many migrants because of its economic prospects (Agyei-Mensah, 2006; Statistical Service, 2014b). Recent government actions (a generative mechanism) which designated Cape Coast as the capital city of the Central Region and the Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly, and which granted the city metropolitan status in 2007 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b), could partly explain the presence of a younger sample of economically motivated in-migrants (and urbanites) in Cape Coast (In contrast, in-migrant proprietors who were 55 and older were dominant in Elmina and Kakum National Park). The actions taken by these tourism stakeholders is considered in the next section (objective 3).

7.3 Tourism Proprietors' Actions

The third objective of this research determines how proprietors are involved in the tourism trajectory in the Central Region. The demi-regularity identified for this objective is also expressed (and presented) in two parts: *recombination (using non-colonial heritage) is the dominant mechanism used by CR proprietors in their tourism ventures, most of which offer crafted or replica heritage products.* This regularity is identified from an analysis of two characteristics found in the retail (n = 14), accommodation and food services (n = 14) and tour operation (n = 15) sectors: mechanisms used (recombination, layering, and conversion), and products offered (e.g. artefactual, crafted, replica, symbolic and replica-crafted heritage). Supporting data are presented in Tables 7.6 – 7.8.

Table 7.6 Mechanisms used in tourism businesses

	Number of Business Offering each Type (n = 36)				
	Recombination		**Conversion**		**Layering**
	New colonial heritage business	New non-colonial heritage business	Existing business that introduces non-heritage products/ services over time	Existing business that introduces alternative heritage products over time	New non-heritage business
Elmina Castle Area (n = 11)	**2**	**9**	**2**	**1**	**1**
Locals	0	0	0	0	1
Returnees	0	2	0	0	0
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	1	3	0	1	0
Newcomer in-migrants (International)	1	2	2	0	0
Other[30]	0	2	0	0	0
Cape Coast Castle Area (n = 19)	**2**	**18**	**0**	**2**	**1**
Locals	2	6	0	2	0
Returnees	0	2	0	0	0
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	0	9	0	0	0
Other[31]	0	0	0	0	1
Civic	0	1	0	0	0
Kakum National Park Area (n = 6)	**0**	**5**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Locals	0	2	0	1	0
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	0	1	0	0	0
Other[32]	0	1	0	0	1
Civic	0	1	0	0	0
Total	**4**	**32**	**2**	**4**	**3**

[30] Business is owned by a Ghanaian whose residential details are unknown, but the business is managed by a locally-born employee.
[31] Business is owned by the University of Cape Coast.
[32] Two businesses owned by Ghanaians but managed by locally-born employees

Recombination, conversion and layering are each apparent in Ghana's Central Region (Tables 7.6 and 7.7). Most businesses, however, use recombination by merging their capital assets with either colonial or non-colonial heritage. The former was uncovered in four businesses (tour operation and promotion services), while the latter was found in the majority of businesses surveyed (32 of 36), including three of the participating tour businesses. Considering that tourism is centered around the region's colonial assets (Addo, 2011), the small number of sample businesses in Elmina and Cape Coast that commodify colonial history is unexpected. Thus, although two forms of recombination are used in Elmina and Cape Coast, indigenous culture (non-colonial heritage) is highly capitalized on.

Although recombination is widely used, relatively few businesses use conversion to add non-heritage (n = 2) or alternative heritage (n = 4) products to their colonial/non-colonial heritage ventures. In Elmina, businesses that are predominantly owned by international counterurbanites used non-heritage products (e.g. weddings, Karaoke nights) to extend their existing accommodation venue. Conversion of alternative heritage was also evident in Elmina, where a domestic counterurbanite introduced community walking tours to his colonial history tours. However, only one form of conversion (alternative heritage) was evident in the Cape Coast area and Mesomagor (Kakum National Park). In Cape Coast, two locally born proprietors introduced alternative heritage products; one added community tours in the Central Region, and ecotourism locations within and outside Ghana to his existing tour business (colonial and non-colonial). The other added a retail store to offer heritage themed souvenirs to visitors who use his colonial and non-colonial tour services. Similarly, in Mesomagor, a locally-born proprietor added a guest house to provide office space and accommodation for visitors who come to see his dance group perform.

Conversion was more evident among participating businesses than was layering. Only three firms, each in the accommodation and food sectors, use a layering mechanism – one in each of the study sites. In each case, it has been used to renew the tourism path by adding non-heritage products to existing offerings. In Elmina, layering was undertaken by locally-born proprietors, however, in Cape Coast and Kakum National Park, the residential status of the business owners' who used layering was unknown (one business belongs to UCC and the other by a private sector entrepreneur). None of the in-migrant proprietors in all three sites used a layering mechanism.

There is no clear relationship between mechanisms used by in-migrants (recombination and conversion) and their routes taken to proprietorship (Table 7.7). Although the majority of in-migrants (11 of 18) who used only recombination (colonial and non-colonial) opened their businesses for livelihood, rather than lifestyle, reasons (three in Elmina, seven in Cape Coast and one in Kakum National Park), six opened their ventures early on in their migration performance (Table 7.7), with five starting their businesses at a later date. The conversion mechanism was employed by only three in-migrants (each in Elmina). Each took different livelihood (n = 1) or lifestyle (n = 2) routes to proprietorship, confirming that lifestyle routes and commodification mechanism are not necessarily related.

Table 7.7 Mechanisms used by in-migrant and returnee proprietors taking different routes to proprietorship

	Numbers of Proprietors (n = 18)						
	1a. Early-stage livelihood enabling	1b. Late-stage livelihood enabling	3a. Early-stage lifestyle enabling	3.b Late-stage lifestyle enabling	4a. Early-stage lifestyle enhancing	5a. Early-stage-leisure lifestyle enabling	**Total**
Elmina Castle Area							
Recombination	1	2	0	2	2	1	**8**
Conversion[33]	0	1	0	1	1	0	**3**
Layering	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	1	3	0	3	3	1	**11**
Cape Coast Castle Area							
Recombination	4	3	2	0	0	0	**9**
Conversion	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Layering	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	4	3	2	0	0	0	**9**
Kakum National Park Area							
Recombination	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Conversion	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Layering	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
All sites (n = 18)							
Recombination	6	5	2	2	2	1	**18**
Conversion	0	1	0	1	1	0	**3**
Layering	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**6**	**6**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**21**

[33] Three in-migrant proprietors who originally used recombination mechanism also extended their businesses through conversion mechanism.

Proprietors engaging in recombination, conversion, and layering, as described above, offer a variety of product types, with the majority selling crafted and replica products. This is evident from Table 7.8 which shows that six types are available at the three sites, including five forms of heritage: artefactual, crafted, replica, symbolic, and replica crafted, in addition to non-heritage products. Of the 69 total heritage and non-heritage product offerings, crafted and replica heritage dominate (29 offer crafted and 20 offer replica product types). The majority of crafted and replica products (30 of 49) are offered by domestic in-migrants (n = 22) and locally-born (n = 8) entrepreneurs. Five returnees offer crafted and replica products, but only two of these heritage product types are sold by international in-migrants. Civic organizations (n =4) and other private sector entrepreneurs (n = 8) also offer crafted replica heritage products. More than half of these ventures (29 of 49) are found in the Cape Coast area, followed by 13 crafted and replica offerings in the Elmina area, and seven in the Kakum park area.

The demi-regularity that has been described above may be redescribed through abduction by drawing on Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Figure 2.2). As previously explained, this evolutionary framework operationalizes the creation of a particular type of economic trajectory - one that draws on existing historic, place-based assets (Brouder et al., 2017) to create a branching innovation trajectory that is both path-dependent and path emergent (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). The framework indicates that the presence of entrepreneurial initiatives may facilitate development of this path. It shows that this occurs initially through the recombination mechanism, when "historically developed resources and competencies are recombined with new ones to form purposeful deviations onto the new path" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p.135). Over time, the two other mechanisms of conversion and layering, may extend and renew the path, respectively (Steen and Karlsen, 2014).

In the Central Region, three forms of recombination emerged from its historical past: colonial heritage (i.e. the slave trade); non-colonial heritage (cultural/indigenous assets) and, natural heritage. Recombination of colonial and non-colonial heritage was evident in both Cape Coast and Elmina, where the region's artefacts are centred (Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle). These were non-existent at the Kakum National Park, however, where natural assets that formerly sustained the indigenous population were prevalent.

Table 7.8 Product types found in Central Region tourism businesses

	Number of Business Offering each Type (n = 36)							
	Artefac-tual heritage	Crafted heritage	Replica heritage	Replica-crafted heritage	Symbolic heritage	Re-purposed heritage	Non-heritage	**Total**
Elmina Castle Area (n = 11)	**2**	**9**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**18**
Locals	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Returnees	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	9
Newcomer in-migrants (Interna-tional)	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Other	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Cape Coast Castle Area (n = 19)	**2**	**15**	**14**	**2**	**6**	**0**	**1**	**40**
Locals	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	8
Returnees	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	4
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	0	7	8	2	3	0	0	20
Other	0	2	2	0		0	1	5
Civic	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
Kakum National Park Area (n = 6)	**0**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**10**
Locals	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
Civic	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
Total	**4**	**29**	**20**	**4**	**9**	**0**	**3**	**69**

Like recombination, two forms of conversion were identified. Defined in chapter two, conversion can either introduce change or innovation in an existing firm (Steen and Karlsen, 2014). In a tourism context, this innovation can include non-heritage themed products, which can capitalize on aspects of heritage to add value to non-heritage products (Elmes & Mitchell, 2020;

Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Depending on a destination's place specific resources, proprietors can introduce both heritage and non-heritage products to extend their businesses. Hence, this study acknowledges this and offers two forms of conversion; one that capitalizes on alternative heritage and the other, on non-heritage assets. Here, alternative heritage refers to the introduction of other place-based heritage assets (natural or cultural) to extend the original business (e.g. ecotourism). Evidence of these two types of conversion only emerged in the Elmina area, where some locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs drew on the region's natural resources to introduce ecotourism, with Cape Coast and Kakum National Park exhibiting one form - conversion of alternative heritage.

In addition to conversion, subsequent incremental changes can occur in a tourism trajectory when non-heritage products are introduced that renew the path through a layering mechanism (Mitchell & Shannon, 2018a). As noted above, layering is the least frequently used mechanism observed in the region, with evidence of at most one business employing this process in each of the three study areas (Elmina, Cape Coast, Kakum National Park). This was undertaken in each case to renew the tourism path by capitalizing on non-heritage assets in the accommodation service. This finding is similar to what Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) found in Newfoundland, where proprietors renew the tourism trajectory through their non-heritage layered businesses in the accommodation sector. However, unlike the Central Region, layering in Newfoundland included the offering of non-heritage products in the retail and food sectors as well.

Products resulting from recombination, conversion and layering are also accommodated in the *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Figure 2.2). Artefactual products are authentic tangibles, such as local antiques or authentic intangibles like historic tours (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). In the Central Region, only intangible artefactual heritage products were identified, referred to as a "slavery heritage tourism product" in a post-colonial context (Yankholmes and Timothy, 2017, p. 7). Like the name implies, entrepreneurs provide tours to Elmina and Cape Coast Castles to educate visitors about the colonial history (slave-trade) of the region and Ghana.

In contrast, the other four heritage products in the Central Region were produced from non-colonial heritage. Crafted heritage products, inspired by local heritage (e.g. locally prepared food, hand-made artefacts), are offered by retail stores and restaurants in all three study sites, as

Elmes and Mitchell (2020) found in Paris, Ontario, and Mitchell and Shannon (2018a) found in Newfoundland. Replica heritage products can reproduce crafted products by using modern production methods (e.g. machinery) instead of traditional methods (Mitchell & Shannon, 2018a). Like crafted products, replicas were offered by retail stores that sell artefacts that represent the culture of the Central Region and Ghana. This confirms what other international studies have found to be offered in tourism places (Hume, 2009; Park, 2013). Replica-crafted products are, therefore, a combination of the methods of production (hand-crafted and machine) to produce a unique heritage product, offered by retailers. Common examples at the three sites were machine sewn leather slippers with hand-made beads or hand-woven Kente – a traditional type of patterned textile known to the people in the southern part of Ghana. Finally, symbolic heritage product types (visual representations and tactile simulacra) were also identified in the Central Region, as they were in Newfoundland (Mitchell & Shannon, 2018a). Visual symbolics included paintings of natural landscapes and cultural artefacts that represent Ghana. Tactile symbolic products came in the form of miniature forest animals (e.g. forest elephants), particularly found at the Kakum National Park. Retail stores at the park carried many of these products, although they were found among retail offerings in the Elmina and Cape Coast areas as well.

The product types and mechanisms observed in this study thus largely conform to those identified in the *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). The findings reveal that although recombination of proprietors' assets with non-colonial heritage is very apparent in the Central Region, the mechanisms of conversion and layering are less prevalent than found in other regions, such as rural Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). Similarly, and potentially related, is the dominance of craft and replicated heritage products in participating businesses. Retroduction is undertaken here to explain the dominance of recombination (based on non-colonial heritage) and the sale of crafted and replicated heritage products: the absence of conversion and layering is explained later, under objective five

The dominance of recombination that uses investors' capital to commodify non-colonial heritage, may be partially explained by public sector action, which commodified colonial and natural heritage to create the original tourism paths (Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and Kakum National Park). The economic prospects of these destinations then attracted private sector investors who saw the opportunity to diversify the tourism offerings by selling products

that capitalize on the region's existing cultural heritage (non-colonial heritage) in and around the destinations. For example, a tour operator narrated:

> I created the walking tours, so my topic was: "Diversifying the Tourism Product Base in KEEA", that is this area. Because people come, and they don't have any activities, but we can create the activities, walk them through the town, tell them stories, they spend more time here (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

A domestic in-migrant also explained how she chanced the opportunity to diversify her crafted and replica product offerings

> I started selling outside the castle, and one time, a tourist came looking for beaded earrings and couldn't find any from those of us outside, so I ventured into that as well and started churning them out. As time progressed, I went into tie and dye with some of my colleagues outside then moved into leather goods. I currently deal in beads, hats, slippers, shells and cowries, African wear, just to mention a few (E6, Elmina Castle, 2019).

A local proprietor who opened her business outside the Cape Coast Castle because it made "economic sense" also narrated:

> I started small and expanded my business as I went along. I started by undoing flour bags and sewing to sell. Now I sell I sell purses, shirts, shorts, trousers, bags and backpacks (C1, Cape Coast Castle, 2019).

Training opportunities provided by various stakeholders in craft-making (a generative mechanism) also helps explain this demi-regularity. In Kakum National Park, for example, the NGO (Aid to Artisans) operates a retail store at the visitor's center that trains young artists and features their replica and crafted heritage products. The store's sales associate noted:

> We train deprived young people to make artwork so they can earn a living. Any piece they make we help them sell it in our store, which provides income for them and moves them off the street (K4, Visitor Center, 2019).

Training has also occurred in Elmina. Here, private entrepreneurs, including a tour operator, provide training and support to young people, which encourages further offerings of non-colonial products, such as the walking tours, a type of crafted heritage offering. E5 explained:

> I train young tour guides, and I give them practical knowledge because my MPhil thesis was even related to the walking tours I'm doing. So, next week for example, one guy is going to join me. He just finished tourism, higher national diploma, HND II" (E5, Elmina Castle, 2019).

These varied initiatives thus partially explain the prevalence of businesses that sell non-colonial heritage products. The impacts of these ventures are considered next (Objective 4).

7.4 Tourism Impacts

The fourth objective of this research considered the impact of tourism business activities in local communities. Observed regularities were identified from visitor numbers reported at the three main tourist venues (direct impacts) and the number of local residents that proprietors employed, their local product and service provider clientele, and from their capacity building initiatives (indirect impacts). These are combined into a two-part, overarching demi-regularity that *the CR's heritage tourist trajectory attracts international and domestic visitors; their presence indirectly builds the capacity of local communities through proprietor actions, particularly those of counterurbanites and local residents.*

An analysis of visitor numbers provided in a 2019 Central Regional report reveals that both international and domestic travellers visit the region's three major tourist destination. According to this report, Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle, and the Kakum National Park are the main and most attractive tourist sites in the area (LGS, 2021), recording, in 2011, the highest number of visitations reported at 40 destinations in Ghana. Of these, Kakum National Park received the highest number, with 361,067, followed by Cape Coast Castle with 97,595, and Elmina Castle with 81,677. The vast majority of clientele at two of the sites are local residents (76% at Cape Coast Castle; and 78.5% at the Elmina Castle), with only Kakum National Park receiving more international visitors (56%) Government of Ghana, 2012, p. 53 & 54).

The research also reveals that proprietors are impacting their local communities by generating, financial, human, and physical capital assets in the region. Financial capital investment includes buying local products, using the services of local providers, and investing in physical structures. Entrepreneurs are also creating jobs in their local communities, which is providing financial benefits for local residents.

For the sample as a whole, local residents generate more jobs, on average, than do those with external living experienced. This is shown in Table 7.9. It reveals that of the 36 businesses, 22 hire a total of 103 local residents, an average of 2.9 jobs per business. The nine local residents in the sample employ 4.8 on average, although this is a bit misleading since two firms in the

Kakum National Park area each employ 15 locals, on average. In contrast, participants with external living experience (n = 27) hire 2.3 residents, on average, with the three international in-migrants (2 counterurbanites and 1 African American -unknown residence status) who live in the Elmina area, contributing 23 jobs (seven on average). Fourteen more are generated by six domestic in-migrants (5 counterurbanites and one unknown). Thus, although local residents generate more financial capital via employment than other cohorts, the contributions of in-migrants with external living experience – particularly counterurbanites – is noteworthy.

Additionally, proprietors are building local capacity by generating human capital assets. Although only explicitly noted by two locally-born and six in-migrants (5 domestic and 1 international), by employing local residents, they are using their knowledge and skills to train employees and community youth. These skills not only enable employees to do their jobs but, in some cases, this knowledge facilitates new business creation in the hospitality industry. This impact was noted by eight of the sample businesses: one African American, two locally-born, one international, and two domestic in-migrant proprietors, and two civic organizations.

The final indirect impact is reflected in physical capital assets. Proprietors are contributing to the aesthetical appeal of the region through their investment in physical structures, such as hotels, restaurants and beach resorts. At least three locally-born entrepreneurs, have contributed to infrastructure development in their communities by leveraging their social capital to promote and enhance education, health, and sanitation infrastructure.

Demi-regularity identification for objective four has thus uncovered the direct (visitation) and indirect (capacity building) impacts of the tourism trajectory. The findings associated with the latter can be accommodated, partially, by the *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018). This framework identifies two potential impacts that may result from tourism trajectory development: employment, and population retention. This study has found evidence of the former but has also uncovered other impacts related to capacity-building that are not included in this conceptualization. These impacts are, however, accommodated in the concept of neo-endogenous development (Ray, 2001).

Table 7.9 Local residents employed by tourism businesses

	Numbers of Businesses (n = 36)[34]						
	Full-time year round	Part-time year round	Full-time seasonal	Part-time seasonal	Temporary/ seasonal	**Total**	**Average # of jobs**
Elmina Castle Area	**41**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**43**	**3.9**
Locals (n = 1)	6	0	0	0	0	6	6
Returnees (n = 2)	9	0	0	0	0	9	4.5
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic) (n = 3)	5	0	0	0	0	5	1.7
Newcomer in-migrants (International) (n = 3)	21	2	0	0	0	23	7.7
Other (n = 2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cape Coast Castle Area	**19**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**20**	**1.1**
Locals (n = 6)	6	0	0	0	1	7	1.2
Returnees (n = 2)	4	0	0	0	0	4	2
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic) (n = 9)	8	0	0	0	0	8	0.9
Civic (n = 1)	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other (n = 1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kakum National Park Area	**10**	**0**	**5**	**25**	**0**	**40**	**6.7**
Locals (n = 2)	5	0	0	25	0	30	15
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic) (n = 1)	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other (n = 2)	2	0	5	0	0	7	3.5
Civic (n = 1)	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
All sites							
Locals (n = 9)	17	0	0	25	1	43	4.8
Returnees (n = 4)	13	0	0	0	0	13	3.3
Newcomer in-migrants (Domestic) (n = 13)	14	0	0	0	0	14	1.1
Newcomer in-migrants (International) (n = 3)	21	2	0	0	0	23	7.7
Other (n = 5)	2	0	5	0	0	7	3.5
Civic (n = 2)	3	0	0	0	0	3	1.5
Total	**70**	**2**	**5**	**25**	**1**	**103**	**2.9**
Total with external living experience (n = 27)	**53**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**60**	**2.3**

[34] Of the 36 businesses, 22 reported employing local residents as evident in the findings; 13 businesses do not formally have employees, and one business reported having many employees but did not provide the number of staff.

As described in chapter two, neo-endogenous development looks beyond endogenous and exogenous development models to focus on the interaction between the two, i.e., local and external factors that facilitate development (Gkartzios and Lowe, 2019). In the Central Region, both external and internal initiatives have been found to shape the development of the tourism path and its local communities. The former includes the actions of the central government through favorable economic policies and investments in tourism paths. Additionally, the civic activities of GHCT (in Elmina, Cape Coast, and THLDD and Assin South district), and other NGO's, and a supportive community have also enhanced the tourism development path - two new enabling factors identified in the Central Region, which were absent in the *Tourism Development Framework (Figure 2.2).* The latter is reflected in local government actions in initiating tourism development projects and economic restructuring, and in the investments made by local residents in the tourism trajectory. In addition, though, as described above, returnees and in-migrant proprietors have leveraged their internal and externally-accumulated capital to relocate in Ghana and establish tourism ventures. According to Koutra and Edwards (2012) these assets (and social capital) are an important development tool to realize the full potential of the tourism trajectory in the Central Region. While the generation of social capital was not observed much here, entrepreneurs capitalized on their internal and external social capital to facilitate their investments in the three capacities.

In-migrant entrepreneurs, particularly commercial counterurbanites, are playing a particularly important role in neo-endogenous development, as others have found (Deller et al., 2019; Koutra and Edwards, 2012). Counterurbanites own almost half (44%) of the businesses surveyed in the region. Furthermore, although international counterurbanites in the sample make up only 19 percent of the in-migrant cohort, they contribute 62 percent of the 37 local jobs created by in-migrant proprietors, and at least one has provided employees the skills and knowledge necessary for new business creation. This is of particular interest, since, as Geyer and Geyer (2017) assert, the attraction of commercial counterurbanites (particularly international) in developing countries is especially necessary for tourism-based development in rural areas – a situation that has been confirmed by Yankholmes and Timothy (2017).

The externally accumulated capital injected by counterurbanites, and other in-migrants are impacting the region; however, the capacity-building contributions of local entrepreneurs with no external living experience is greater than expected, given Geyer and Geyer's assertion

(2017). For example, as concluded above, this cohort owns fewer businesses (9) than in-migrants, but creates 4.8 jobs, on average, representing the majority (41.7%) of total jobs generated by the businesses sampled. The importance of locally-born proprietors in employment generation thus warrants explanation.

The ability of local proprietors to hire more employees than expected (the causal power) is linked, in part, to the arrival of visitors who want to experience traditional performing arts (the generative mechanism). One local proprietor has responded to this by capitalizing on the presence of local talent (the condition) to open a dance company to entertain this cohort. This has necessitated the employment of 25 part-time seasonal workers. The leader of the dance group emphasized:

> This is a group with 25 part-time members, and we all live in this community, but we don't have everyone here at the moment. Things have changed a bit, when we receive guests who desire to see our craft, we all come together to play and entertain (K6, Mesomagor, 2019).

This local proprietor contributes to 58 percent of the total jobs created by the nine locally-born entrepreneurs sampled. The four locally-born returnees also contribute to 12 percent of total jobs, (an average of 3.3 jobs), which is significant considering the small number of returnees. This may be explained by returnees' altruistic motives (the generative mechanism) to create local employment and contribute to the development of their communities due to high levels of poverty (the condition). As one returnee puts it, "the poverty level is too high so we do our best to hire locals, especially secondary school graduates" (E1, Ampenyi, 2019). As the findings have demonstrated, despite these impacts, the tourism industry is faced with some deficiencies. In the following section, deficiencies in the tourism trajectory are presented, as observed by the study's participants (objective 5).

7.5 Tourism Trajectory Deficiencies

The previous section concluded that entrepreneurial tourism initiatives are providing some positive impacts on the Central Region; however, according to the study's participants, the area continues to face some deficiencies in its tourism trajectory. This is covered by the fifth objective - perceived deficiencies of the tourism trajectory. In total, six deficiencies were reported by survey participant (Table 7.10). Only one, common to all study sites, forms the basis

of the identified demi-regularity, which is *that the tourism trajectory in the Central Region is characterized by limited diversity in tourism offering and infrastructure.* This demi-regularity stemmed from an analysis of existing tourism activities and opinions expressed by proprietors, and tourism officials in Accra and Central Region.

Table 7.10 Perceived deficiencies in the tourism trajectory

	Elmina Castle Area	**Cape Coast Castle Area**	**Kakum National Park Area**
Limited diversity in tourism offering and infrastructure	**X**	**X**	**X**
Lack of infrastructure maintenance	X		
Poor sanitation		X	
Failure of government to adequately execute public sector tourism initiatives	X		
Limited park employment opportunities for local residents			X
Narrow market		X	

The limited diversity of tourism offerings observed by participants in the Central Region may be contextualized within the *Heritage tourism path development framework* (Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). As discussed previously, tourism trajectories evolve over time through the mechanisms of conversion and layering, which extend and renew the tourism path. As evident in the findings, locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs capitalized on the three tourism paths established by the public and civic sectors, to create businesses that recombine existing colonial, cultural, and natural heritage with their accumulated capital assets. Although in some cases they have renewed (through layering) or extended (through conversion) the tourism path by introducing innovative products and services to their existing or new businesses, these mechanisms are rarely used.

This situation is not unique as recombination tends to be the dominant mechanism used by tourism entrepreneurs in regions with existing heritage resources, particularly if history is considered a "vital heritage" (Steen and Karlsen, 2014, p. 134). In Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) Newfoundland study for example, recombination was dominant, although layering was utilized more than in the Central Region. However, the use of conversion in the Central Region

was similar to that in Newfoundland, even though in the Central Region, extension of the tourism trajectory was done mostly by local proprietors, while in Newfoundland conversion was undertaken mostly by proprietors with external living experience. However, other international studies have found layering and conversion mechanisms to be more developed. For example, Lazzeretti and Oliva (2018, p. 14) found that in the city of Florence, Italy, the creation of a "creative fashion city" was predominantly facilitated through layering and conversion, which were enabled by recombination of the city's creative assets, and museum and cultural heritage.

To understand the absence of conversion and layering in the Central Region (the non-event), one must uncover the responsible conditions or liabilities that potentially prevent enablers (private investors) from enacting the event. Three liabilities were uncovered: tourism's low-income potential; lack of awareness of tourism resources; and the unwillingness of locals to embrace state community tourism projects. Each is considered below.

Prospective entrepreneurs (particularly local residents) may be unwilling to invest in diversified tourism venues, given the limited income potential that tourism provides. This conclusion is drawn from revenue data provided by ten survey respondents. Of these, seven Ghanaians (2 locally-born and 5 domestic in-migrants) reported earning an average annual income of less than 10,000 GHS from their tourism enterprise, with only one locally-born proprietor earning between 10,000 to 20,000 GHS. However, somewhat higher revenues were reported by counterurbanites: one domestic counterurbanite indicated a business income of 30,000 to 40,000 GHS, with an international counterurbanite stating that his tourism venture earned more than 50,000 GHS. Thus, for Ghanaian residents, in particular, the annual return on their tourism investment is relatively low, compared to the 2019 average annual income in Ghana, which is $ 2,246 USD (about 14,000 GHS; The World Bank, 2022).

This situation has forced some participants to secure other non-tourism employment. For example, at least three full-time tourism operators living in Cape Coast had other jobs to supplement their business income (a similar situation to what Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a, found in rural Newfoundland, Canada). Furthermore, five others (two in Elmina, two in Kakum, and one in Cape Coast) did not relocate to the communities where they own businesses because they have other commitments (e.g. a job, a business) outside the region. Hence, the prospect of limited income may be deterring proprietors (particularly Ghanaian residents) from entering the tourism sector and diversifying the local product mix.

Limited knowledge of tourism resources may further explain why the tourism trajectory in the Central Region has experienced limited path renewal and extension. This is the belief of some tourism officials who revealed that community members lack awareness about the region's abundant natural and cultural resources and, as a result, are not taking full advantage of the tourism path to create new businesses or attractions (Regional Director, GTA, Cape Coast, 2019). For example, a key informant with the GHCT observed that local residents were unaware that a "particular bamboo species is a raw material" that can be used to make a variety of crafted products. Another stakeholder noted that some communities with cultural tourism assets are not aware of the tourism potential of their culture: "tourism can be created from day-to day activities of local people but some don't even know this" (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019). A tourism proprietor also emphasized the lack of knowledge about the tourism potential of the region's historical assets beyond colonial history. He expressed:

> Cape Coast is rich in history; the first post office, the first hospital, the first court house, and the bond of 1844 was signed here. They are all here but they are just lying fallow because it has not occurred to anyone, even at policy level, to broaden the region's tourism product (C14, Cape Coast, 2019).

Finally, lack of community engagement in state tourism projects is a third liability. The programs manager at GHCT (Cape Coast, 2019), for example, revealed that the state has initiated several projects in communities located around the park, to enhance residents' knowledge on how to utilize existing resources to create tourism income. He explains that some of these have failed, due to lack of community engagement.

> We also have a place called Ampenkrom but that one, we had difficulty with the development. We had identified snakes and other wild animals in that place - it's more or less like a large sacred grove, where we have all these sorts of animals there. When you go there early in the morning, you can see the snakes come out. We tried to help that community in terms of development with the central government, but they were not willing to do that. They didn't want to spend resources on it. We didn't want to go in there develop it, we wanted the community to own it, with the district assembly. The place could have been preserved and developed into a good tourist destination (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

Each of these three liabilities may be contributing to the lack of diversified tourism offerings found in Central Region. This situation is unfortunate because many stakeholders recognize that the region has abundant tourist assets whose development (by the private, public

and civic sectors) would increase visitor stays and potentially raise local incomes. A key informant in Cape Coast, (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019), for example, suggested that:

> We can create lots of simple attractions, even our funeral itself is an attraction. Our market is an attraction. If you come to the fish market on a busy day, you will like it, you will like to touch the fish, you will like to see how it's being preserved and so forth, so if we're to link all these to the Castle, so if you come to Elmina, as part of the package you're going to have a feel of the town and foreigners will stay longer because there are many activities (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

He continued to report:

> We can structure it in such a way that we're going to link other attractions, within the same vicinity, that's going to also boost tourism, thereby creating a lot of employment for the people and reflect on the local economy (GMMB, Elmina Castle, 2019).

The regional director of GTA also drew attention to potential resources in the Elmina and Cape Coast area.

> We could use the boats or the canoes for some water-activities, either on the lagoon or on the sea. Also, we could use the services of the fisherfolks during the one-month ban, in cleaning the environment[35]. Some of them could form cultural groups to entertain visitors, we are rich in culture, music, and dance. This can create some kind of alternative livelihood, and I'm sure if it works out well, even when the ban is lifted, now, instead of only fishing, they might want to do something else, like take people out on a tour and make extra money (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019).

Tourism officials and proprietors at the Kakum National Park offered other suggestions for new attractions at the park which would increase visitation and longer stays. A key informant explained:

> We need a nice hotel here. The only guest house at the park is closed, it's under maintenance. Everyone goes to Cape Coast, Jukwa, Rainforest Lodge thereabout. Visitors complain a lot, we need to add a lot, so that when you come to Kakum you spend a lot of time here (GWD, Kakum Park, 2019).

The manager of a photography shop at the visitor's center added:

[35] A 30-day ban was placed on fishing in June 2019 to ensure successful spawning, and replenishing of declining fish stocks. The ban was also "was an opportunity for fishermen to reflect on what else they can do or how they can take advantage of tourism" (GTA regional director, Cape Coast, 2019).

> One little bit about tourism is that there should be something new at least every five to 10 years. For example, the park can add a zipline, a pool, horse riding, manmade river with some live animals. Visitors who have been here before and return after five years to do the same canopy walkway usually ask, "What is next?" (K3, Kakum Park, 2019).

To facilitate the involvement of Ghanaians in developing these initiatives, each of the liabilities noted above must be overcome. There is some evidence to suggest that this is beginning to happen, particularly in the last 10 years. A key informant with the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust explains:

> In Kruwa where we have established the bamboo craft center, it's an area that we have quality bamboo outside the forest reserve and they didn't even know that particular bamboo specie is a raw material for other products that make a lot of money for them. So, we brought in a consultant, and the consultant was able to train about 40 of the community people on how to use the bamboo to make other products without actually destroying the ecosystem. And as we speak right now, I can tell you that most of the guys who took it very seriously are now able to produce and able to get thousands of Ghana Cedis to cater for their families and their schooling (GHCT, Cape Coast, 2019).

This successful project demonstrates that capacity building (human and financial capital) may result when locals buy into a state education project due to its potential economic benefits. According to Koutra and Edwards (2012) capacity building in the Central region historically has been used as a measurement tool rather than as a development tool that invests in specific capital assets. Consequently, the region continues to face high levels of unemployment, youth out-migration, and limited infrastructure development (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019). As shown by this example, state capacity building may be a key strategy to overcome the liabilities that are currently limiting diversification (e.g. layering and conversion), particularly by local Ghanaians, in Central Region.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has applied the three stages of critical realism research (demi-regularity identification, abduction, and retroduction) to the main findings of this study. Demi-regularity identification involved creating one overarching generalizations for each of the study's objectives. The first showed that the tourism trajectory in the Central Region was initially developed by the public and civic sectors (which commodified the region's slave trade and natural heritage), followed by private sector entrepreneurs (locals and in-migrants) who further capitalized on the region's colonial and non-colonial heritage assets. The second demi-regularity drew attention to the role of proprietors with external living experience (in-migrants and returnees), whose decisions to move and open a tourist business in the region were taken most often for livelihood, rather than lifestyle reasons. The third demi-regularity showed that recombination, using non-colonial heritage, was the dominant mechanism used by proprietors (particularly in-migrants), who frequently provided crafted or replica heritage products in their tourism venues. The fourth generalization revealed that the CR's heritage tourism trajectory is attracting both international and domestic visitors whose presence indirectly builds the capacity of local communities through the actions of proprietor (particularly those of counterurbanites and local residents). The final demi-regularity uncovered the deficiencies of the tourism trajectory, with limited tourism activities and infrastructure being the most commonly observed. These demi-regularities then were contextualized through abduction. Existing literature, including Mitchell and Shannon's (2017; 2018a) frameworks were used to redescribe the observed generalizations. Select aspects of each demi-regularity were then further explored through retroduction, as shown in table 7.1. By drawing on specific literature related to Ghana (e.g. Government of Ghana, 2012; Nguah and Kugbey, 2015; Van Dantzig, 1980), and comments provided by tourism stakeholders, partial explanations for the observed regularities were provided. As described in the next and final chapter, retroduction has also revealed ways that Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) heritage tourism path development framework can be extended to highlight the role of in-migrants, locals, civic organizations and local communities in trajectory development.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Chapter eight provides the conclusion for this study. It is organized into four parts. The first part, which summarizes the findings of the study, is followed by a discussion of the academic and applied research implications. The third section then outlines the limitations and challenges of the study. In the final section, future research recommendations are put forward based on the findings, implications, and limitations of the study.

8.1 Summary

This study sought to understand the evolution of path-dependent resource regions found in developing countries. Its specific goal was to determine how the heritage tourism trajectory in the Central Region of Ghana first evolved, and to uncover the role of in-migrants in this process. The findings drawn from three study sites reveal five demi-regularities for tourism development in the region, which are aligned with the study's five objectives.

First, the public (Central Regional government) and civic (not-for profit) sectors were the first to use the region's colonial and natural heritage to create a tourism path which, today, accompanies earlier economic pathways. Their initiatives resulted in development of three tourism destinations in Elmina, Cape Coat, and THLDD/ Assin South district, each implemented in the 1980s to diversify the region's economy in response to an economic downturn. The creation of Elmina Castle and Cape Coast Castle as tourist destinations did not stem directly from the region's current dependent path (fishing, farming, and mining) but rather, was made possible by a remnant colonial pathways (slave-trade) that emerged to facilitate Europe's economic activity. In contrast, the trajectory in the Kakum National Park emerged from the forest resource, which had sustained generations of indigenous residents. Efforts to conserve this resource partially compromised the dependent forestry path in the Kakum area. Although the Central Region is still dependent on primary sector activities, the more recent initiatives of internal and external entrepreneurs (and civic organizations), has further developed the tourism trajectory, thus contributing to diversification within the region.

Second, private sector entrepreneurs (particularly those with external living experience), have capitalized on the tourism pathway to create businesses in the tour, accommodation, food, and retail sectors in around the three tourist destinations. The residential and business motives of

these proprietors were both lifestyle and livelihood driven. Although the majority of locally-born and returnee entrepreneurs' motives emerged from non-economic factors (unlike the motives of domestic in-migrants), the need for economic benefits was the major deciding factor for starting a tourism related business for both locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs (with non-economic lifestyle benefits playing a supporting role). Hence, the majority of in-migrants and returnees took livelihood-enabling routes, with a few taking lifestyle-enhancing pathways. Although the timing of business openings is not dependent on proprietors' specific type of business motive, the majority opened early-stage business, with all capitalizing on the region's existing cultural and natural heritage in their business offerings.

Third, proprietors' have used three mechanisms to drive the tourism industry: they have re-combined existing resources (colonial, indigenous, and natural) with their accumulated capital (financial, social, human /cultural) to create heritage products (artefactual, crafted, replica and symbolic) along an economic trajectory that branches from the region's historic past and natural heritage. In a small number of cases, they have used layering and conversion mechanisms to renew this trajectory, as evidenced by their investments in the tourism, accommodation, food, and retail-artefact sectors. The findings also have shown that in a post-colonial region, two forms of recombination (colonial and non-colonial) and conversion (alternative heritage and non-heritage) may emerge from historical (colonial), cultural (non-colonial) or alternative heritage.

Fourth, the activities of recombination, layering, and conversion are having a number of direct impacts (increased visitation) and indirect impacts by building local capacity of communities through the generation of social, human/cultural, financial, and physical capital assets. Tourism entrepreneurs, especially international in-migrants, have capitalized on their external social capital to attract innovative (i.e. heritage-seeking) consumers to the region. While this study did not specifically ask questions about development of social capital, the findings have revealed that international in-migrant entrepreneurs in Elmina are using their accommodation and food ventures to provide a social network space for local and international visitors. Other capital asset generation was evident in the 103 local jobs (financial capital) created by locally-born and in-migrant entrepreneurs, and in their role in training (human capital), and infrastructure development (physical capital).

Fifth, despite these impacts, deficiencies in the tourism trajectory were identified. Only one, limited diversity in tourism offering and infrastructure, was common to all three sites.

Three liabilities related to local's minimal tourism income, knowledge and engagement, were identified to explain this deficiency – liabilities that can be overcome with additional state capacity building efforts. It is hoped that these actions will reduce unemployment, curb out-migration of young people, and further build the economy of Ghana's Central region.

8.2 Research Implications

This study used a critical realism approach to understand the tourism development trajectory of the post-colonial Central Region of Ghana, through the lens of evolutionary economic geography (EEG). Since the EEG perspective has yet to be used in a productivist post-colonial region, the study provides novel insights into the evolution of resource-dependent post-colonial regions, particularly in an African context. These contributions are discussed in two sections; the first looks at the academic implications of the study and the second is focused on those of an applied nature.

8.2.1 Academic Implications

This study contributes theoretically to the evolutionary economic geography, tourism, and migration discourse by providing a new conceptualization of tourism trajectory development. This framework, which emerged from the study's findings, combines aspects from existing conceptualizations to provide a nuanced understanding of entrepreneur's role in trajectory development. It is applicable to post-colonial regions, such as the Central Region of Ghana, but is sufficiently general to be applied in any region where the conditions for tourism trajectory development are present.

The new framework merges, and extends, two conceptualization that were developed in the fields of evolutionary economic geography, and migration, respectively: Mitchell and Shannon's (2018a) heritage tourism path development framework (Figure 2.2) and Mitchell and Shannon's (2017) in-migrants' potential routes to tourism proprietorship (Figure 2.3). This merging is valid because entrepreneurs are an integral part of both conceptualizations. In Figure 2.2, entrepreneurial capital (including that of in-migrants) is one of the key enablers of tourism trajectory development; in Figure 2.3, in-migrant entrepreneurs' routes to tourism proprietorship (and trajectory development) are outlined.

As shown in Figure 8.1, the new framework retains the three enablers of tourism path development (entrepreneurial capital, supportive government policy and innovative consumers) from Figure 2.2, and based on the findings of this study, adds *two* other enablers: civic preservationists and a supportive, and knowledgeable community – each of which are potentially helpful in advancing a tourism trajectory. It demonstrates that in-migrant entrepreneurs who bring externally accumulated capital, come to local proprietorship via different lifestyle or livelihood-driven routes which, in theory may impact the nature of their tourism involvement. Once in the community, these (and local investors), may use three mechanisms that lead to different outcomes (i.e. different types of tourism ventures offering different types of material or experiential products) which, in turn have varying impacts on tourism trajectory development. More specifically, they may engage in *two* forms of recombination: they merge their capital assets with both colonial *and/or* non-colonial heritage resources, creating a branching innovating trajectory (Steen and Karlsen, 2014; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018a). They also may engage in *two* types of conversion by introducing new innovation (alternative heritage and non-heritage products), resulting in path extension. Furthermore, as Mitchell and Shannon observe (Figure 2.2), entrepreneurs can also renew the tourism trajectory through a layering mechanism by introducing new non-heritage products to the existing tourism path. Each of these actions, may then have direct (increased visitation) and indirect (capacity-building and population retention) impacts on destination communities and their region, as demonstrated in figure 8.1.

Operationalization of this framework has been demonstrated in this study. It has shown that the majority of private stakeholders have external living experience and that many came to proprietorship via a livelihood-enabling pathway. All in-migrant and returnee entrepreneurs (particularly counterurbanites) who participated in the study contributed to tourism trajectory development by using the recombination mechanism. In each case, they merged the region's colonial or non-colonial heritage with their externally accumulated capital to offer artefactual, crafted, replica, and symbolic heritage products in their tour, accommodation, food, and retail ventures. A new type of heritage product (replica-crafted) also emerged, as some proprietors re-combined replica and crafted products, to diversify their product mix. Some of these entrepreneurs later extended their recombination ventures through conversion mechanisms, with no in-migrants, however, using layering to renew the trajectory. In combination, these efforts have contributed to increased visitation in the Central Region and have fostered some level of

capacity building in each of the study site. Despite this, study participants believe that the region's tourism trajectory is underdeveloped, suggesting, as described below, that additional actions are required.

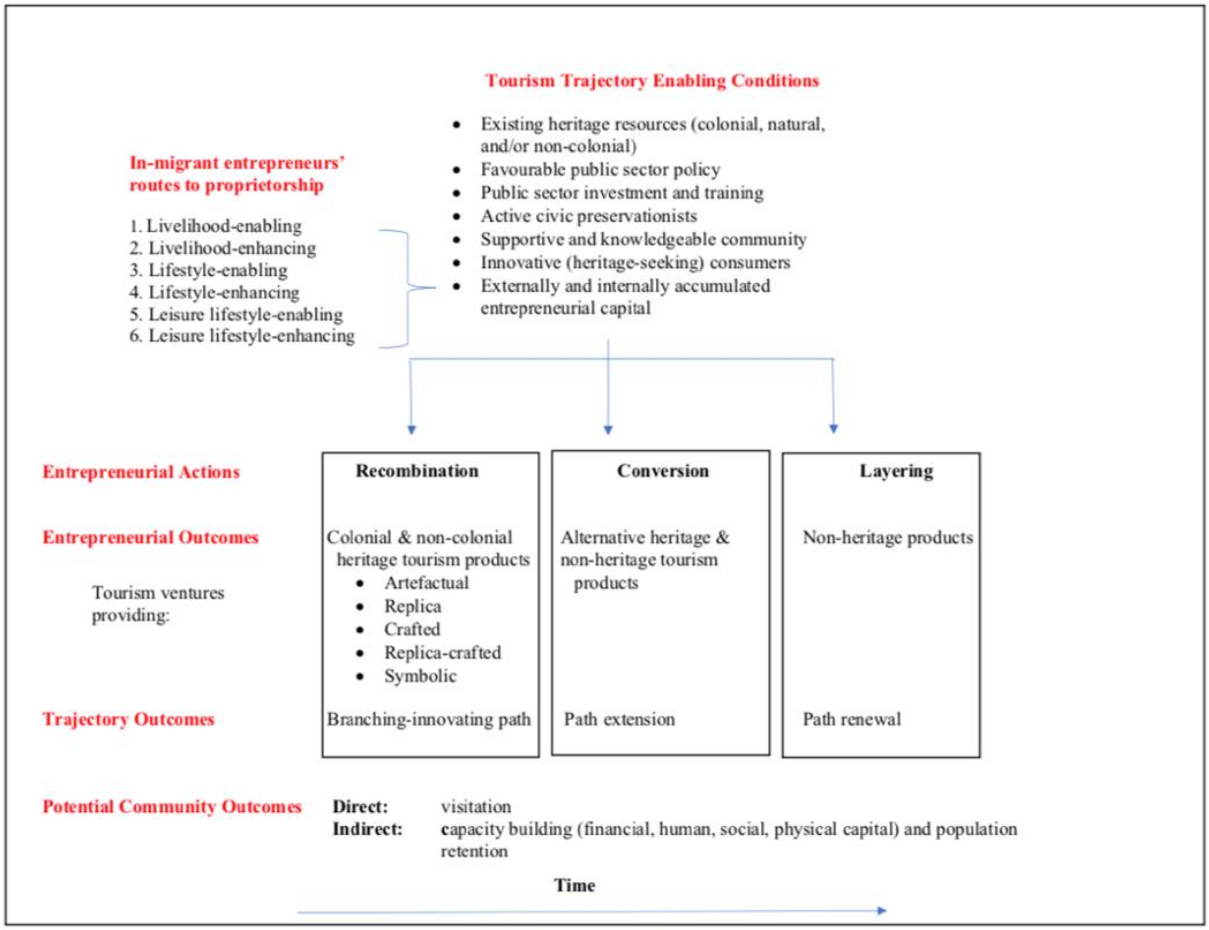

Figure 8.1 Potential heritage tourism path development framework for a post-colonial region Modified from Mitchell and Shannon 2017, 2018a

In addition to this theoretical contribution, this study has several methodological implications. First, it has revealed the usefulness of a critical realism approach. For example, by applying the three stages of critical realism, explanatory variables were uncovered that might have been missed using a different methodology. In other words, the causal mechanisms (identified through retroduction) that produced the findings (the demi-regularities) where identified in the study, particularly those that did not conform to the theoretical literature (observed through abduction). The retroduction stages for objective one and five, in particular,

uncovered two additional enablers of the tourism trajectory: civic preservationists and a supportive community, that were not present in existing frameworks but have now been included in the new heritage tourism development framework (Figure 8.1).

In addition, although tourism studies have used the critical realism perspective (e.g. Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017; Mitchell and Shannon, 2018b; Roberts, 2014; Sayer and Morgan, 1986; Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2018), very few scholars have used it in EEG and tourism evolution studies (e.g. Mitchell and Shannon 2018a). Hence, this study provides a methodological guide for other studies in the global south, since no evidence was found of this approach in EEG and tourism research in this region.

Finally, as discussed in chapter three, qualitative research methods have dominated most tourism studies that use critical realism. Although multiple methods are increasingly being employed by tourism researchers who use the CR lens, very few or no studies have been found to use multiple methods and CR methodology in the field of tourism geography. Therefore, this study contributes to this body of literature, and again provides a reference for future studies.

8.2.2 Applied Implications

As the findings have demonstrated, this study provides insights into the impact of tourism development in the Central Region of Ghana. Hence, this research contributes to the understanding of the evolution of Central Region's tourism industry and its impact on economic development in the region and Ghana as a whole. This information may prove valuable to practitioners seeking to understand, and promote, tourism development in this region.

Although tourism is having a number of economic impacts (e.g. increased visitation and capacity building) in Ghana, interviews with tourism officials, community stakeholders, and tourism entrepreneurs reveal deficiencies (e.g. limited diversity in tourism offering and infrastructure, lack of infrastructure maintenance, limited economic opportunities, limited public sector tourism initiatives) that imply that the impacts of tourism have yet to be maximized in the region. This may be contributing to high levels of unemployment, youth out-migration, and limited infrastructure development that particularly characterize the fishing and farming communities of the Central Region (GTA, Cape Coast, 2019). Although heritage tourism was introduced to diversify the region's economy, the continuous reliance on fishing and farming has

raised questions about the need to diversify both the tourism and current primary sector-dependent path.

This study therefore concludes that in-migrants are playing a key role in tourism trajectory development. In-migrants own slightly more than half of the tourism ventures in the region; their capital asset investments are evident in the impacts their businesses are having on local communities, as shown in the new tourism development framework (Figure 8.1). They have diversified the tourism trajectory through their conversion activities to offer non-heritage and alternative heritage products. The tourism activities of in-migrants are particularly contributing to neo-endogenous development in the Central Region.

It also concludes that there is room in Ghana for local residents to introduce conversion (new innovation that extends trajectories) and layering (new innovation that renew trajectories) mechanisms. These will contribute to the diversification of economic activities, which could potentially prevent lock-in (Brekke, 2015; Steen & Karlsen, 2014) in both the tourism trajectory and the region's other dependent pathways. State initiatives to overcome the identified diversification limitations are, however, a necessary first step to ensure local involvement in trajectory development. Indeed, all government initiatives and tourism development planning should take place in consultation with community stakeholders from the onset, as this can inform policy making agendas.

8.3 Research Challenges and Limitations

This study encountered four main limitations. The first highlights the conceptual challenges of using an evolutionary approach and a critical realism lens. Although using an EEG perspective uncovered long-term change processes at the three destination in the Central Region and their surrounding communities, this research does not claim to provide a complete picture of all the changes that have occurred within the tourism industry. As described in chapter two, the EEG perspective is increasingly being challenged to adopt a multi-scale and institutional approach to understanding new path development (Heiberg et al., 2020). Additionally, making the connection between three stages of critical realism (empirical, actual, and real) was challenging, particularly identifying causal mechanisms through retroduction. Although the researcher looked for implicit meanings in several stages, from data collection, and analysis and

reporting, the results may not represent the reality of Central region's tourism development in its entirety. It captures the reality observed at the empirical level and the realities uncovered in the actual and real stages.

The second deals with the challenge of recruiting research participants. This was anticipated because of the researcher's prior community-based research experience in Ghana. To limit this challenge, the researcher made initial connections with the Ministry of Tourism prior to arriving in the field, to provide information about the research and to establish a key contact. This made the recruitment process easier mostly for key informant interview participants and some tourism entrepreneurs, who were recommended by the key informants at the Ministry. Although snowballing technique was useful for securing interviews with tourism businesses, the majority of the businesses were discovered by the researcher and her team. As a result, some entrepreneurs declined to participate, resulting in a small sample size, and some of those who agreed to participate were skeptical about providing certain detailed information such as year of business opening, annual income, and last place of residence. This could be because some of the ventures are not licensed with the regional tourism authority. Questions, such as "are you from the government or are you from the tax office in Accra?" posed by these participants made the researcher aware of her perceived positionality and its potential impact on the narrative of the observed demi-regularities. As literature has pointed out, research with human participants requires one to be aware of their identity and the identity of rural space in particular, which could include gender, age, ethnicity, education, among others, as our positionality may influence the narratives of our research (Woods, 2010; Katz, 1994).

Recognizing and acknowledging her positionality, the researcher kept a reflexive journal of her research activities, particularly during interviews (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Heller et al., 2011). This enabled the researcher to make notes about participants and their responses. By reflecting on these notes during the data analysis and throughout the reporting of findings, the researcher was able to clearly state in the findings where adequate information was not ascertained to draw any specific conclusions. As critical realism ontology emphasizes, the truth about an observed phenomenon may not be apparent in its entity at the empirical level (Fletcher, 2017).

The third limitation identified is the lack of accessible information or data at the institutional level (public and civic sectors). While the researcher was able to find information

about the evolution of tourism and the economy of the Central Region through online search, this stemmed mostly from academic papers. Specific statistical data about visitation numbers at the destination, lists of tourism businesses, or reports on projects conducted in destination communities proved difficult to access. Although the visitation numbers at Cape Coast Castle (see table 5.5), list of accommodation businesses, and a 10-year tourism development were received from key informant interview participants, some other useful data were not. The limited data prevented the full description of certain demi-regularities observed at the three destinations and their communities. For example, visitation numbers for Cape Coast Castle confirmed visitor information gathered from tourism stakeholders and entrepreneurs; however, this was not the case for Elmina Castle and Kakum National Park, despite many attempts to secure this information.

The fourth and final limitation of this study is that many themes that emerged during interviews conducted with tourism entrepreneurs were not explored in detail since this study did not specifically ask questions about them or they were not originally integrated within the scope of this study. The three major themes that emerged were: first, the generation of social capital; second, the connection between people who visit as tourist and later relocate to become tourism entrepreneurs; and third, the impact of Ebola Virus (a type of external shock) on the tourism trajectory. While this study acknowledged these and reported them in the findings, further research is recommended to explore these themes in more detail. They will be useful for understanding their impacts on tourism development, especially, the industry's susceptibility to external shock in the wake of the current COVID-19 pandemic, as outlined in the following sections.

8.4. Future Research Recommendations

The study identifies six recommendations for future studies. Although this research was conducted in summer 2019, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, recent information gathered in 2021, to help determine causal mechanisms beyond existing theory (the retroduction stage of the critical realism ontology) revealed some negative impacts of this external shock. According to the Central regional director of the Ghana Tourism Authority, at least 32 registered

accommodation ventures in the region were forced out of business as of July 2021. This situation presents many opportunities for future academic inquiry.

The first recommendation is to survey tourism businesses and tourism stakeholders to understand the impact of the current health pandemic on both the tourism trajectory and the dependent primary sector path. The survey of tourism businesses could further seek to determine if the tourism sector is more informal with few licensed businesses or vice versa. This could provide information about the extent of the potential impact of the tourism industry, especially of the informal sector as many development project reports may focus on the impact of documented tourism ventures or the formal sector. As shown in chapter seven, data received about tourism ventures in the Central Region were based on licensed hotels and restaurants.

The second recommendation is to survey a larger number of tourism businesses in and around the three major tourism destinations (and potentially other tourism businesses in the region) to determine how tourism entrepreneurs are generating social capital assets and the impact of their activities in destination communities and on the tourism development trajectory. In addition, it will be worth looking into whether the development of social capital stems from external networks of in-migrants entrepreneurs (as this study has shown for two in-migrant proprietors) or whether they are generated internally (or from both sources). This will contribute to our understanding of the type of development driving the tourism industry. In addition, a larger sample size will also permit conclusions to be drawn about the relationship between routes to proprietorship and the types of mechanisms used – a connection that did not emerge here, potentially due to the small sample size.

Third, a survey of the local population near the three tourism destinations will be useful for determining if there is connection between the people who visit the region as tourists and people who stay in the towns or region and become involved in enhancing the tourism trajectory. This can provide information about who potential tourism investors are and could help the region target these visitors through tourism programs. As shown in the findings, at least one proprietor (an African American counterurbanite) reported visiting the Central Region and Ghana several times before deciding to relocate to Elmina to open a tourism enterprise.

Fourth, extensive monitoring and evaluation of existing tourism development policies, especially Ghana's 10-year tourism development plans, is recommended for understanding the gaps and impacts of the tourism industry. Ideally, this must be done in consultation with public

and civic tourism stakeholders, community stakeholders, and tourism entrepreneurs. This can generate recommendations for future tourism and related economic policies. It can also produce recommendations for innovations to extend and renew the tourism path, the current dependent path, and other economic sectors, to further diversify the economy of the region and address deficiencies.

Fifth, to understand the potential market for new tourism activities that may extend and renew the tourism trajectory, a visitor survey should be conducted to see if there is demand for the types of ventures that would come about through additional conversion and layering. This will further inform tourism stakeholders and proprietors of visitor expectations, which could help introduce products and services that meets changing consumer needs.

Finally, the new framework presented here should be applied to other tourist regions of Ghana, and beyond. Similarities and differences in the tourism trajectory should be uncovered, and insights drawn from other regions. This may help to boost the tourism industry and other economic sectors in the Central Region and in Ghana. Such research will show the processes of change that occur in path-dependent and productivist regions, how they capitalize on their existing heritage to add new economic activities, and the impacts of these diversification efforts on local and regional economies.

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Appendix: Survey and Interview Questions

Key informant interview questions / guide

The purpose of the key-informant interviews is to meet objective 1; thus, to understand how the Central Region's economy has changed overtime. A second reason is to identify three tourist communities in the town of Cape Coast to conduct further research with.

Interview Script

I want to thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. Before we begin, do you have any questions for me? I want to let you know that I will be recording today's interview to ensure that I have an accurate transcript of what we talk about today and also because I can't take notes and talk freely with you. Have you read the informed consent form and do you have any questions about it? You can end this interview at any time, and if there are any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering please just say pass. If you don't have any other questions then are you ready to begin?

Objective 1: Changing functionality of the Central Region

1. What organization do you currently work with?
2. In which municipality is this organization located? Accra
3. What is your current position in this organization? Tourism officer
4. How many years have you been at this organization, and in this position?
5. How would you describe the economy of the central region?
6. Could you direct me to any sources of information that might help me understand the region's economy?
7. What are the major industries and emerging sectors in the region?
8. What economic changes has the region experienced over the years?
9. How would you describe the tourism industry in the region?
10. How do you think the tourism industry has changed over time?
11. How is the tourism industry impacting the communities in the region?
12. How is the region promoting rural and economic development?
13. Has the region seen significant in-migration, return migration, and out-migration in the last couple of years? If so, how is that influencing the region's development?
14. How would you describe the economy in the town of Cape Coast?
15. How would you describe the tourism industry in Cape Coast? Has the town experienced any significant changes over the years?
16. Could you please identify three of the most successful tourist communities in Cape Coast where I might conduct further research?

Thank you for your participation!

Business Survey questions /guide

The purpose of this survey is to determine who is involved in the tourism industry in the central region of Ghana, and the nature of this involvement. As well, it is being used to identify business owners who are willing to participate in a future semi-structured face-to-face interview.

1. Where were you born (Please indicate the specific community, ethnicity, and country of your birth)

2. Do you currently live in this municipality?

   Yes
   No

3. If you are a resident here, how many years have you lived here?

   If you are not a resident of this municipality,

   Where do you live? (Please provide the name of your municipality)

   For how many years have you lived here?

4. What was your last municipality of permanent residence?

5. Did you move to your present municipality specifically to operate a business in this community?

   Yes
   No

   If no, why did you move here? (please explain your reasons below)

   If yes, please explain why you chose this community for the location of your business.

6. What type of business is this? Circle all that applies

   Tourism / Accommodation
   Retail
   Food
   Other: Please specify……

7. What type of products or services do you provide? (Please describe below).

8. What type of business was located here before this one? (Please state below, if known).

9. Please check the situation that best describes this business.

   It is a new business that I opened
   I acquired this business from someone else
   It is my family's business
   I transferred this business from somewhere else
   Other (please explain)

10. For how many years have you operated this business here?

11. To what extent did the need to generate an income influence your decision to open or operate a business?

    It was the only influence
    It had much influence
    It had some influence
    It had little influence
    It had no influence

12. Other than income-generation, what other factors encouraged you to open or operate this business? (Please check all that apply).

    No other reason
    Meet/talk to people
    Pass the time
    Retirement activity
    Long-time goal/plan
    Response to unplanned unemployment
    Share my knowledge/skills
    Other (Please specify):

13. What is your age? (Please check the appropriate range)

    18 - 24
    25 - 34
    35 - 44
    45 - 54
    55 - 64
    65 and older

14. What is your gender?

    Woman
    Man
    Other

15. What is your highest level of education? (Please check the highest level)
    Some high school
    High school diploma
    Some college
    College diploma
    Some University
    Undergraduate degree
    Graduate degree

16. What is your annual household income?

    Less than 10,000 GHS
    10,000 to 20,000 GHS
    20,000 to 30,000 GHS
    30,000 to 40,000 GHS
    40,000 to 50,000 GHS
    More than 50,000 GHS

17. If you are a business owner, would you be willing to participate in a 30 to 45 minutes face-to-face interview?

    Yes
    No

Thank you for your participation!

Business interview questions / guide

These interviews are designed to identify those involved in tourism development, to assess the nature of their involvement, and to determine the impacts they are having in development of the tourism trajectory.

Interview Script
I want to thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. Before we begin, do you have any questions for me? I want to let you know that I will be recording today's interview to ensure that I have an accurate transcript of what we talk about today and also because I can't take notes and talk freely with you. Have you read the informed consent form and do you have any questions about it? You can end this interview at any time, and if there are any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering please just say pass. If you don't have any other questions then are you ready to begin?

Objective 2: Identify who is involved in the tourism development trajectory

1. Where do you currently live?

2. How long have you lived here?

3. Were you born in this municipality?

   If yes, what is your ethnicity?
   If no, which municipality and country did you move from? Why did you move here?

4. What is your last place of residence?

5. Did you move to this location specifically to open/operate this business? If no, how long did you live in the community before you opened/began operating your business?

6. Where is your business located?

7. In what year did you begin operating your current business?

8. How old were you when you first began operating your business?

9. Was this the first business that you opened/acquired? If not, can you tell me about your other businesses?

10. What was your occupation before getting involved with this business?

Objectives 3 &4: Assess nature of involvement, and uncover mechanisms to tourism development

11. Can you tell me about your business? What types of products or services do you provide?

12. Does your business cater to tourists? If so what percentage of sales comes from non-local visitors?

13. Are there any other clients that are important to your business?

14. Are you able to sell your products online? If so, can you tell me a little more about that?

15. Can you give me some background on what motivated you to open/acquire this business?

16. Was your motivation primarily based on the need to earn a living, or were there other factors?
    What were those factors?
    (If not first owner): Do you know anything about the previous owner of your business?

17. Why were you drawn to this specific type of business?

18. Why were you drawn to this location to operate a business?

19. Have you changed your products or services since you first began operating your business?
    If yes, how have they changed?

20. Have you added more tourism related products/services?

21. Have you branched into services or products that are not specifically related to tourism?

22. Does your business offer services/products obtain locally?
    If yes, what kind of products or services?
    If no, is there any reason why you don't use local products/services

Objective 5: Impacts: Mobilizing local labor, building capacity, population retention

23. Have you noticed any changes in your community since you first started your business?
    If so, what kind of changes?
    What impacts do you think your business is creating?

24. Are there other new businesses opening up?

25. Do you think the population in your community has changed, and if so how?

26. Have you noticed any changes in the type of tourists who come here ((e.g. their age, motivations, length of stay)?

27. Do you have any employees? Approximately how many?
Are they from the community? If not, where are they from?

28. How many of your employees are part-time? How many are full-time?
Do your employees work seasonally or year-round? Why?
Do you have any difficulty finding employees?

29. Have any of your former or current employees opened their own businesses that you are aware of? If they have, are you able to provide any details about their business?

30. How did you obtain the skills you needed to start/operate your business?

31. Is there anything else that you feel is important for me to know that didn't come out in the line of questioning that you wanted to share or discuss?

32. Do you have any suggestions for whom else I should contact?

I want to thank you very much for your time again! Do you have any questions about what we just talked about? Thank you once again and if that is all I will turn off the audio recorder now."