

RESIDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract:

In recent years, tourism has been playing a more significant role in the economies of several African countries, including Ghana. The purpose of the paper is to examine attitudes of residents of two of its towns toward tourism development. Factor analysis of scaled items measuring their attitudes resulted in seven tourism-related factors: social interaction with tourists, beneficial cultural influences, welfare impacts, negative interference in daily life, economic costs, sexual permissiveness, and perception of crowding. Results indicate residents' expectations from tourism development were not met and also individuals working in related businesses have negative attitudes toward the industry.

Keywords: residents, attitudes, central region, development, Ghana.

Résumé: Les attitudes des habitants envers le développement du tourisme. Depuis quelques années, le tourisme joue un rôle de plus en plus significatif dans l'économie de certains pays africains, y compris le Ghana. Le propos de l'article est d'examiner l'attitude des habitants de deux villes ghanéennes envers le développement du tourisme. Une analyse factorielle d'une échelle d'attitudes a mesuré les réponses dans sept catégories de questions: interaction sociale avec les touristes, influences culturelles favorables, impacts sur le bien public, l'intrusion dans la vie quotidienne, coûts économiques, relâchement des mœurs et perception de trop de monde. Les résultats indiquent que le tourisme ne répond pas aux espérances des habitants et que ceux qui travaillent dans des secteurs connexes ont des attitudes négatives envers l'industrie du tourisme.

Mots-clés: attitudes des habitants, région centrale, développement, Ghana.

Article:

INTRODUCTION

International tourist arrivals in Sub-Saharan Africa experienced above average annual growth rates at about 7.2%, compared to a worldwide rate of about 5.0% between 1988 and 1997 (WTO 1998:11). This industry in Africa is still concentrated in a few countries which, for example, receive more than half a billion dollars annually in tourism expenditures. These countries include Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt (North Africa), South Africa (Southern Africa), and Mauritius and Kenya (East Africa). In recent years, the industry has played a more significant role in the economies of a few additional African countries. For instance, in 1997, Ghana ranked 8th in Africa's international tourism earnings compared with 17th in 1985 (WTO 1998). The main spatial thrust of this sector in the last decade has been the Ghanaian Central Region, one of the 10 political and administrative regions of the country. In the early 90s, the Tourism Development Scheme for the Central Region was initiated to develop a number of identified natural and cultural resources into attractions. It benefited from a combination of natural resources unique to the region, financial and technical assistance by international agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitudes of residents toward tourism development in two Ghanaian towns in the region. The list of studies dealing with this general theme in developing countries is rather long and includes works by Bryden (1973), de Kadt (1979), Lea (1988), Harrison (1992), and more recently Mowforth and Munt (1998). Unfortunately, hardly any work has been devoted to examining residents' attitudes in developing countries, especially at the inception stages when the support and involvement of the local

community is critical to the success of tourism development efforts. But, in general, there is a substantial body of literature examining local residents' attitudes and perceptions, because these are "important planning and policy considerations to successful development, marketing, and operation of existing and future tourism programs and projects" (Ap 1992:665).

Factors that have been shown to influence residents' perceptions and attitudes include the type and extent of host-guest interaction, importance of the industry to the community, extent of individuals' reliance on the industry, and the overall level of tourism development in the community (Murphy 1985). Beyond these general factors, some specific ones include native-born status in the community (Canan and Hennessy 1989; Um and Crompton 1987), length of residency in the community (Liu and Var 1986), the extent of tourism concentration in the community (Pizam 1978), economic reliance on the industry (Madrigal 1993), and distance of residence from the central tourism zone (Belisle and Hoy 1980).

Some of these basic factors have been utilized in extending research to a number of comparative studies within and between countries such as Israel (Mansfeld and Ginosar 1994), New Zealand and the United Kingdom (Ryan, Scotland and Montgomery 1998), and Wales (Sheldon and Var 1984). "[S]ince tourism has a far more visible effect in rural areas than in urban areas and, consequently, a greater effect on rural residents" the bulk of US research on residents' attitudes is from such regions (Madrigal 1993:337). While these areas in both developed and developing countries may have more in common than urban centers in the two regions, the factors which influence residents' perceptions and attitudes, as well as the nature and the extent of the impact are likely to be different between developed and developing regions—regardless of the urban or rural location of the community. One of the few studies on a more advanced developing country focuses on Argentina, and indicates that there are issues related to attitudes that are peculiar to developing countries (Schluter and Var 1988).

Conceptual frameworks advanced to explain residents' perceptions and attitudes on tourism impacts include play, compensation, and conflict (Bystrzanowski 1989), attribution and dependency theories. The social exchange theory, which has become more acceptable as appropriate for developing an understanding of these perceptions and attitudes, presents a framework to explain the relationship between individual benefits and perceptions of economic development (Perdue, Long and Allen 1990). As applied to residents' attitudes, the social exchange theory stipulates that they seek benefits in exchange for something estimated as equal to the benefits they offer in return, such as resources provided to tourism developers, tour operators, and tourists. What residents offer additionally in this exchange includes their support for appropriate development, being hospitable, and tolerating inconveniences created by tourism such as pollution, traffic congestion and queuing for services. The acceptance and emphasis on local participation and community approach to tourism development (Murphy 1985) implies that host members are often excluded from not only planning, but decision-making and management of projects. Their exclusion is a common practice in developing countries with top-down development culture, but this act is even more pronounced when the tourism projects are mostly externally initiated or implemented, as appears to be the case in Ghana's Central Region. It is against this background that this paper examines the attitudes of residents in two communities in the Central Region toward tourism development.

TOURISM IN GHANA

International tourist arrivals in Ghana have increased from about 85,000 in 1985 to more than 325,000 in 1997, while receipts increased from about only \$19.52 million in 1985 to \$266 million in 1997. Presently, tourism is estimated to account for more than 16% of Ghana's total foreign exchange earnings, which places the industry as the third highest export after minerals and cocoa (*High Street Journal* 1998). The country is currently in the fourth year of a 15-year integrated tourism planning period based on a development plan carried out with funding from the UNDP and technical assistance from the World Tourism organization (Ministry of Tourism/UNDP/WTO 1997). By the end of the plan period in 2010 when annual arrivals are projected to be 1,050,000, the Central Region will play an even greater role as the principal destination in the country (Ministry of Tourism/UNDP/WTO 1996). Even now, this region is regarded as the main center of leisure tourism activity

in the country, as a result of the sustained activities since 1990 to develop historical and nature-based attractions. Historical attractions are based on the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Fort St. Jago, also in Elmina, while the nature-based attraction is the Kakum National Park—about 25 kilometers north of Cape Coast.

Europeans initially ventured into West Africa in the late 15th century to trade in gold and ivory, naming the country the Gold Coast, and in the process, built more than 50 forts and castles along the 350-mile coast of Ghana (Ephson 1970). Elmina became the first town in the Gold Coast to have contact with Europeans in 1482 when the Portuguese first landed in Edina. The Portuguese, however, called it El Mina (The Mine) in reference to the quantity of gold found at that location. They built the Castle in 1482, named it San Jorge da Mina (St. Jorge the Mine) and as a result of trading activities through the locals with the hinterland, the town grew around the castle (Van Dantzig 1980). The Cape Coast Castle was built in 1653 by the Swedes, was acquired by the British in 1663, and served as the seat of government of the Gold Coast colony until 1877 when the capital was transferred to Accra, the present capital city of Ghana.

Tourism resources of the region include pristine beaches, rain forest, wild life, local cultures, festivals, and rituals, but the dominant resources are the historic castles of Elmina and Cape Coast. The 15- year regional plan (Ministry of Tourism/UNDP/WTO 1996) is to ultimately develop all these resources; however, the historical structures are considered to be anchor attractions, which will facilitate further development. These historical attractions derive their touristic pull forces from their role as the staging areas for the mid-Atlantic slave trade for well over a century. The two castles and fort were designated UNESCO World Heritage Monuments in the early 70s and the Tourism Development Scheme for the region project laid the foundation for their transformation into attractions. Since 1992, the Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project (NRCHPP) has used USAID funding and technical support from the Smithsonian Institution and the International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS) to rehabilitate the monuments and transform them into ethnic and heritage attractions. As a result, a growing segment of Blacks from the Diaspora, especially African-Americans and Caribbean visitors make what is considered pilgrimage to the castles. The number of domestic and international tourists increased from nearly 8,000 in 1990 to more than 30,000 in 1997. It has been estimated that in 1993, of the “17,091 visitors to Elmina Castle, 67% were residents of Ghana, 12.5% were Europeans, and 12.3% were North Americans” (Bruner 1996:290).

The natural resource component of the NRCHPP provided for the development of the 447 square kilometer Kakum National Park and Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve with technical assistance from Conservation International. The estimated 40 species of recorded large mammals (including elephants), 300 species of birds, and 400 species of butterflies in the park and resource reserve have facilitated the development of a unique forest ecotourism product. The main attraction, however, is the Canopy Walkway that allows people to view and appreciate the ecosystem from the canopy of the trees or “from a stratosphere not ordinarily available to mankind” mainly because such a facility, an attraction itself, is only available in three other countries namely, Malaysia, China and Peru (MUCIA 1995:1) . Some 20,000 persons were attracted to the park in 1995, when the Canopy Walkway was commissioned, and the number increased to nearly 50,000 in 1997, when the permanent visitors’ center was completed.

Tourism and Residents of Cape Coast and Elmina

In spite of its long history of contact with, and playing hosts to Europeans coming to its shores, formal tourism development is only about 10 years old in Cape Coast, Elmina, and their adjacent areas, which places the towns and region at the inception stage of the destination lifecycle. The checkered history of the forts and castles, and of both communities, means that their residents attach individual and collective emotions to the transformation of these monuments into attractions. In Elmina, for example, the change began with the Portuguese who built the Castle in 1482 principally to carry out trade, and continued to the Dutch who captured the Castle in 1637, to the British who gained control in 1872, until Ghana’s independence in 1957. Therefore, these historical attractions have various cultural, political, military, and economic significance to different European and domestic tourists, Blacks in the Diaspora, and the residents of the town. In going from trading posts to slave

dungeons to military fortifications and colonial administrative headquarters, and finally attractions, both castles served as locations for important community activities after independence. For example, the Elmina Castle was a day secondary school, housed the offices of the Ghana Educational Services, the District (Administrative) Assembly and Police Training Academy. All these community activities had to be relocated to allow tourism development, which is supposed to alleviate the depressed economies of the two towns. The local economies are based on traditional primary sectors (fishing, farming, and quarrying) and a quasi-modern sector of civil service jobs, which include a university and the largest concentration of secondary schools in the country.

According to Bruner, what most Cape Coast and Elmina residents want from the tourism project are principal economic benefits: additional sources of income through employment opportunities; improved infrastructure such as sanitation, waste disposal, and roads; and new projects such as a new fishing harbor. The economic and related issues are further articulated as follows:

Funds from tourism have already begun to flow into the local community, and there are numerous plans for small scale business enterprises that depend on the tourist trade. Many young people in Elmina want to tap into the market by offering themselves as local guides. Some have plans for selling food and crafts and others want to provide home stays and even organize performance groups for the tourists. Local people may benefit from such contacts with tourists in ways besides the financial remuneration. In addition to money, they may receive presents, and some have become pen pals or gone abroad with tourists. The young Africans benefit most, those over 45 years of age interact with foreign tourists much less frequently (Bruner 1996:291).

In spite of these anticipated benefits, there is sufficient evidence that local residents are not being involved in the project, and are deliberately being physically separated from the decision-making as well as the physical attractions. For example, not only are residents prohibited from entering grounds of the castles, but the required admission fees have created some resentment. Furthermore, the project is being implemented by a host of international agencies and consultants, including USAID, UNDP, Shell (Ghana) Limited, International Council of Museums and Monuments Board (ICOMOS, US Chapter), and the Smithsonian Institution. From 1992 to 1998, the implementing agency for the project was the United States Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities based in Columbus Ohio, while the tourism component was administered by one of the MUCIA members, the University of Minnesota's Tourism Center. Presently the project's implementing agency is the Washington DC-based Conservation International.

This background provides the setting for this paper to examine the attitudes of residents of Cape Coast and Elmina toward tourism development. The purpose of the study was to identify and examine the attitudes of residents in the two communities towards tourism development and to compare the attitudes between the two communities in order to identify any similarities and differences. Data for the study were gathered in these towns from January to April, 1998, using the interviewing method to administer survey questionnaires. Along with 85 scale items that measured general resident attitudes toward tourism, the instrument contained 20 questions including a 20-item scale measuring attitudes toward tourists. The study sample consisted of 215 residents of Elmina and 249 in Cape Coast. To properly address the research questions of interest and to obtain the most representative sample possible, it was decided to survey 250 residents from each community using interpreters whenever necessary. In doing so, the weaknesses inherent in this non-probability sampling method were ameliorated.

The overall response rate was 86% for Elmina and 99.6% for Cape Coast. Because missing data are problematic, especially in survey research, where the sample is small relative to the number of variables used in the analysis (Sirakaya 1997)—missing data points were replaced using a regression imputation technique, which is usually preferred over the mean substitution technique. Independent variables were not imputed as this would have biased the statistics.

Study Results

With respect to selected sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, the majority of the respondents were male (61.4% in Cape Coast and 62.3% in Elmina). When asked where they were born, 57.4% and 54.4%, respectively, indicated that they were not born in the city where they reside. As to the number of years they have lived in the same community, the mean was 18.49 and 14.80. Additionally, the mean education levels were 11.91 and 12.33 years, the majority (36.8%) had annual income levels of less than \$455 (\$1D¢2,200); the mean age was 34.37 and 34.16 with a standard deviation of 9.94 and 10.43; average number of days of interaction with tourists per week was 2.23 and 3.02. Tables 1 and 2 display information about the sociodemographic background of the respondents.

Table 1. Descriptive Results for Selected Variables

Town		Frequency	Percent
Gender			
Cape Coast	Female	95	38.2
	Male	153	61.4
Elmina	Female	76	35.3
	Male	134	62.3
Personal Income			
Cape Coast	less than \$280	43	17.3
	\$280 to \$455	34	13.7
	above \$455	88	35.3
Elmina	less than \$280	41	19.1
	\$280 to \$455	38	17.7
	above \$455	39	18.1
Town in which the Respondents were Born			
Cape Coast	No	143	57.4
	Yes	103	41.4
Elmina	No	117	54.4
	Yes	89	41.4

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Measured at the Ratio Level

Town		Mean	Std. Deviation
Cape Coast (n=249)	Number of years lived in the community	18.49	10.72
	Education level in years	11.91	5.17
	Number of days interacted with tourists per week	2.23	1.97
	Age of the respondents	34.37	9.94
Elmina (n=215)	Number of years lived in the community	14.80	11.37
	Education level in years	12.33	4.11
	Number of days interacted with tourists per week	3.02	1.68
	Age of the respondents	34.16	10.43

A varimax rotated principal component analysis was used on 85 items for a sample of 464 residents to extract general groups of resident attitudes toward tourism in Elmina and Cape Coast. Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin statistics of .81 and inspection of correlation among the items indicated that the data was suitable for a factor analysis (Norusis/SPSS Inc. 1994). A cut-off point of .4 was used to include items in the interpretation of a factor. More than half of the initial 85 items did not load on any factor reflecting the heterogeneity of items. Factor loadings were inspected and solutions improved by deleting items that either loaded on several factors or had low loadings. Therefore, these items were dropped from further analysis. Accordingly, after several runs, the data yielded seven clean factors with eigenvalues equal to or greater than one, explaining 54% of the variance in the original data set. Table 3 displays the domain descriptions, factor loadings, and Cronbach's Alpha. The seven

factors were labeled as social interaction with tourists (Factor 1); cultural impacts of tourism (Factor 2); welfare impacts of tourism (Factor 3); negative interference of tourism in daily life (Factor 4); economic impacts of tourism (Factor 5); sexual permissiveness due to tourism (Factor 6); and perception of crowding due to tourism activity (Factor 7).

The seven conceptually meaningful domains from the factor analysis results were then tested for reliability, which was assessed by Cronbach's Alpha coefficients. The coefficients ranged from a high .75 (domain 1) to a low .60 (domain 7), indicating that the variables exhibited moderate correlation with their factor groupings and thus may be cautiously regarded as internally consistent and stable. Table 3 displays the items along with their factor loadings, and corresponding alpha reliability coefficients. Table 4, on the other hand, depicts eigenvalues and percentage of variance explained by individual domains.

Table 3. Factor Loading following Varimax Rotation of Two Independent Samples

Domain ^b	Item Description	Aggregated Sample (n=464)	Elmina (n=215)	Cape Coast (n=249)
Social Interaction with Tourists (α=.75) ^c	I have developed friendships with tourists.	.706	–	.491
	My interactions with tourists are positive and useful.	.690	.605	.675
	I enjoy interacting with tourists.	.603	.703 ^a	.558 ^a
	I now enjoy visiting tourist areas.	.568	.471	.688 ^a
	I like learning about tourists' own country and culture.	.542	–.433	.689
Cultural Impacts (α=.69)	Tourism promotes cultural exchange.	.664	.444	.720
	The jobs tourism provides are highly desirable.	.622	.681	.632
	Tourism promotes better understanding between people.	.607	.679	.470
	Tourism helps to increase local awareness and appreciation of the environment.	.567	.597	.432 ^a
	Tourism helps to preserve and improve our culture and traditions.	.561	–	.511
	Because of tourism development, I have a better appreciation of my culture.	.546	.501	.635
Welfare Impacts (α=.72)	Tourism improves public utilities in our community.	.704	.608	.555
	Because of tourism, Cape Coast/Elmina has better roads.	.677	.782	.747 ^a
	The quality of public services in Cape Coast is better due to more tourism.	.676	.770	.710 ^a
	Cape Coast/Elmina has lost its small-town atmosphere because of tourism.	.609	.555	.554
	Tourism improves transportation services in our community.	.562	.561	.486
Negative Interference Daily Life (α=.70)	Tourism development in Cape Coast/Elmina has caused me to regret living here.	.697	.755	.640
	Because of tourism, I have more difficulty participating in entertainment events.	.685	.677	.698
	Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of this town.	.667	.461 ^a	.744 ^a
	Most people I know don't like tourism.	.629	.660	.646
	I am against new tourism facilities which will attract more tourists to Cape Coast/Elmina.	.585	.472 ^a	.566
Economic Costs (α=.65)	Tourism only benefits a few people in Cape Coast/Elmina.	.779	.495	–.626
	Tourism increases the cost of living.	.622	.663	–.752
	Tourists should pay more than local residents to visit tourist attractions.	.543	.412 ^a	–.692
Sexual Permissiveness (α=.73)	Tourism increases prostitution in Cape Coast/Elmina.	.847	.793	.835
	Tourism increases sexual permissiveness in Cape Coast/Elmina.	.838	.779	.848
Perception of Crowding (α=.60)	Tourists cause my town to be crowded with people.	.762	.759	.468
	Recreation areas in Cape Coast/Elmina are overcrowded because of tourism.	.697	.680	–.433
	The tourism sector provides a ready market for the product of local farmers.	.616	.588	.719 ^a

^a Items loaded in wrong domains.

^b Domains extracted from the aggregate data.

^c Cronbach's alpha for domains. Total variance explained by aggregated data=54.0%; Total variance explained by Cape Coast data=57.1%; Total variance explained by Elmina data=53.3%; Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy=0.806.

Since the purpose of the study was to compare the differential resident attitudes toward tourism in two towns, a break-down of the same items from the aggregate sample resulted in two separate factor solutions. For comparison reasons, factor solutions from the aggregate data are presented along with two factor solutions in Table 3. An inspection of the factor loadings suggest that responses to attitudinal items in both towns tended to load consistently on the same domains with the exceptions of four items in Elmina and six items in Cape Coast. It was decided that seven conceptually consistent factor solutions would be used in the analyses. For each factor, a mean score was calculated based on the raw mean scores of each item. Later, in the subsequent regression analyses, these factor means were used as dependent variable measures to examine the effects of various independent variables on resident attitudes in the two communities.

Table 4. Eigenvalues and Percentage of Variance Explained by Seven Factors

Domains	Eigenvalues	% of Variance Explained ^a
Social Interaction with Tourists	5.06	17.45
Cultural Impacts	2.52	8.68
Welfare Impacts	2.38	8.20
Negative Interference with Daily Life	1.88	6.48
Economic Costs	1.58	5.46
Sexual Permissiveness	1.21	4.16
Perception of Crowding	1.04	3.58

^a Total variance explained in the aggregate data = 54%.

To determine whether there were significant differences in residents' attitudes in the two towns, independent sample *t*-tests were performed. The results indicated that there were differences among five out of seven domains, suggesting that residents' attitudes in the two towns were indeed different. Table 5 depicts the results of an independent sample *t*-test and summary of independent variables that played a role in explaining differential attitudes.

In order to explain the source of these differential attitude scores in the two towns, separate regression analyses were performed on seven dependent variables. A check using the Gauss–Markov assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variance–covariance matrices, multicollinearity and linearity indicated that—with the exception of normality—no assumptions were violated. Three dependent variable measures— Factors 1, 2, and 5 and Factors 2, 4, and 5 for Cape Coast and Elmina, respectively, were transformed using a square-root transformation procedure. A check for normality assumption indicated that all variables were reasonably normal in distribution around their mean. The following discussion regarding these dependent variables must be evaluated considering this fact. Furthermore, variables containing categories such as income and employment status were screened for cell numbers to determine if statistical procedures can be performed without any difficulties. It was determined that employment status needed to be collapsed to only two categories containing employed and others (students, retired, unemployed). In addition, the income variable, which consisted of six categories originally, was reduced to three (less than \$280, \$280 to \$455, and above \$455).

GLM Multivariate procedure, readily available in SPSS, was used to obtain regression results. All independent variables entered the regression model at once. The interaction terms were not significant and thus were omitted from further analyses. Again the reader is reminded that Table 5 contains the factor means, standard deviations of factors, and variables that were significant in explaining the attitude factors in a summary format. However, only statistically significant variables that explained error variation in the dependent variables were included in the table due to space limitations. For more detailed regression results, seven multivariate regressions (7 dependent variables and 15 independent variables) per town, are shown in Table 6.

With respect to the social interaction with tourists (Factor 1), out of 15 variables in the model, seven were significant at the $\alpha=.05$ level. The absolute values of beta coefficient can be regarded as the importance

attached to each variable. Accordingly, organization contributed the most to the explanatory power of the model ($\beta = -.189$). It was inversely related to Factor 1, indicating that when people were members in a community organization (social religious, educational, and professional), their attitudes toward social interaction with tourists became less positive. When residents wanted to have a say in development matters (desire), their social interaction scores (Factor 1) decreased indicating that residents with a desire to be involved in development matters were more likely to have less interaction with tourists. One possible explanation of this may be that respondents wanting to have a say were more opinionated (active) about development and already held negative views of tourism in their community. Of course, the logical conclusion may be that residents with less interaction with tourists wanted to have more say in tourism matters.

Table 5. #Test Results of Differences of Attitudes Between Residents of Two Towns^a

Dependent Variables	Town	Mean	Std. Dev.	t-Value	p-Value
Factor 1 Social Interaction with Tourists	Cape Coast ^{m, b, I, d, g, h, n}	2.6454	.7246		
	Elmina ^x	2.1457	.4846	8.588	.000*
Factor 2 Cultural Impacts	Cape Coast ^m	2.0934	.5117		
	Elmina ^x	2.0533	.5196	.835	.404
Factor 3 Welfare Impacts	Cape Coast ^{f, m}	2.9460	.5992		
	Elmina ^{l, d}	2.2082	.7318	11.936	.000*
Factor 4 Negative Interference in Daily Life	Cape Coast ^{g, n, o}	2.1600	.6183		
	Elmina ^{m, f, c}	2.0736	.6020	1.518	.130
Factor 5 Economic Cost	Cape Coast ^{p, b, I, g, h, o, n}	2.9422	1.1212		
	Elmina ^x	3.2632	.8179	-3.438	.001*
Factor 6 Sexual Permissiveness	Cape Coast ^x	3.0064	2.074		
	Elmina ^{m, b, d}	2.8048	1.0690	.039	.001*
Factor 7 Perception of Crowding	Cape Coast ^g	3.1960	.7025		
	Elmina ^m	3.2270	.7834	-.448	.654

^a $n_{\text{(Cape Coast)}} = 249$; $n_{\text{(Elmina)}} = 215$; *significant at $\alpha = .05$.

However, regression is not an analysis that investigates the causal relationship and thus prevents such inferences. The interesting question here then is “what causes what?” Does attitude precede behavior or vice versa? The design of this study does not permit the investigators to look into the temporal or directional nature of the attitude–behavior relationship. Indeed, the debate about its temporal order is still ongoing (Sirakaya 1997). For the residents in Cape Coast, having a family member employed by the industry (family employment) appears to indicate a negative attitude toward interaction with tourists—a rather contradictory finding.

The social exchange theory assumes that potential beneficial outcomes will create positive attitudes toward tourism. Even though the theory cannot be refuted because of this outcome, the findings suggest that perhaps the family member’s experiences working in the industry were not positive. In such a case, perhaps discussing the negative experiences with family members led to the development of negative perceptions of the whole family toward tourism development in the area. This in reality does not contradict the original theory, but rather suggests that the context for application must be expanded or modified—to include residents’ negative reactions when relatives working for the industry cause them to believe that benefits of working in the tourism or related

industries outweigh the costs. In other words, having a family member working in the industry does not automatically qualify for the social exchange theory's assertion of "obtaining benefits from the interaction;" instead, what matters is the nature of employment (if and only if perceived positively by employee relatives) and the context in which the relationship is beneficial. Residents in the income group of \$280 or less, who expressed views about interacting with tourists increased by a small ($\beta = .087$) but statistically significant amount—indicating lower income groups have more positive views about social interaction with tourists. As perception of personal benefits increased, social interaction scores decreased ($\beta = -.0539$). It is reasonable to expect that residents who benefit financially from tourists, come in contact with them more often (perhaps through their business interaction) and thus have more chances to interact with them but do so out of necessity. Consequently, they may refrain from developing any personal relationships and thus have less favorable perceptions about tourists and their culture.

Table 6. Regression Results for Seven Attitudinal Models in Two Ghana Towns

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables (Cape Coast Model)	Beta Coef. (Cape Coast)	R ²	Independent Variables (Elmina Model)	Beta Coef. (Elmina)	p-Value	R ²
Factor 1	Education	.0085	.556				model not significant
	Benefits	-.0539					
	Prjaware	-.0359		□	□	□	
	Famemployed	-.1150					
	Desire	-.1420					
Factor 2	Organization	-.1890					
	Income ^{1a}	.0870					
Factor 3	Education	.0073	.179	□	□	□	model not significant
	Consult	-.5090	.189	Prjaware	.234	.014	.346
	Education	.0249		Famemployed	-.522	.012	
	Desire	-.398		Education	.0158	.016	
	Income			Consult	-.228	.023	.271
Factor 5	\$280 or less	.347	.331				
	\$280 to \$455	.288					
	above \$455	□					
	omitted dummy variable			Temployed	-.206	.011	
	Empstatus	-.351					
	Resident	-.00669					
	Benefits	.0506	.641	□	□	□	model not significant
Factor 6	Prjaware	.124					
	Desire	.296					
	Organization	.135					
	Empstatus	.151					
	Income						
	\$280 or less	-.117					
	\$280 to \$455	-.113					
above \$455	□						
Factor 7	omitted dummy variable		model not significant	Education	.0999	.001	
	□	□		Benefits	-.206	.044	.318
				Famemployed	.645	.029	
	Desire	-.494		Education	.0641	.004	.272

^a Superscript 1 □ Income group \$455 or less. □□ the model did not produce significant variables. *Independent variables and codes used in the regression models:* Number of days interacted with tourists per week (Interact); Perception of personal benefits gained from tourism activity (Benefits); Employed in tourism or related industry (Temployed); Member of family employed in tourism (Famemployed); Personal involvement in tourism development decision making process (Involvement); Consultation with residents about tourism development in the community (Consult); Desire to be involved in decision-making process about tourism development in the community (Desire); Membership in a community organization (Organization); Being aware of tourism projects in the community (Prjaware); Being born in the same town of residence (Born); Gender (Sex); Age (Age); Educational level (Education); Annual personal income (Income); Employment status (employed unemployed or others) (Empstatus); Length of residency (Resident).

Again this finding is similar to the above interpretation of the social exchange theory's hypotheses. The nature of the exchange is what matters—not simply its presence. As awareness levels of projects in the area increased, social interaction scores appeared to decrease, reflecting a negative attitude toward tourism/tourists. More educated residents, however, expressed positive attitudes toward tourists ($\beta = .0085$). The education level of a

person had a significant impact on explaining additional variance within the model ($\beta = .00845$). As education levels increased, attitudes toward social interaction with tourists also improved. This may also reflect the fact that many residents with higher levels of education may want to be associated with foreign tourists. One of the few ways of doing this is by developing social relationships with them. This study differs from other similar studies (Liu and Var 1986), which asserted that sociodemographic variables do not contribute significant explanation of the error variance in models of resident attitudes toward tourism. Altogether, these seven significant variables explained 55.6% of the variance in the model—considerably higher than others.

The regression model for Elmina was not significant at the .05 significance level ($F = .976$; $p = .490$). Indeed, none of the 17 variables was found to be significant (at the $\alpha = .05$ level), making the entire model insignificant. While this may appear to be a rather odd result considering that both towns seem to have similarities in many aspects, they also have significant differences. Elmina's economy is based predominantly on fishing. Cape Coast, on the other hand—as the region's capital—has a relatively more diversified economy, which includes government offices, a university, several leading secondary schools, retail activities, and hotels. Also independent variables introduced in this study may not be the same, based on the clear differences in the composition of the community's economy and social structure.

With regard to the beneficial cultural impacts of tourism (Factor 2), for Cape Coast, attitudes were explained only by education levels of residents among the model's potentially 15 explanatory variables ($\beta = .00759$). As education levels of residents increased, attitudes toward cultural impacts improved as well. The model was significant at the .05 level ($F = 1.797$; $p = .038$) and explained 17.9% of the variation in cultural impact scores. The regression model for the city of Elmina, on the other hand, was not significant ($F = .941$; $p = .527$), as none of the independent as none of the independent variables contributed significant explanation of error variation in cultural impact scores.

The regression model that attempted to explain resident's attitudes toward welfare impacts (Factor 3) in Cape Coast was found to be statistically significant ($F = 1.928$; $p = .023$). Two variables (involvement and education) contributed to explaining 33.1% of the model's variance. As residents became involved with the development decision-making process, their attitude scores about the welfare impacts of tourism decreased ($\beta = -.509$) indicating that involvement has a negative relationship with perceived welfare impacts. In other words, the more Cape Coast residents were involved with the decision-making process, the less positive their attitudes toward tourism's potential welfare impact appeared.

For the town of Elmina, the regression model was significant ($F = 2.715$; $p = .002$) with project awareness and family employment explaining 34.6% variance in the model. As residents' awareness levels of the community projects increased, attitudes toward welfare impacts of tourism also improved ($\beta = .234$)—holding everything else constant. Having a family member employed in the industry, appears to decrease perceived welfare impacts ($\beta = -.552$). The reasons may lie in the fact that there are more tourism enterprises in Cape Coast, offering greater employment opportunities than in Elmina.

The regression model that attempted to explain attitudes toward negative interference of tourism with resident's daily life (Factor 4) was found to be statistically significant ($F = 4.087$; $p = .000$). Desire, income and employment status together explained 33.1% of the variance in the model. Desire to be involved with the development decision-making process in the community ($\beta = -.398$) decreased the negative perceptions toward life's daily inconveniences due to tourism activity. In other words, if residents were allowed to be involved in development matters, they expressed intentions to bear the inconveniences resulting from tourism activity in the area. Income also had a significant and positive effect on Factor 4. There were significant differences in the attitude scores of three income groups. Even though positive beta coefficients for two income groups (low and medium) indicate a positive relationship between income and attitude scores, this was not true for the highest income levels. Factor 4 scores were highest (mean = 2.296) for the lowest income groups (of \$280 or less). As resident income increased, the attitude scores for Factor 4 decreased significantly. More specifically, there was a statistically significant shift for the regression lines between the lower income groups (omitted dummy

variable), medium income groups (\$280 to \$455), and highest income groups (omitted dummy variable) indicating that the higher the individual's income, the more negative his/her attitudes. The beta coefficient for employment status ($\beta = -.351$) indicates that when people are employed, they tend to have more negative Factor 4 scores than when they are not employed or do not belong to other groups (student, retired, housewife, etc.). It is important to point out that employment status was originally measured for seven groups; however, during the analysis, the groups were collapsed to just "employed" and "others" categories.

The application of the same regression model to the city of Elmina resulted in three statistically significant effects (consultation, education, temporary employment) explaining 27.1% of the variance. The regression results indicated that when residents' opinions were sought (hence the presence of the dummy variable, consultation in the model), Factor 4 scores (perception of tourism providing positive welfare effects) tended to decrease ($\beta = -.228$)—holding all other variables constant—indicating that residents whose views were sought held negative attitudes. Factor 4 scores tended to decrease significantly depending upon whether or not respondents were employed in tourism or a related industry ($\beta = -.206$). When respondents indicated their tourism-related employment, their views toward the welfare impacts (Factor 4) emerged as negative. In the same model, however, when their education levels increased ($\beta = .0158$), so did scores regarding positive views toward welfare impact. In other words, educated persons were found to hold more positive views of tourism when other variables in the model were held constant.

The attitudinal factor measuring the perceived economic costs (Factor 5) in the town of Cape Coast were explained by seven variables: residency, benefits, project awareness, desire, organization, employment status, and income. All variables but income and resident were positively related to the dependent variable. A one unit increase of these variables with positive coefficients implied that the dependent variable (Factor 5) scores tended to increase by the magnitude of respective beta coefficients. For the dummy variables, the coefficient can be interpreted as presence (coded "1") or absence (coded "0") of the variable in the model; a coding of one always meant the inclusion of the variable in the model. Factor 5 measures the potential negative impacts in the community; when independent variables cause its scores to decrease, it means that residents do not view the impact negatively and when scores increase, so do negative attitudes.

Accordingly, Factor 5 scores increased when residents expressed their desire to get involved in tourism ($\beta = .296$), when they were a member of a community organization ($\beta_{\text{ORGANIZATION}} = .135$), when they were employed ($\beta_{\text{EMPSTATUS}} = .151$), when their awareness levels of projects being developed in Cape Coast increased ($\beta_{\text{PRJAWARE}} = .124$), and when their perceptions about personal benefits gained from tourism activity increased ($\beta_{\text{BENEFITS}} = .050$). Factor 5 scores tended to decrease with longer periods of residency in Cape Coast. This may be due to residents' observations of economic impacts in the community. It is possible that Cape Coast residents observed tourism-related positive changes. Similarly, those with lower (\$280 or less) and medium income levels (\$280 to \$455) had more positive views about tourism when Factor 5 was involved. In other words, the omitted category (\$455 and above) caused Factor 5 scores to increase, whereas the two income categories included caused the Factor 5 scores to decrease. For Elmina, the application of the same model was not significant at the $\alpha = .05$.

To determine what variables better explain attitudes toward sexual permissiveness (Factor 6) for Cape Coast, a regression model that included the same independent variables was implemented, but was not found to be significant. When the same regression model was applied to the town of Elmina, however, results indicated that three variables (education, benefits, family employment) were significant at the $\alpha = .05$ level and explained 31.8% of the model's variance. As residents' education levels increased ($\beta = .099$), so did Factor 6 scores. When residents indicated that they had a family member employed in this or related industries ($\beta_{\text{FAMEMPLOYED}} = .645$), Factor 6 scores seemed to increase again holding all other independent variables in the model constant. However, when residents gained personal benefits from tourism, their Factor 6 scores tended to decrease ($\beta_{\text{BENEFITS}} = -.206$). Attitudes toward sexual permissiveness, a negative social impact of tourism, were negative among residents with higher education levels, and when there was a family member employed in a tourism-

related job. But when residents expected personal benefits from the industry, their attitudes became more negative.

The last model in the study involved perceptions of crowding (Factor 7). The regression model for Cape Coast indicated that one variable (desire) explained 24.4% of the variance in the model. As residents' desire to be involved in tourism development matters increased, their perceptions of crowding declined ($\beta = -.494$). In the same model for Elmina, education explained 27.2% of the error variation. As education levels increased, they perceived greater crowding ($\beta = .064$).

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study indicate a number of important conditions which are essential to the understanding of residents' attitudes toward tourism in two Ghanaian towns. First, the high expectations of tourism in the last 10 years as a vehicle for the economic development of the Central Region and, in particular, the Cape Coast and Elmina communities, were not met. Most tourists arrive in Cape Coast and Elmina on organized tours operated by companies based in Accra (about a 2-hour drive) for the day and return or continue on to other regions. The limited length of stay can be attributed to the fact that the castles and the Kakum National Park can be toured in one or two days at the most, and the towns have very little else in the form of attractions and products to offer. The beach development for several resorts (located 15 kilometers west of Elmina at Brenu Akyenin) is still at the basic infrastructure stage. As a result, the industry is very seasonal, occupancy rates tend to be rather low, and there is significant leakage from the region to the tour operators in Accra. Additionally, wages in tourism are below subsistence level, even by Ghanaian standards, while working conditions are deplorable. Most jobs are in hotels, restaurants, and bars, where monthly wages average about \$30 to \$45 for as long as 12 hours a day over a 6-day work week. This may explain the negative attitude of those working in tourism and its related industries. On the other hand, the positive attitude of those with higher levels of education may be explained by the fact that much has been written and discussed regarding the benefits of tourism in English at the national and local levels in both the print and electronic media. Hence, this category of respondents may be more familiar or aware of the potential benefits than those with lesser education. For example, invited participants to the public forum in 1997 on the 15-year tourism development plan for the Central Region for the period 1996 to 2010 (in which the first author participated) were mostly from academia, government agencies, and local entrepreneurs, and was conducted entirely in English.

Second, there may be some degree of resentment among significant sections of residents in both Elmina and Cape Coast toward both tourism development and tourists. There are indications that residents are not aware of the nature of such development projects, either due to deliberate efforts to exclude them or simply due to withheld information. Bruner stated that the Council of Chiefs of Elmina has accused the regional planning agency—the Central Region Development Commission—of “not informing them of its plans for tourism development, even though that development is taking place in their area of jurisdiction” (1996:297). Since traditional rulers in Ghana who are known as chiefs, still wield tremendous authority over their subjects, practically consisting of the entire community, incurring their displeasure ripples throughout the entire community. For example, one sensitive point is the chiefs' contention that land, on which Elmina Castle is located, belongs to the *stool* or the symbol of their traditional rule, which requires payment of royalties.

A major part of the limited involvement of residents in tourism development could be traced to the external nature of funding and implementation of projects. The donor organizations and implementation agencies include the United States Agency for International Development, United Nations Development Program, Shell (Ghana), International Council of Museum and Sites (US Chapter), the Smithsonian Institution, Conservation International, and the Midwest Universities Consortium of International Activities of the United States. It has been observed that “the people of Elmina are restricted from entering the castle and that the project has been given over to a blue ribbon list of international aid agencies and is controlled by their staff and hired consultants” (Bruner 1996:298). These observations are applicable to Cape Coast as well, since it is covered by the same project, donor organizations, and implementation agencies. With respect to hints of resentment by residents toward tourists, it is important to note once again that the majority visiting Cape Coast and Elmina are

on organized tour packages. However, there is a fair volume of Foreign Independent Travelers, the category most likely to come into contact with local residents as they venture beyond the castles, walk through the towns, or use local taxis or public buses referred to as *tro tro* (dime dime). Bruner may have been referring to this group of tourists when he commented that

Ghanaians generally welcome tourists, but in the focus groups, some tourists were considered as “ruffians”, “dirty”, and “drug addicts”, and some of their behavior was considered “shocking” referring, in particular, to the manner in which some dress, men with pierced ears, and women wearing very short dresses which expose their private parts (1996:298)

Overall, the study results confirm findings of related literature—with the exception of the rejection of some propositions tested in empirical studies regarding the social exchange theory. The study’s major theoretical contribution is that in general the nature of the relationships among the concepts are important when evaluating a construct. More specifically, regarding this study, having a family member employed in the industry should not automatically be operationalized as a “benefit”, as was done by numerous earlier studies that used social exchange theory as their theoretical framework. Rather, the nature of this employment and the context within which this employment takes place may be theoretically more important. Future studies should be oriented toward testing this assumption.

In practical terms, the two towns examined in this paper are different in terms of their economic, social, and governmental structures. Variables that have a theoretical basis, introduced in this paper, have not been able to capture the error variation in the models; however, they did support earlier studies (conducted with the same variables). In contrast to Liu and Var’s (1986) study, the present study found partial support for including sociodemographic variables into the study of resident attitudes toward tourism. It may be premature to dismiss these variables from further studies, since findings appear contradictory at this stage of research on the topic. Comparative studies that examine resident attitudes toward the industry can contribute to further understanding of the social exchange theory.

What this study further contributes is the fact that beyond the theoretical constructs and models, it is important to examine factors such as peculiar conditions of the destination planning units or communities, stage of tourism development, the characteristics of the tourists, as well as the controlling interests in the projects and their relationships with various community constituents. Above all, however, it is critical to involve the community in the planning and development of the industry. Obviously, more studies of residents’ attitude toward tourism in developing countries should be undertaken, if they are to benefit from the lessons learnt from those destinations that preceded their stage of development.

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