Testing the tourism partnership model

Testing theory in a new case; sustainable tourism in Wli Ghana

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Preface

This thesis about sustainable tourism in Wli has been the final work for my master's degree Human Geography. The final result that you have before you is the result of a journey that started behind my computer and ended at the highest waterfalls in West Africa. It was here that I could test the theory that in my opinion has the potential to go beyond its own case: the tourism partnership model.

With the help of NAREMA and Ontmoet Afrika I learned about this case, which matched perfectly to the requirements for this research. Thanks to SNUF and their grant program I could actually research the case on site, learning and gaining an insight into the people that form this case that was otherwise not possible.

The research that supports the test results and conclusions of this thesis was conducted on site by the author, D. Prince.

Terminology

Much of the theory in this research comes from the debate on sustainable tourism. To avoid any misunderstanding, some of the most important terms are described here.

Collaboration
"Collaboration implies a joint decision-making approach to problem resolution where power is shared, and stakeholders take collective responsibility for their actions and subsequent outcomes from those actions" (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 190).

Partners
Partnership is when individual partners (person or corporations) work together to reach certain goals unattainable by individual partners.

Stakeholders
''Any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by, the achievement of a corporation's purpose'' (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005, p. 713).

Sustainable
1. Capable of being sustained.
2. Capable of being continued with minimal long-term effect on the environment: sustainable agriculture (The Free Dictionary, 2014)
Agenda 21 also noted the simple idea that "If an activity is sustainable, for all practical purposes it can continue forever" (Johnson, 2014, p. 200).

Sustainable development
"Sustainable development means the use of natural resources to support economic activity without compromising the environment's carrying capacity, which is its ability to continue to produce those economic goods and services" (Manning & Dougherty, 1995, p. 30).

Sustainable tourism
"Sustainable tourism works to strike a balance between protecting the environment, maintaining cultural integrity and promoting economic benefits in both developed and emerging nations" (Jayawardena, Patterson, Choi, & Brian, 2008, p. 258).

Sustainable tourism development
Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (World Tourism, 2014).

Tourism
Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (World Tourism, 2014).

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Abstract

The debate on sustainable tourism has many tailor-made solutions, but not many theories go beyond their own case. The debate is mostly empirical in nature instead of theoretical and is moving sideways with each new case instead of forward. This thesis looked for a theory that has the potential to be applied elsewhere then sought to test this applicability by considering whether it was appropriate for an entirely different context. This theory is the tourism partnership model.

Selin and Chavez developed the tourism partnership model in 1995. Their research was based upon several cases in the United States and their theory was later tested and applied by Graci to the Gili Islands, Indonesia in 2013. The tourism partnership model describes how sustainable tourism can be improved by increasing the cooperation between stakeholders. It describes five different phases the stakeholders go through, each with its own aspects and requirements. Because it was based upon several cases in the U.S. and later applied to an Asian case, this theory has already proved useful in different surroundings. Showings it's potential to become a more generalisable approach that can be applied to different cases.

To test this theory in a new case, research has been conducted in Wli, Ghana. Home of West Africa's highest waterfalls and a population who would like to improve sustainable tourism in their area. The results of this research are based upon interviews, group discussions, observations and everyday dealings with the case.

The testing of this theory in another case proved positive. The research results verified that both cooperation and sustainable tourism improved with the help of the model. The stakeholders in this case have followed the five phases that are described in the tourism partnership model, but the research also shows a few differences. The strong-willed leader who plays an important role in this model and whose importance has been commented on by other authors differs in this case. In this case, the local context and culture had an impact on this role, changing this role within the process. While the theory suggest a strong-willed leader is essential in pushing the process forward. This research has found that it can also have a long term effect on the model. If a strong-willed leader does not fit within the cultural context of a case, decisions that are made with the help of the strong-willed leader are being questioned over time. The decisions made with the help of the strong-willed leader in this case were not accepted by all the stakeholders; because of this not all the stakeholders fully supported the decisions and outcome of the model. This undermined the outcomes of the model in the long run.

Both the strong-willed leader and the monitoring and control system have had an influence on the sustainability and long term effect of the model. The first influenced the decision-making process, leading to decisions outside the cultural context that lost support of stakeholders in the long run. The second proved ineffective over the years when the original stakeholders were no longer involved or informed. Because of this the stakeholders started to lose faith in the outcome of their initial cooperation.

Ultimately, I conclude that the tourism partnership model can be effectively applied to other cases. Its effectiveness has been determined in different cases and this research has two contributions that can be made to the model. The first is that decision-making and the strong-willed leader, who are both important to the model, need to fit within the cultural context of a case. The second is to keep the original stakeholders involved or informed on the decisions and outcomes of the tourism partnership model, this helps to maintain their support for the outcome and results of the model.

1. Introduction

Why are there so many different theories and cases on sustainable tourism, but hardly an extension of existing theory or comparative cases? The debate and literature on sustainable tourism has many different ideas and cases, many of these ideas are applied to one case and not extended further. Most cases end up with tailor-made solutions to match the specific needs of that case, limiting the results of research to a single case.

However, there are some ideas and theories that have the potential to go beyond their own case. Graci (2013) has applied the theory of Selin & Chavez (1995) on development of sustainable tourism through partnership to the case of the Gili islands in Indonesia. This led to interesting conclusions and the potential to extend these results to a new case. The goal of this research is to test the theory of Selin & Chavez (1995) in the new case of Wli, Ghana, comparing this to the case study of Graci (2013).

Wli, Ghana is famous for its waterfall, which is said to be the highest in West-Africa. Tourism is managed by the local community but people are currently not happy with the results. Both tourism and the community should be developing but are lacking progress. Furthermore, they are losing their natural surroundings, which are part of their attraction. Some say this is due to the lack of a sustainable development plan and have therefore reached out for help. This has created an excellent situation to test if the tourism partnership model can help improve sustainable tourism.

Selin & Chavez have used the work of Gray (1985) as the foundation for their tourism partnership model. This model describes how tourism or sustainable tourism can be improved by following five different stages. This is an iterative model, meant to be in a continuing process of improvement and change to achieve the best results. Selin & Chavez describe the following five different phases, each with their own characteristics, goals and actions to be taken: Antecedents, Problem-setting, Direction-setting, Structuring and Outcomes. The tourism partnership model, as it referred to from now on in this thesis, is based upon cooperation and involvement of all the different stakeholders of a particular case or tourism industry. Creating a common vision, defining common problems and establishing common goals are important parts of their theory to improve sustainable tourism.

If this model can be successfully tested in another case, this would prove its use as a theory that can be applied more widely. Hopefully, this will move the theoretical debate forward instead of sideways, while leaving room for tailor-made solutions in a bigger picture. This might bring a more critical review, but also useful additions and improvements to a theory that can be used in different situations.

To test this theory and see if comparative results can be found with those of Graci, field research has been conducted in Wli, Ghana. Being able to do research in the field, seeing how processes develop, actually talking to people and just observing the town and tourism has been a major contribution in understanding this case.

I find that the model has been a useful contribution to the case of Wli and will continue to be. Looking back to the 90s when the tourism industry was handed over from the government to the community, many of the aspects that are described in the phases of Selin and Chavez can be recognised. Today Wli has found a new goal and is using the model again, suggesting its applicability across time.

However, there are some differences compared to the case of Graci, the strong-willed leader has been useful in the 90s. But she has also affected the long-term viability and sustainability of the outcome. Decisions were not made within the cultural context and not accepted by all the stakeholders. The monitoring and control system has partially failed and this has affected the balance and relations between the stakeholders. Cooperation is not as smooth as it used to be and this is limiting initiatives and plans to improve sustainable tourism.

In the chapters that follow, I outline how I went about testing the tourism partnership model in the case of Wli, Ghana. In chapter two, the context of this thesis is described; here you can find the research objective, research questions and the scientific and societal relevance of this research. Chapter three describes several different theories and views on sustainable tourism, why the tourism partnership model was chosen, what it looks like and what we can expect when this model will be tested in a new case. In chapter four the methods that were used in this research are discussed, it also gives an account of the field research and how the data was obtained to support the conclusions of this work. Chapter five gives a description of the new case, building a context by describing the different stakeholders, the challenges this case faces and other events that had an influence in shaping this case. Finally, in chapter six, the testing of the tourism partnership model is described in the five different phases that the model consists of. There are two test results of this model since this case is currently applying the model for the second time. The final paragraph of chapter six is reserved for the conclusions and recommendations on the testing of the tourism partnership model in a new case.

2. Why test the tourism partnership model in a new case?

This chapter contains a short background that will help understand what will be researched and why this is important. It also describes the problem, the objective of this paper and the questions that drive the research.

2.1 Framing of this research and why this thesis matters

The literature and theory about sustainable tourism have many case descriptions and tailor-made solutions. Several authors have explained that this is due to the unique stakeholders and problems each case faces. This is why, according to some, there can't be a generally applied solution or theory. There are not many theories in the literature and theory on sustainable tourism that can be applied generally. Identifying such a theory that could possibly lead to a more generalisable approach can be of great benefit to the sustainable tourism debate. This generalisable approach could perhaps be seen as a framework or template, which can be adopted and modified to the specific needs of a case. It would bring a better focus for the debate and urge a next step. Where today all the different attempts to improve sustainable tourism are useful but not necessarily improving one another. If a generalisable approach can be found and accepted, the use of this approach could be more widely tested. This could lead to a more critical review, but also possible improvements and additions to this theory.

This situation can only be achieved by testing an approach in different situations. This research aims to contribute to the debate by further testing a theory in a new case. Selin & Chavez have developed a tourism partnership model based on several different cases in the United States. This approach has then been applied by Graci to the Gili Island, Indonesia. The model is based upon cooperation and involvement of all the different stakeholders; it describes several phases each with its own goals to help the process of improvement.

One of the reasons to select this model is; that it was developed by Selin & Chavez based on different cases and further tested by Graci in a new extensive case, giving merit to the generalisability of the original findings. The first step of expanding the use of this model to different cases and circumstances has already been taken.

Testing the tourism partnership model in another case might help to identify a theory with a more generalisable approach. Testing the tourism partnership model in a new case can potentially bring new insights on this theory or find flaws in its design. These findings might lead to a better model or theory on sustainable tourism, it might also lead to new research opportunities.

Wli, Ghana is a small community, mostly known for the Wli Falls, which are said to be the highest in West-Africa. The tourism industry is run by the community and is meant to support development of the community. Unfortunately there are some disagreements in Wli about land rights and how the income from tourism is divided, which leads to a lack in development. They are also losing their natural surroundings, which are a key part of attracting tourists to Wli. A call for a sustainable development plan for the area has been made, which is why Wli is a good place to test the tourism partnership model. The small community resembles the isolation of an island, just like the case of Graci. By keeping most of the characteristics similar to Graci, it might be possible to explain different outcomes to the local context or a different surrounding. Wli has several different attributes and a different culture, it will be interesting to see if the tourism partnership model holds up in a case that contains these elements. This thesis and research can help Wli gain an insight in their own process, but also create a map for its future with the help of sound theory on sustainable tourism.

2.2 The research objective

This thesis and its research have both a scientific and societal contribution, which leads to this objective:

> *The goal of this study is to test if the tourism partnership model developed by Selin and Chavez, which was applied by Graci, can be extended to a different case and see if it produces similar results under different circumstances.*

2.3 Research questions

To answer the research objective this main research question has been created:

- *Does the tourism partnership model hold up when trying to analyse if a partnership in the case of Wli, Ghana can move sustainable tourism forward?*

To help answer the main research question the following sub questions have been created:

- How is tourism currently handled in Wli?
- Is there a form of cooperation or partnership that tries to improve sustainable tourism in Wli?
- Can or has the tourism partnership model helped improve cooperation between stakeholders?
- Can or has the tourism partnership model help improve sustainable tourism in Wli?
- Can the tourism partnership model be tested and does it explain the progress (if any) of sustainable tourism in Wli?
- Is the case of Wli facing similar problems compared to the case of Graci (2013)?
- Is the process of partnership and developing sustainable tourism following the same phases as in the case of Graci (2013)?

2.4 Research model

In Figure 1 a schematic oversight is presented known as the research model, a description of the flow and steps that were taken in this research is found below.
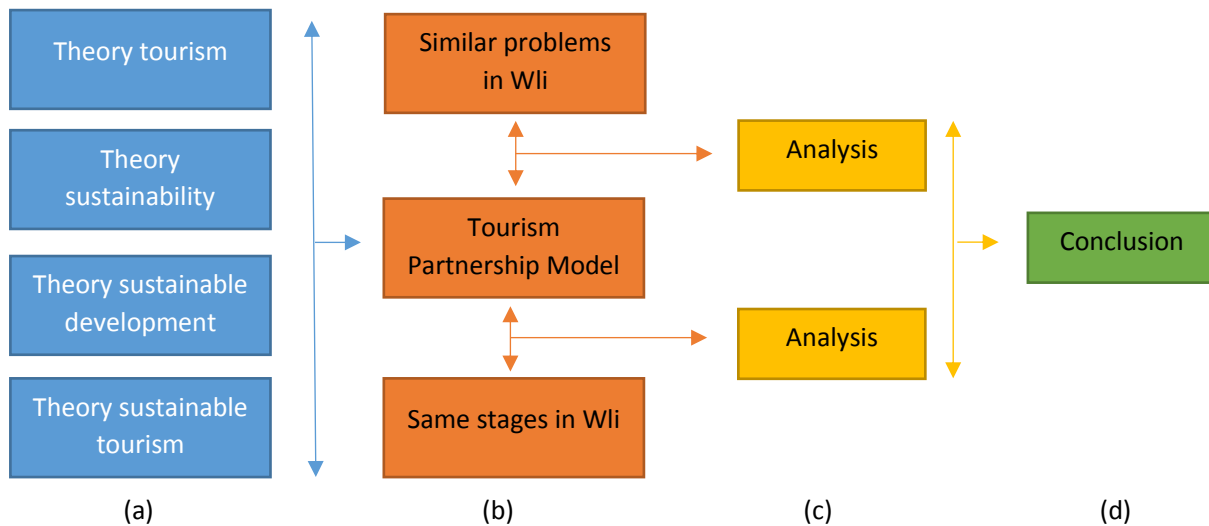
Figure 1. Research model

(a) Research on the use of a widely applicable model for sustainable tourism will be based on tourism theory, sustainability theory, sustainable development theory and sustainable tourism theory. This resulted in the selection of the Tourism Partnership Model of Selin and Chavez, which was also used by Graci (2013) but which needs to be further tested. (b) The model that has been used by Graci in an Asian case will be tested in an African case to see if this model faces similar problems and if the process follows the same phases as in Asia. (c) A comparison of both results will be made upon which a (d) conclusion will be drawn. This conclusion will judge the potential of this model that can be more widely used in different cases.

2.5 Scientific relevance

Here we will examine the scientific relevance of this research. A short summary of the combination of tourism and development, followed by sustainable tourism are presented.

2.5.1 Tourism and development

For a long time now tourism is considered desirable for development (Johnston, 2014, p. 198). Tourism can, for example, support emerging economies by creating an impulse to their economy and a means to gain an income. During the 60s and 70s the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank started examining the impact of tourism on development in emerging nations. This new area of research combined with the realisation that mass tourism was degrading the environment made sustainable tourism move from the margins to the centre of debate about tourism (McAreavey & McDonagh, 2011, p. 177). These new insights led to the idea that tourism could be used as a tool to help develop areas by for example improving the infrastructure. It could also contribute to economic growth development by bringing in foreign currency and investments.

The tourism sector was urged to start thinking about sustainable development because "this can meet the needs of tourists, provide opportunities to enhance economic growth, protect physical locations, and

improve the quality of life of residents while enhancing opportunities for the future through the coexistence of tourism development and environmental quality (Eagles, McCool, & Haynes, 2002). Sustainable tourism and sustainable development became two inseparable terms with the introduction of Agenda 21 in 1995. Agenda 21 is a UN action plan with regard to sustainable development in the 21th century, which has the overall aim "to establish systems and procedures to incorporate sustainable development considerations at the core of the decision-making process and to identify actions necessary to bring sustainable tourism development into being". Agenda 21 also noted the simple idea that "If an activity is sustainable, for all practical purposes it can continue forever" (Johnson, 2014, p. 200).

2.5.2 Sustainable tourism

Farrel and Twining-Ward (2004) describe how the ideas of sustainability expanded into sustainable tourism with interdisciplinary work in the 60s and 70s as mentioned above. They recognised that this created a big influx into the debate and that around the introduction of Agenda 21, the debate received another big influx. Creating useful insights with topics such as participation, stakeholder collaboration, and resource management techniques. This shows some of the topics in the debate about sustainable tourism.

A large part of the debate on sustainable tourism involves case studies and empirical research instead of theoretical studies. There are several scholars such as Kernel (2005, p. 152) who explain this form of study by remarking that "sustainable tourism always presents a process that is unique for the area, due to the multiple stakeholders and interests involved. In a unique process, there is no standard procedure to structure the problem solving". Johnston (2014, p. 201) has come to the same conclusion in explaining why many papers and literature are empirical in nature instead of theoretical within the sustainable tourism debate. Specific needs and conditions of destinations create diverse solutions, which are mostly tailor-made. This unique process with multiple stakeholders is key in the debate on sustainable tourism.

However, there are different views with regard to tailor-made solutions. Despite the fact that cases will always have unique aspects, I support the argument of scholars who look for similarities. There are several authors who have identified important aspects for improving sustainable tourism. There are many theories that are used to analyse sustainable tourism. And as mentioned above there are also many tailor-made solutions that have been created for case specific situations. Further research in the use of a theory or model that can be widely used to increase sustainable tourism can be a useful contribution to the theory and debate about sustainable tourism. Using Johnston's words; moving the debate from an empirical to a theoretical discussion.

While the goal of this thesis is to identify a more generalisable approach, this does not mean that there is no room for the unique aspects of each case. It is important to keep in mind that building theory on sustainable development does not mean that practices and policies cannot diverge based on the particular context. Rather, the objective is to create a broad framework that can help to analyse cases in a variety of different contexts, but is also sensitive to the unique aspects that form each case. It would be impossible to generalise the impact of all the different cultures across the globe, all the different geophysical aspects, social-economical systems or other features that help to shape each unique case.

2.5.3 Scientific relevance

As mentioned above in the scientific debate on sustainable tourism many papers and literature are empirical in nature instead of theoretical. This is explained by the unique processes for each area, which has different stakeholders, partners and environments. Identifying a model that can be more widely used could be a major contribution to the literature, in the long term this might even be the foundation for new theories on sustainable tourism. Graci (2013) has suggested that the tourism partnership model that was developed by Selin & Chavez should be further tested in a different case to prove its effectiveness in overcoming the challenges of tourism partnership towards sustainable tourism.

An idea that has room for these tailor-made solutions but is able to unite them will not only present a clearer and more useful idea for those who seek help with improving sustainable tourism. It also could attract a better critical view by scholars who would otherwise work on a new tailor-made solution. This could bring new insights and continue to build on existing ideas, thus helping the debate move forward instead of sideways with constant new tailor-made solutions. Compared to tailor-made solutions that continue to give only insight into a single case and can therefore only be of limited assistance in understanding other cases, a generalisable theory could help to analyse new cases faster and more efficiently. But also bring a theoretical side to this debate.

Testing the tourism partnership model in a different surrounding with a different case is a step towards finding this general theory. This research plans to contribute to the theoretical debate by testing Selin and Chavez's tourism partnership model in a different case. It will be interesting to check if the model faces the same challenges and follows the same stage that have been identified by Selin and Chavez in an African case compared to the research conducted by Graci in Asia.

This research can possibly confirm or disconfirm the usefulness of the tourism partnership model in different circumstances. If the results prove positive and the model has helped to improve cooperation between stakeholders and helped improve sustainable tourism, it might encourage further testing of this model and make it more widely applicable. It could possibly lead to useful contributions to the model. But if the results vary significantly from the results of Graci, the usefulness of the model needs to be reconsidered. Possible flaws could perhaps turn up when the model is used under different circumstances.

Neither Selin and Chavez nor Graci have mentioned if cultural differences have an effect on the model. Testing the model in an African case could possibly verify that culture or local context have of no influence to this model. Much of the literature on sustainable tourism uses cases in Australia and Asia. This is understandable, since Australia is a well-known and evolved tourist destination that has drawn visitors for several decades. The residents of Australia have encountered many tourists and the government supports sustainable tourism efforts. Asia and the Pacific is a big growth market that is already attracting many tourists. The other region that has seen large growth is Africa; however the number of tourists drawn to this continent does not match the numbers of Asia and the Pacific (yet). Compared to Australia and Asia, which are considered by many as easier places to travel and to approach as an outsider together with the image of Africa as a poor underdeveloped continent best avoided as a tourist, have most likely has influenced the choice of scholars to do research on tourism in Africa. Few have used Africa and, in particular Ghana, as a case description for tourism studies.

However, Africa and particular Ghana, is an interesting case to look at because it is an emerging market for tourism. With the growing number of tourists, the pressure on tourism destinations will increase. This will most likely lead to changes in the destinations and creates interesting opportunities to study the changes these destinations undergo. Particularly the idea of sustainable tourism can have a major influence on the outlook and future of these tourism destinations.

Looking at sustainable tourism in an African case will also contribute to the debate on sustainable tourism by considering whether the lessons learned are applicable on the African continent. It might also encourage the use of African cases, which is a continent of growth in tourism. It is fair to say that there a cultural differences between Australia, Asia and Africa. So far most of the theory has not made a distinction between an Australian or Asian context in its results. It should therefore be expected that an African culture will also have no influence on the model. Using an African case can be a good contribution to the scientific debate, especially in testing a theory. This would bring the conclusion that this theory could work under all circumstances a bit closer.

2.6 Societal relevance

To understand the societal relevance, tourism and the case need to be explained first. Tourism as an industry is briefly explained, followed by the impact this could have on its surroundings. This paragraph closes with the societal relevance of this research.

2.6.1 Understanding tourism and its impact

Tourism
Tourism is a big business and booming. In the year 2013 it was worth 9% of worldwide GDP directly and indirectly. It also had an impact on 1 in 11 jobs worldwide. It is a business that has grown from 25 million tourists in 1950 to 1035 million in 2012 and is expected to continue to grow annually at 3.3 % global and with an estimated 1.8 billion tourists in 2030. Europe remains the most visited continent, but Asia and Africa see a strong growth and are beginning to catch up. Asia and the Pacific saw an increase of 7% in international arrivals and Africa an increase of 6%. In a regional context of Africa, Ghana is doing well as a tourist destination. With 931.000 international arrivals in 2010 they closely follow Namibia, Uganda and Mauritius (UNWTO, 2014).

Impact of tourism
Many articles and research have looked at the impact of tourism. The concept of 'the impact of tourism' is extensive and can look at for example the impact on the environment, local culture or the economy. Understanding the impact of tourism is an important background for sustainable tourism. The impact of tourism is a combination of impacts on the environment and on communities. Sometimes even a combination of both. The impact on the environment can, for example be looked at locally, with a change in the physical environment because of an improvement to infrastructure. Or globally through climate change. The impact on communities can be analysed through many factors, for example social, economic or cultural.
The discussion on the impact of tourism has many dualities and paradoxes. "Tourism can be a massive contribution to communities by generating new income, creating jobs and improve the facilities or infrastructure. But is can also be a curse, due to a decline in traditional culture and heritage, materialism, increase in crime and environmental problems" (Jayawardena, Patterson, Choi, & Brian, 2008, p. 265).

Tourism and community
The impact of tourism on communities can be enormous. Communities that come in contact with tourism tend to change. They need to adapt to a new factor in their social reality and this can cause social unrest. How these changes are managed is different for each community. Communities are an important stakeholder in the theory about sustainable tourism. Scholars such as Wray conclude that "Community has become a key tenet of sustainable and socially responsible tourism" (2011, p. 606).

2.6.2 Understanding tourism in Wli, Ghana

Ghana
Ghana is a west-African country bordering the Gulf of Guinea, between Cote d'Ivoire and Togo and according to the latest numbers has a population of 25 million. Its capital Accra is located at the coast in the south, which is home to about 2.2 million people. The official language is English and Christianity, indigenous beliefs and Islam are the major religions. Ghana has a tropical climate with mostly a landscape of low plains. A major feature of Ghana is Lake Volta, which is the world's largest artificial lake by surface area. Ghana consists of many different ethnic groups and many local languages are spoken. 51.9% of the total population lives in urban areas.

Ghana is a constitutional democracy, which gained its independence from the United Kingdom on March 6th, 1957 and was the first African colony to become independent. Ghana has a democratically elected government that has proven resilient when the ruling party handed over power after losing elections in

2008. It is considered a stable country in the region and often named as an example of political and economic reform in Africa.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2013 was 90.41 billion dollars and grew by 7.9%. About 56% of the population is deployed in agriculture, 15% in industry and 29% in services. Important export commodities for Ghana were mainly raw material such as oil, gold and timber (Ghana, 2014) ((CIA), 2014).

Tourism in Ghana
As mentioned above Ghana received 931.000 international arrivals in 2010. This makes it the 10th most visited country in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNWTO, 2014). Ghana has an active ministry of tourism which has received more attention since 1993 with a vision to generate a 20% growth rate per annum till 2015. Ghana regards the impact of tourism as a sector that contributes to foreign exchange earnings and a general contribution to wealth creation through money spend in the country by tourists. The tourism industry has intangible contributions such as exposing citizens to modern development. It also contributes to the national goal of achieving sustainable and equitable economic growth and accelerated poverty reduction (Tourism, 2014).

Wli
Wli is a small village of approximately 2000 people in the Volta region, which lies in eastern Ghana. Close to the village lies west-Africa's highest waterfall, this attracts many tourists to Wli. Apart from the waterfall there are several more tourist activities, such as hiking in the environment and community based tourism. Wli contains a tourist centre and four hotels to support these activities. The hotels differ from fairly high-end, to lower budget prices to cater to different types of tourists.

The problem of Wli can be briefly described. The people of Wli have come to realise that they do not have a sustainable tourism development plan. After preliminary discussions and review of the positions of several tourism stakeholders in the community they concluded that there is no plan for the future of tourism in Wli. They are now actively looking and thinking about sustainable tourism and how this can possibly benefit their community. However not all the stakeholders have a common view with regard to this problem. This can become an issue if this is not handled properly.

2.6.3 Societal relevance
Wli is currently lacking a sustainable tourism development plan. Coordination of tourism activities once were handled by the government but changed to community management more than 20 years ago. They are currently lacking common goals with regard to tourism and the surroundings of Wli. Testing the tourism partnership model will not only test the theory for theoretical purposes. It can also help the community of Wli create insights in their own process. Identify the stakeholders and partners with regard to tourism can possibly create a common ground upon which a sustainable tourism development plan can be created. Creating such a plan based on sustainable tourism theory can potentially help the community in managing tourism in a better way and create a more sustainable process for tourism. Creating a plan will help stakeholders think about the future of tourism in Wli and manage expectations with regard to these subjects. It might also help prevent future conflicts with regard to different stakeholders and their views on tourism development by finding a common goal or common ground. The benefits of using this approach are also in finding a common ground between stakeholders, which could help to prevent conflicts on these issues.

Tourism has brought development and job opportunities to an otherwise agricultural area. Not all have benefited from this development and this is straining some of the relations in this area. Managing internal relations are an important fact of daily life in a small community such as Wli and need to be considered as part of improving sustainable tourism. A growing number of tourism can put more pressure on the resources of this community and its internal relations therefore need to be managed properly to avoid issues. A sustainable tourism development plan can help to improve or maintain the balance and relations

between tourism, the community and the environment and should ideally be in place before tourism grows further and will have a larger impact on these relations.

My research can contribute to fostering more sustainable tourism in Wli, Ghana by helping to analyse the process, defining the different stakeholders that are part of tourism and the different views that they represent. It also places extra emphasis on the involvement of all the stakeholders and a joint decision making process where decisions are supported by all the different stakeholders. This research has helped to analyse the challenges this cases faces and the importance of cooperation between the different stakeholders in resolving these challenges. It also shows the importance of maintaining a good balance between tourism, the community and the environment for the future of tourism in this case.

Finding a theory that can be widely used also has a practical advantage. If such a theory is available, other tourism destinations can use this theory to improve their own situation. A reliable, sound and well-known theory that helps improve sustainable tourism can be a good source for many tourism destinations that are currently struggling or looking for help with these matters.

2.7 Relevance to NAREMA and Ontmoet Afrika

NAREMA is a Ghanaian NGO whose mission is to improve living conditions in rural Ghana. They operate mainly in Wli and Abrani, Ghana. One of their goals is contributing to good governance and civil society development. Creating a sustainable tourism development plan in Wli will help support good governance of the tourism sector and possibly make a contribution to the development of civil society, which can be regarded as a stakeholder of tourism in Wli. Ontmoet Afrika is a partner of NAREMA and helps support the goals of NAREMA by providing volunteers for their projects. Both NAREMA and Ontmoet Afrika support and are involved in the process of creating a sustainable tourism development plan for Wli.

It is NAREMA who has called for a sustainable development plan for the area, this is also one of the reason that the research for this thesis was conducted in Wli. They have actively supported this research and its findings. NAREMA has helped this research by making introductions, setting up interviews and understanding the local culture and context of this case. While it initially might have created a small bias of some of the citizens of Wli towards the researcher, the freedom and independence NAREMA gave me to look at all the different angles eventually helped to overcome these barriers.

3. Theories on tourism

The trends within the debate on tourism and sustainable tourism have been briefly described in the previous chapter. Now we will take a short look at several ideas that have been created to increase sustainable tourism. It will also explain the tourism partnership model that will be tested in more detail and how it relates to other ideas within sustainable tourism.

3.1 Where does the tourism partnership model fit within sustainable tourism?

As explained in the scientific relevance, the ideas of sustainability and tourism have gradually merged into a new field and have become an integral part of the tourism debate. To understand the tourism partnership model, but also to understand the field of tourism, several ideas and theories on tourism are described below. These will help understand both the theoretical debate, but also the context in which this debate needs to be placed.

3.1.1 The impact of change and tourism

Hwang, Steward and Ko (2011, p. 339) have found that "Social impacts of tourism were felt before anything physically changed on the landscape". This shows the impact tourism can have on a community that is new to this industry, the aforementioned changes and impacts only intensify as tourism grows. When tourism grows beyond the capacity of a community, it undergoes tremendous change according to Hwang et al. (2011, p. 328). Since the goals of sustainable tourism is to strike a balance between economic benefits and protecting the environment and community, these impacts to society need to managed carefully to avoid a big upheaval. If these changes are too dramatic, tourism might lose support of one of its stakeholders. An important part of the tourism partnership model involves the engagement of stakeholders or partners and their support. They are key components in a successful outcome. This is an important understanding with regard to stakeholders such as communities. When the balance moves too far to the economic benefits it might not be considered sustainable tourism anymore based on the loss of environment and culture. The direct effects tourism can have on a community range from increased traffic and crime to a change in community identity and quality of life (Hwang, et al., 2011). These are but a few of the many impacts tourism can have on its environment.

Despite the positive and negative impacts of tourism in many communities, the relation between tourists and the community is very important to a tourism destination. Since tourism destinations are a place product, the success of tourism also depends on positive encounters between tourists and hosts (Hwang, Steward, & Ko, 2011, p. 329). To increase the sustainability of tourism, visitor numbers need to remain stable or increase to sustain the industry in the future. The insights above help understand the balance in this relationship and are crucial to positively increase the visitor numbers without losing one's culture or the environment. The tourism partnership model will inevitably bring change, either by increased tourism numbers or new ideas and development. The impact of these changes needs to be understood before the process is started and the goals are set. Since the community is one of the stakeholders, these insights will help to understand their relationship with tourism.

3.1.2 Tourism and development

Harrison (2008, p. 853) describes how tourism can contribute to employment, growth and entrepreneurship, but that it can also exacerbate inequalities as not everybody can profit from this contribution. It is important to realise that tourism can be a contribution, but it will not help everyone in a community. Especially in a small community like Wli this can put a strain on relations as some will seize these opportunities and others will not. This can cause envy and put stress on the harmony most small communities try to uphold. Managing internal relations is important in small communities such as Wli and will also play a role in finding common ground between stakeholders. Harrison's remark on changing

inequalities is an important view on understanding relations in the case of Wli. Development through tourism can widen the gap between rich and poor, which is especially visible in smaller communities.

Eagles et al. (2002) use a social exchange theory to look at the expansion of tourist development. They have studied the residents and their attitude towards tourism. After which they concluded this was similar to a cost-benefit approach. The residents weight the expected benefits from tourism against the expected costs, the result will heavily affect their attitude towards tourism and development. This insight into the decision-making process of individuals in communities can prove very important. As you need the support of the community to create a positive atmosphere that will continue to draw tourists, it is good to know how they will judge tourism. With the improvement of sustainable tourism, there should be a benefit for the community as well to maintain their support.

3.1.3 Tourists and tourism

With the enormous growth of tourism, tourist destinations increasingly realise that their growth has an impact on their surroundings. Tourism can put stress on local environments, it can both be a source for maintenance and improvement or degradation and decline (Manning & Dougherty, 1995, p. 30). Depending on how it is managed, tourism can be a positive or negative force to an environment. This is one of the paradoxes of tourism. The growing competition in the tourist industry, new technologies and faster travel gives the tourist a whole range of destinations to choose from. This is a trend that has also been noted in the debate of tourism by for example Dickinson and Peeters (2014, p. 11) who state that: "Tourism is an example of consumptive orientated leisure where demand, provision, improved technology and infrastructure is driving tourists further away, faster, more often, for fewer days per trip". This new trend in tourism has an impact on sustainability and sustainable tourism. More and shorter trips to destinations further away have a bigger impact on the environment. This should be considered for sustainable tourism in general but it can also be an important lens for the tourism industry in Wli. The tourism industry needs to consider these developments when they are setting their path for the future. These are of indirect influence to the tourism partnership model, since focus of the model lies on cooperation between stakeholders, it has not shaped the model. But it is of influence when the model is applied or tested in a case. If tourists are no longer visiting Wli, they would lose an important source of income. Attracting tourists remains important for a tourism destination.

Liu (2003, p. 462) sees tourism development as a dynamic process, where supply and demand are constantly changing. This characterises the tourism industry and demonstrates its vulnerability as well. Both the industry as a whole and destinations on their own are vulnerable to global events. There was, for example, a decrease in tourism after 9/11, another decline with the outbreak of SARS and countries in the Middle-East have seen a decline in arrivals due to the current regional turmoil which started in Syria. These realisations have made tourism destinations take a critical look at themselves and their role in their environment. Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010, p. 207) have argued that "destinations must consider all stakeholders' roles, as they may impact on their management and development. Tourists are one such stakeholder group and they are often attracted by the environmental and social attributes of destinations". The increasing awareness that tourists are not the only factor to consider in managing tourism destinations has become an important idea in the tourism industry. National stability affects tourism destinations, but also continental events such as the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa (Vanhooymissen, 2012). Despite these new realisations, managing tourists remains the most important factor and attracting tourist continues to be the driving force for any destination. What should not be forgotten about sustainable tourism is that tourism remains a commercial industry. Understanding tourists as a stakeholder is important to create a holistic development plan for sustainable tourism. While this research is about sustainable tourism and how this can be developed through cooperation, an understanding of the tourism industry is important. It helps to understand some of the decisions that are made in this case of Wli.

3.1.4 Sustainability

Sustainability is a term than has be widely used. But for this paper we will only regard it in respect to sustainable development and sustainable tourism. Miller, Rathouse, Scarles, Holmes and Tribe (2010, p. 630) have done research on the behaviour of people with regard to sustainability and the environment. In this research they compared the behavior of people on holiday and in everyday life. This led to some remarkable conclusions, for example they describe "climate change as an issue which sits within the public's 'sphere of concern', but not within their 'sphere of influence'. Indeed, the framing of the problem as a global problem identifies it as a problem for which we all need to take responsibility, and so no one does". This conclusion shows the general attitude of respondents on sustainability and the environment. It turned out that not many respondents choose for sustainable options unless they were externally motivated by for example government policies.

This research also looked into behaviour of respondents on holiday and in everyday life. The behaviour was completely different in everyday life, where respondents explained they knew how to behave responsibly. They were more willing to make an effort. Compared to respondents on holiday, where according to their statements 'they did not know how to act responsibly or sustainable'. There was also an idea amongst the respondents that on holiday they paid for their time there and felt they could make the most of their time away from home. This explains to some extend the general sentiment of the public with regard to sustainability. It appears that the general public and tourist mostly need external motivation to make responsible and sustainable choices. This needs to be promoted by corporations, organisations and governments.

Even though this important insight will not help in testing the model, it does affect sustainable tourism and gives an important insight in the decision process of the tourist and how they regard sustainability during their holidays. This insight needs to be considered when the tourism industry as a whole tries to increase its sustainability. It also shows the importance for destinations to become more sustainable. As can be read above, tourists will not specifically demand this of destinations. Nonetheless, this is important for the future of any tourism destination. Without the demand of tourists, destinations need see the importance of sustainability for them and find motivation and willingness to improve sustainability for their own future. This means that the tourism industry in Wli needs to promote sustainability, they should not wait for tourists to bring this up. If they want sustainability of their industry but also in relation to their community and environment, they will have to take the initiative on this.

3.1.5 Sustainable tourism

Liu (2003, p. 460) refers to Prosser who identifies four forces of social change that are driving the search for sustainability in tourism: dissatisfaction with existing products; growing environmental awareness and cultural sensitivity; realization by destination regions of the precious resources they possess and their vulnerability; and the changing attitudes of developers and tour operators". Undoubtedly these four forces are important aspects in moving sustainable tourism forward. Despite the fact that the awareness amongst tourist with regard to sustainable tourism destinations is not high yet, it is important to keep in mind what tourists look for in sustainable tourism and why. Keeping in mind that this awareness is expected to grow amongst tourists. Tourism remains a commercial industry, and without visitors it no reason for existence. The same goes for sustainable tourism. Where the goal and priorities have slightly changed compared to regular tourism, they still need to attract visitors and make a profit to survive. As the model in our case is used to improve sustainable tourism, it is important to know how these social demands come into existence and how this can be used to reach this goal. Sustainable tourism can meet both the traditional and new demands, which is why it is important to realise what forces drive this social change which is described by Liu.

This conclusion is contradicted to some extend by Miller, Rathouse, Scarles, Holmes & Tribe who find that even though there is a social change that promotes sustainable tourism, tourists themselves don't always look specifically for sustainable tourism destinations. Graci (2013, p. 35) has found the same conclusion; visitors in her case study did not demand a higher quality of sustainability. Miller et al. explain this seemingly strange combination of demanding more sustainable products on one hand, but not taking the

personal responsibility to select sustainable products on the other. People expect that the industry will improve these ideals as a whole, the problem is regarded as too big for them to handle so in-action is the natural reaction. In response to this attitude, governments and NGO's try to increase awareness on choosing responsible tourism destinations. These characteristics can also be found in the description on sustainability. The findings of Miller et al. (2010, p. 635) show that this is an on-going process. Miller et al. (2010, p. 635) find that: "Overall, respondents' understanding of how tourism relates to the environment seemed weak, largely perhaps as a consequence of a generally low level of awareness about the environment and global issues". These results should be seen in a combination of the findings on sustainability. Miller et al. (2010, p. 628-629) suggest that creating awareness, which is seen as critical in sustainable tourism literature is not actually effective. Research shows that tourists still look for the traditional services. Sustainability is not a primary criterion for tourists, but this does not mean that it is not appreciated in a destination.

If you look at the research on sustainability and the conclusions that are drawn with regard to the general public perhaps a different approach needs to be taken for the tourism industry to become more sustainable. According to Buckley (2012), the tourism industry is, despite difficulties to measure, far from sustainable. The overall image of the tourism industry and my gut feeling would agree with Buckley, but as he himself remarks it is difficult to measure. This makes it a difficult claim to defend. What can be concluded is that external motivations are important to tourists, the tourists in the tourism industry for the most part don't consciously choose for a responsible sustainable tourism destination. Some are unaware of these sustainable destination options, others have a limited holiday budget which does not match sustainability and others simply do not care. I believe that awareness is an important point. Considering the point of Miller et al. of it being not effective, I think that the awareness has not reached its critical mass yet. Once this point has been reached, tourists are willing invest more time and energy in selecting a sustainable destination. Tourists will realise the importance of sustainable tourism and demand it from destinations. Forcing them to become sustainable or lose their competitive advantage. As was concluded on sustainability, at this moment sustainability and sustainable tourism is mostly initiated by the tourism industry and the destinations themselves. If cases such as Wli want a sustainable future for their tourism industry it is now clear that at this moment and under these circumstances they need to make this one of their goals. The tourism partnership model can be a good tool to reach this goal.

There are several scholars who have done research into the actual process of increasing sustainable tourism as mentioned earlier. According to Jayawardena et al. (2008, p. 266) a sustainable tourism project should consider the following criteria to be reviewed and analysed: community, planning, benefits, visitors and viability. This is but one theory on the importance of different stakeholders and partners. Several studies have created different ideas on analysing sustainable tourism, but the general ideas concerning sustainable tourism put their focus on the importance of identifying and including key stakeholders and partners. For example Graci (2013, p. 27) names several key elements in the move towards sustainability in island destinations such as collaboration and cross-sector partnership. This argument is based on literature studies done by Graci and shows similarities to the criteria of Jayawardena et al. (2008) and Timur and Getz (2009, p. 221), who have described the many factors that need to be accounted for in sustainable tourism development in a short explanation. Their explanation is based on different sources and shows many similarities with the theories above. Graci's key elements, and Timur and Getz's factors are explained further below. These examples show the complexity of sustainable tourism and that there are many factors that influence and contribute to the outcome when destinations try to increase sustainable tourism.

Apart from the criteria identified by different scholars, partners are also considered to be important to sustainable tourism. Timur and Getz (2009, p. 222) identify three significant partners for sustainable tourism development, namely the tourism industry, environment supporters and community/local authority. Depending on the scale, these partners could be regarded as stakeholders as well, since all can affect or are affected by sustainable tourism development. Next to stakeholders and partners, Sheehan and Ritchie have found (2005, p. 718) that six conditions are needed for a positive outcome. They recognize that stakeholders need to believe they are interdependent, they will benefit from collaboration,

decisions will be implemented, all key stakeholders are involved in the process, the convener is considered legitimate and has authority and the process is effective. Both Graci and Sheehan & Ritchie acknowledge the importance of stakeholders being taken seriously and are actively made part of the process and responsible for the outcome. These are all important ideas that have become part of the tourism partnership model.

Wray (2011, p. 622) further confirms the importance of engaging the stakeholders in tourism planning and sustainable tourism. An additional important conclusion of Wray is that mutual learning cannot be imposed. This needs to fit the socio-political context for it to work. Wray's additional conclusion on the importance of local context is important. A small community such as Wli has many power relations and social structures to keep the harmony in a village where everybody knows each other and sees each other on a daily basis. Improving sustainable tourism and involving stakeholders must work within this context for it to be successful.

The first part or first phases of improving sustainable tourism through partnership are described by many articles as crucial to this process. Wray (2011, p.615) places an extra emphasis on finding all the different stakeholder's views and allowing the different stakeholders to hear the views of different groups in the early phases. The importance of this is that the different stakeholders understand each other's problems and goals. This understanding is needed to find a common goal that is supported by all. In the first phase, the convener is important. He or she must be believed to have legitimate authority and keep one group from dominating the process to ensure collaboration (Kernel, 2005, p. 153). Sheehan and Ritchie also name the convener, who is similar to the 'leader' that Graci mentions in the first phase, which will be explained later, as an important element for a positive result. This leader needs to be identified early in the process to help keep the momentum and make sure it will continue. The contradiction of this point could be that if this is true, the theory developed by both Selin and Chavez and Sheehan and Ritchie is not effective without a 'leader'. If their theory is not effective without this key point, the contribution of the other points needs to be questioned to see if they actually have an added value without a leader.

Timur and Getz (2009, p. 222) describe "how each stakeholder group has different goals and interests regarding sustainable tourism, but there are some goals of sustainability that they share. For instance, community and the tourism industry share the common goal of economic and sociocultural sustainability; economic and resource sustainability goals are shared between tourism industry and environment supporters, and local residents, government bodies and environmental supporters share sustainable resource use and protection goals". These shared goals can be used as a guideline in finding a common goal between the different stakeholders and partners in, for example, Wli.

Finding common goals and involving all the stakeholders in sustainable tourism can be considered vital judging from the theory and literature on sustainable tourism. Graci (2013) also describes how sustainable tourism should not only benefit business owners and those directly involved with tourism. Indirectly tourism also affects other sectors such as taxation, transportation, housing, social development, environmental conservation and protection and resource management. These indirect stakeholders should not be forgotten to create a holistic plan for sustainable tourism that is supported by all and where as many parties as possible benefit.

3.2 Theoretical views on stakeholders and partners

Since stakeholders and partners are an important part of sustainable tourism and the tourism partnership model, it is helpful to take a closer look at them. To be able to understand the tourism partnership model and to use it most effectively, the different stakeholders need to be understood. They are essential in the debate and deserve extra attention. Finding and involving all the stakeholders and partners in the process of increasing sustainable tourism is essential to its success. Several scholars have identified crucial stakeholders and partner-roles, their insights can be used as guidance to find all the parties involved in sustainable tourism in Wli.

3.2.1 Identifying the stakeholders

Pforr (2006, p. 94-95) quotes Liu who sees tourism as mainly a place product that requires three levels of resources: the attractions for tourists, including natural, cultural and purpose-built; the infrastructure and superstructure, to support tourist activities; and the physical and social settings, including the hospitality of the community. This shows the structures and conditions that are needed for a tourism destination to be successful. It also can be a tool to identify stakeholders and partners on different levels of involvement.

When looking at the case, the attraction of tourists is the most obvious, for Wli this is the waterfall. The structures that support the tourist activities are the hotels, tourism office, vendors, etc. The physical and social settings are the goodwill of the community and a positive atmosphere, but also a decent infrastructure to make sure tourists can reach this destination without much effort. All those described can be considered stakeholders in tourism.

This lens on the case helps to identify the stakeholders. In identifying stakeholders, Sheehan and Ritchie (2005, p. 715) find it useful to divide stakeholders in primary and secondary stakeholders. A primary stakeholder is considered to be one without whose continuing participation the tourism industry cannot survive as a going concern. Secondary players are those who influence or affect, or are influenced or affected by, the tourism industry, but not engaged in transactions with the tourists and not essential for its survival. "Most of the primary stakeholders are perceived as having high potential to threaten the tourism management, while others (secondary) are perceived as only moderate" (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005, p. 729). A primary stakeholder in the case of Wli would be the Tourism Management Team, who can have a major influence on tourism in this area. While for example, the taxi drivers who bring tourists to this area can be seen as a secondary stakeholder. Their treatment of tourists could still affect their memory of the area, but not as much as a bad or disappointing experience at the waterfalls themselves would influence the opinion of tourists about the waterfalls.

Pforr (2006, p. 103-104) has studied and mapped out the intensity and density of relational constellations between key policy makers to establish influence and reputation. Pforr found three different networks and between these he found mutual relevance and how the actors took each other into account. Pforr's conclusion and insight into social networks is interesting and can be a good support tool in finding and creating common ground between stakeholders. Creating a map or oversight of the relations in Wli might help adjusting the process to the local structures and relations of Wli. However finding out these influences can take a lot of time and most of the results are based on insight as people are mostly unwilling to admit that they are influenced by others. Next we will look at specific stakeholders.

3.2.2 Tourists as a stakeholder

"Increasingly, destinations must consider all stakeholders' roles, as they may impact on their management and development. Tourists are one such stakeholder group and they are often attracted by the environmental and social attributes of destinations" (Dodds, Graci, & Holmes, 2010, p. 207). Moscardo et al. (2013) have tried to analyse tourists and their behaviour while travelling. Based on their research they identified six distinct tourist types: Archetypal Tourists, Grey Nomads, Backpackers, Temporary Workers, Green Nomads and Amenity Migrants. The different types receive different reactions from the places they visit and people they meet.

Overall the Archetypal Tourists were the most likely to be associated with negative impacts, especially around environmental problems, pressure on facilities, excessive development of infrastructure and services and commoditisation of culture. They are the traditional tourists who visit a destination for a limited amount of time during holiday breaks.

The longer lengths of stay and different patterns of movement through the region resulted in perceptions that Grey Nomads provided support to local businesses, created more social interactions and expanded

opportunities to maintain local events in all the three study communities. Grey Nomads are usually elderly people who regularly visit the same destination for longer periods of time.

As with the Grey Nomads, Backpackers provided a wider range of social interactions and entertainment opportunities for local residents. In addition Backpackers were linked to positive cultural exchanges. But were also seen as anti-social in concentrated enclaves and setting a bad example with alcohol and substance abuse for local youth. Backpackers are mostly youths who for a longer period of time, travel from place to place.

Generally informants were positive about Temporary Workers who could be described as frequent, regular, long-stay visitors with considerable engagement in the community. Green Nomads are seen as a desirable type of tourism that could bring important resources to the communities. Volunteers are considered green nomads. Amenity Migrants were seen as a solution to a core issue for tourism in Australia where the research was conducted. Amenity Migrants temporary move to a new destination with the hope of making it their permanent new home. There is the desire from these communities to attract skilled workers and their families to live in the region – both as a source of new ideas and skills, as well as combating the issue of an aging demographic. Amenity Migrants were seen as a possible solution to this problem.

These tourist types help identify the behaviour of tourists and their expected impact of the communities they visit. It interesting to see how different tourist types influence their environment in different ways. However, this only partially explains how tourists play a role as stakeholders. It gives a short insight in their behaviour and their wishes, but tells us nothing about the importance of tourism on tourist destinations. The industry and development made in some tourism destinations risks a huge fall back when they no longer attract tourists, a point that should be considered when looking at tourists as stakeholders. These tourist types can be helpful to describe the tourists stakeholder group that is part of the case and possibly influence goals and strategies for the future of tourism in Wli.

3.2.3 Community as a stakeholder

In sustainable tourism theory, much emphasis has been put on the community as a stakeholder, this is especially important for community-based tourism. Community-based tourism, is when tourists visit a community and consider the culture and village an attraction. This is not the case in Wli, here the community plays a different role. The community is not considered part of the attraction, instead they create the positive atmosphere that will continue to draw tourists in the future and are essential in the protection of the environment, which is described perfectly by Liu (2003, p. 466) "The more that local residents gain from tourism, the more they will be motivated to protect the area's natural and cultural heritage and support tourism activities. If they do not benefit from tourism development, they may become resentful and this may drive tourists away from a destination as tourists do not like visiting places where they are not welcomed". Many scholars have used perceived benefits and perceived costs as the deciding factor of the community to support tourism and tourism development (Lee, 2013, p. 38). This cost-benefit perception can be affected by the attachment to the community as well. Lee described a way of trying to forecast the opinion of the community on support for tourism. It shows that for the community as a whole tourism should be beneficial. Attachment to the community can influence this opinion, a resident who has greater community attachment will be more likely to support sustainable tourism development (Lee, 2013, p. 43). A small community like Wli will most likely have more members that feel closely attached to the community which is beneficial for the support of sustainable tourism. Despite the many barriers of a community-based approach and being time-consuming, this is still considered the best approach (Wray, 2011, p. 607).

3.2.4 Tourism industry as a stakeholder

In Kernel's study (2005, p. 161) on sustainable tourism he noticed that the tourism enterprises joined the project because they were interested in becoming more sustainable. They also expected the project to offer the following benefits aside from increasing sustainability: create networks between the tourism enterprises and the project managers/consultants in order to share experiences, gain knowledge and develop practical tools. Promoting the green image of the region, a regional effort on sustainable tourism may have a positive effect on the market and enhance influence on local tourism development. Kernel's research shows that in his case the tourism industry had several reasons for partnering up and increasing sustainability. First, the actual desire to increase sustainability and second to increase the networks of individual members and the hope of attracting more tourists to the region with an improved image. This shows how the stakeholders seek a personal benefit for participating in the process as well. This can be an important incentive for stakeholders to join and needs to be considered as part of the common goal, a benefit to all parties involved. Graci described that in her case, most of those involved in tourism where enthusiastic about the initiative, but that without a leader not much initiative was taken or brought into action. The tourism industry is nonetheless an important stakeholder, based on the conclusions above creating a sustainable tourism destination depends mostly on their initiative. It is important that they understand the importance of sustainability to their own businesses.

3.3 Different views on improving sustainable tourism

There are many theories about sustainable tourism that could possibly be applied to a different case. Not all look at stakeholder and partner cooperation. Some looked at the drivers for improvement, how people experience sustainable tourism, the behaviour of tourist on tourism destinations or the effect of community and stakeholder engagement. Out of the sources that were consulted for this paper the next three theories were the most promising to increase sustainable tourism through cooperation between stakeholders, because they combined important elements such as stakeholders and cooperation between stakeholders into a workable theory.

3.3.1 Sheehan and Ritchie

Sheehan and Ritchie have provided numerous important insights that will be used to answer the research question of this paper and create an insight in sustainable tourism development and stakeholder cooperation. Their focus on stakeholders especially can be seen in their division of primary and secondary stakeholders, primary being one who the cooperation can't do without. A useful division that might help to analyse stakeholders and the best way to approach them, but it diminishes the mutual benefit cooperations are supposed to produce. It does, however, help to bring a good focus those who are key in the process. They acknowledge that managing stakeholder cooperation is based on six key conditions:

> these six conditions are: include stakeholders believing they are interdependent; they will benefit from collaboration; decisions will be implemented; the key groups (identified as being government, tourism associations, resident organizations, social agencies, and special interest groups) are involved; the convener is legitimate with expertise, resources and authority; and the process is effective for collaboration (Jamal and Getz, in Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005, p. 718).

These conditions are useful in analysing a case and helps to maximize the effectiveness when trying to improve sustainable tourism. Their insight in the decision-making process and different roles of stakeholders can be useful in analysing a tourism destination, unfortunately their article stops here. They don't provide ideas on how to improve sustainable tourism at destinations. Which makes their theory not the best choice to test and extend to other cases.

3.3.2 Timur and Getz

Timur and Getz (2009, p. 221) have described the many factors that need to be accounted for in sustainable tourism development in a short explanation, this is based on several different sources. "For a sustainable tourism development approach to be workable, partners from the tourism industry, government and community, in other words groups and individuals with divergent interests, goals, values and perspectives, need to be drawn into the process of tourism planning and development" (WTO, Long, in Timur & Getz, 2009). This underlines the importance of involving all parties in the process of improvement, to gain support all parties involved must be included.

The vital importance of stakeholders and stakeholder management within sustainable tourism policy development has been well recognized in the pages of *Sustainable Development*. It has been stressed that a bottom-up approach is necessary, involving capacity-building and a road-map for stakeholders (MacLeod and Todnem, in Timur & Getz). Stakeholders have to be empowered and work in partnership (Welford et al., 1999), while strong leadership and assistance is required from various levels of government (Eligh et al., 2002). "To facilitate community empowerment, stakeholders have to be educated on sustainability and cooperative action has to be fostered. Clear benefits of collaborative action have to be demonstrated to all stakeholders" (Timur & Getz, 2009, p. 221). The recognition of benefits to the stakeholders is an important aspect to make sure that the process or improvements are supported by the stakeholders. A bottom-up approach helps find these benefits more easily. Similar to Sheehan and Ritchie their ideas are based on stakeholder cooperation and a leader or facilitator has an important role in their process.

3.3.3 Selin and Chavez's tourism partnership model and Graci's additions

Graci has applied the Tourism partnership model of Selin & Chavez (1995) as a method to improve sustainable tourism through cooperation between partners and stakeholders in a case in Indonesia. Selin and Chavez set out to improve upon the existing ideas of collaboration, they base their model on a combination of case studies and existing theory. They explain that these partnerships are usually initiated due to outside influences, which they call: antecedents. The partnership then sequentially evolves through the next phases: problem-setting, direction-setting and structuring to finally reach the fifth and last phase; outcomes of the partnership. This model is to be dynamic and iterative, with a constant back and forth between the stages and constant evaluation of the previous steps. What is considered an antecedent is different for each case, it can be a life changing drastic event or be imposed upon by a convener. A common vision between the partners is important for the partnership to succeed (Selin & Chavez, 1995, p. 848).

Graci (2013, p. 36) confirms that in the first phase, a strong leader with good relations was key in moving forward and making the partnership succeed. With the point: existing networks is meant that the different partners have worked together or at least know each other. This has proved helpful in starting up the partnership. The problem-setting phase can be seen as the first start of actually working together, here the different partners gradually begin to recognise their interdependence. This however is not enough. The benefits must outweigh the costs for each partner for them to fully commit to the partnership. Graci finds that in the problem-setting stage, stakeholder involvement and consultation, which leads into a form of collaboration, is important. It is in the direction-setting phase, when the ground is broken and the different parties start to work together and trust each other that a common goal is created. They start to organise themselves with ground rules and sub-groups to reach their common goal. In the structuring phase, the progress made in the previous step is now formalized. The partnership is no longer based on just common goals but becomes a formal structure. Roles are assigned and systems are set-up to control the process and progress. The final phase, the outcome stage, is where programs that were developed are implemented or actual results are booked. It is in this stage that the partnership sees its impacts and all the partners start to reap the benefits from their efforts. Once the goal has been reached, the partnership can review their purpose and broaden it or the partners might lose interest and they split up again. This might also happen if the problem remains unresolved.

Graci's description of the implementation of this model to a case is very clear. Graci uses the model below to show the progress a multi-stakeholder partnership goes through while trying to improve sustainable tourism.
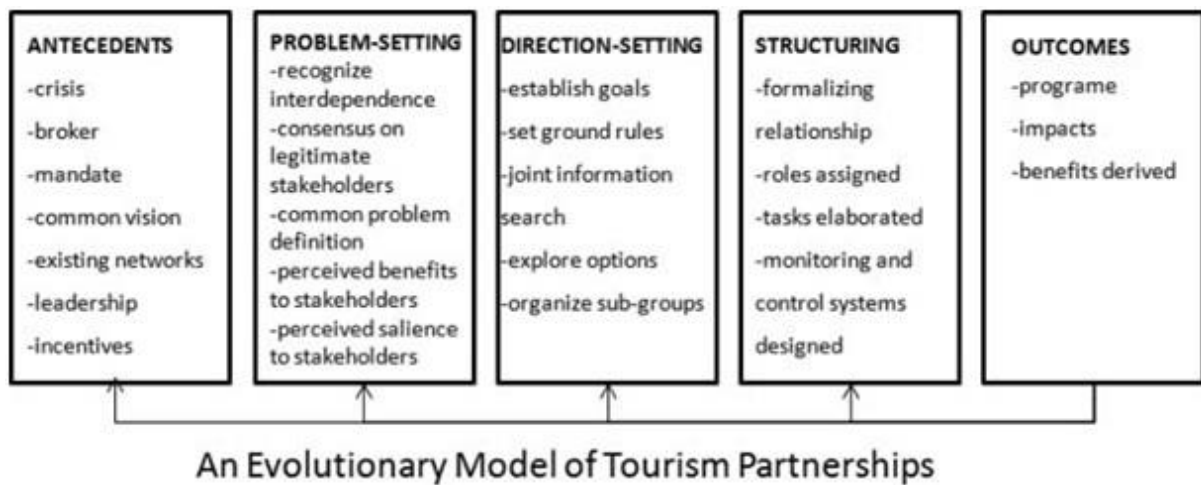
Figure 2. The tourism partnership model (Source: Selin & Chavez , 1995**)**

Graci concludes that the following key aspects have been essential in her case: collaboration, cross-sector partnerships, participation of the local people, the definition of long-term strategies, a carefully designed tourism plan, intensive capacity building and training of both national public officials and management in the destination and infrastructure support. Graci (2013, p. 28) further elaborates on the idea of partnerships to collectively address concerns and determine mutually agreed upon objectives that will benefit all stakeholders involved to improve sustainable tourism.

The key elements of a partnership are that all:
- stakeholders are interdependent;
- solutions emerge by dealing constructively with difference;
- joint ownership of decisions is involved;
- stakeholders assume collective responsibility for the future direction of the domain; and
- partnerships remain a dynamic, emergent process (Graci).

These elements all emphasize that stakeholders need to be actively involved in the decision-making process and feel responsible for the process and results. These values will help find a common goal among partners and stakeholder, especially if they are involved early in the process.

3.3.4 Why the tourism partnership model?

Graci's article struck me as a clear, concise and well-structured approach to a problem that has caused much debate on both theory and practice. Going through the literature and theoretical debate on sustainable tourism and how to improve this I found several authors who have found similar results. Sheehan and Ritchie (2005) and Timur and Getz (2009) have found similar results to Graci, such as the importance of leadership and the importance of including all the stakeholders involved. All three theories are based on stakeholder cooperation, specifically mention the importance of a leader in the early stages and seek to promote a common ground or benefit for all stakeholders. Sheehan and Ritchie's ideas have a resemblance to Graci, but their focus lies more on finding out the internal roles of the cooperation. Graci's case is more specified to improving sustainable tourism. Both Graci and Timur and Getz describe how to improve sustainable tourism extensively in their articles and both help to get a good insight into stakeholder collaboration and how to improve this.

The elaborate case study and testing that was done by Selin and Chavez to create the tourism partnership model has laid the perfect foundation to extend the theory to another case. This has been done by Graci. Her clear analysis of the different stages of the tourism partnership model combined with an extended focus on leadership and collaborative effort defines her case. While the results of Sheehan and Ritchie (2005) and Timur and Getz (2009) are interesting, the tourism partnership model has a more narrow focus, which has created a better insight into a particular situation. Most importantly, as part of my goal is to find a theory that can be widely applied, the tourism partnership model was created by Selin and Chavez and based upon case studies mostly in the USA. Graci has taken the next step and applied this model in an Asian case, the Gili islands in Indonesia. If this model can be further tested in a different context it would give credibility to this model and show its potential to be applied more broadly. Together with this in-depth focus, clear case description and potential of Selin and Chavez's tourism partnership model to be extended to different cases has made me decide to test if Graci's results can be found in a different case with a different context.

The most important idea that I take from Selin & Chavez and Graci, how I use their ideas and what I look for when I test the tourism partnership model, is that this model is meant to improve the cooperation between stakeholders and help improve sustainable tourism. Their ideas can help to move a group of people involved in tourism forward with their attempts to improve sustainable tourism.

This model is not just a description of a process that stakeholders go through when they try to improve sustainable tourism. The different phases have been created for a reason and to achieve the best results possible. It is meant as a guideline for those who would like to improve sustainable tourism. To be taken as advice and to help make decisions that will help to reach one's goals. This research will focus on the case of Graci and test if it can be used in analysing the case of Wli, Ghana. The case of Wli will be analysed and compared to the case of Graci and the theory of Selin and Chavez to see if it can fully explain the case.

3.4 What can we expect when testing the tourism partnership model in Wli?

The most important idea for this model is that stakeholders are interdependent and operate as such, but will need to cooperate if they want to reach their new goal. In this case the new goal is increasing sustainable tourism by creating a sustainable development plan. All the stakeholders should be involved in creating this plan and they need to assume a collective ownership of both the process and the results. An aspect that will be checked when the model is tested in Wli. Therefore the first two points that will be tested are: (1) whether the model has helped to improve cooperation between stakeholders and (2) if sustainable tourism has been improved upon.

Another facet to look for is to see if this process of creating a sustainable development plan takes them through the five phases that have been described by Selin and Chavez in the tourism partnership model. Since each phase has different aspects we will check what indicators and aspects of each phase can be found and more importantly if they follow the order in which Selin and Chavez describe them. Because this model also puts emphasis on a dynamic process, a back and forth between phases can be expected. But only for adjustments, we still expect the process to follow the flow that has been set out by Selin and Chavez in the five phases.

This model is meant to help guide a process, but first this process needs to be clearly framed and started. It needs to be clear which activities should be monitored and are considered part of increasing sustainable tourism by using the model. We will see if Wli has a crisis or other event that could set in motion such a process and what this process might look like. Not just Graci, but several authors have remarked upon the importance of a strong leader early in the process. He or she can help start-up the process and make sure there is progress. This will be tested as well.

The second phase puts a greater emphasis on stakeholders, we will check who the stakeholders are and if they are acknowledged by all those involved in the new process. We will see if they all play a role in the process and if they can find a common problem definition. This is a key point in this part of the process

and something that they need to build on in the next phases. The Direction-setting phase describes how the stakeholders start to organize themselves by setting goals and creating ground rules. We will test if this is also the case in Wli, if they communally look for information and if they start to look for options at this point. In the fourth phase, Structuring, the stakeholders involved in this process are formalizing their organisation. Tasks are set, responsibilities are made clear and a system of monitoring and control is created. The case of Wli will be tested on these points as well.

The last phase, Outcomes, is the actual result of the process. This can be a program or an outcome. We will see if this is the case for Wli as well. It is at this moment that the group decides to continue and together work on a new challenge or dissolves either with an actual outcome or possibly without one. We will try to find out if the case of Wli has such a moment as well.

Finally the most important point that needs to be tested is whether the model actually works. Is the model helping to improve sustainable tourism? Has this model been a helpful guide in this new case?

4. Methodology

Chapter four explains how the research objective was achieved. It will explain how the research has been conducted, what approach was taken, what data was used and how the data has been analysed.

4.1 Research strategy

The research strategy to achieve the objective of this research and to answer the questions that have been asked will be described below. It will explain how this research will try to answer the questions and explain the rationale behind the choices that are made.

The goal of this paper is to consider if the tourism partnership model which has been applied by Graci can be tested in Wli. For this purpose, in-depth research will suit better then general knowledge research. This is the logical method of choice when the goal is to test a model in a different case instead of extending a theory to the general field. In-depth knowledge looks at all the aspects of a single or smaller case compared to general knowledge that looks at for example an entire branch of industry or a whole nation. With an in-depth research the details and complexities become clear due to the focus on a smaller area. All these aspects complement the goal of testing a model in a different context.

The goal of this research is to consider Selin and Chavez's theory, the tourism partnership model, about sustainable tourism in a new case, which is Wli, Ghana. The new case of Wli is relatively small with about 2000 inhabitants in the area. The size of the case, the goal of testing a theory in a case and monitoring the process all support a qualitative approach compared to a quantitative. A qualitative approach has the benefit that it can describe a case with more detail than can be provided by the respondents and observations. It can better describe the different and complex ideas and opinions respondents have and give a more verbal report on the opinions of respondents to a complex process such as the testing of a theory. A qualitative approach is better suited to follow the process, observe or critically question the different stages described by Selin and Chavez. It can describe the issues faced more clearly because the respondents are able to answer more freely and elaborate on possible issues and challenges faced.

Choosing between field research and desk research, I personally prefer an active approach through gathering data in the field with field research instead of desk research. Cresswell (2007) discussed several philosophical approaches to qualitative research. This research will have a Postpositivism approach. This means that the results and the meaning of empirical data will be understood through logic. Conclusions will be based on empirical data and theories from the debate about sustainable tourism. Multiple perspectives of respondents have been drawn from qualitative research and will be considered when analysing the data. This approach will be recognized in the presentation of the results. These characteristics have an effect on choosing a research strategy which will be discussed next.

Verschuren and Doorewaard (2010) discuss five research strategies. Out of these strategies, the experiment has several aspects that could be useful to this research. Testing of a model can be seen as a experiment in the field. But an experiment needs strict control over the process, a random choice and a control group to compare the data from the field research. This was not possible during the research. Some control is possible when extending the tourism partnership model to Wli, but the process will be led by the inhabitants of Wli.The case of Graci (2013) could be regarded as the controlgroup for the data but that is not how a experiment is usually set-up.

The case study looks at every aspect of a process, which suits the research objective and questions of this paper. A case study also looks at different variations normally done by comparing cases, it is possible to compare the data from this research to the data of Graci, this will be done to some extend. A case study also explores the motivations and the source of these motivations of members in the case. These aspects are very useful to see how the process is seen by community members, how they respond to possible changes and to see if they follow similar stages on the path of improving sustainable tourism. This

research will only look at one case and can therefore be seen as a within-site study. This research will focus on the tourism industry in Wli; its stakeholders and partners, not the entire community. The focus on a single process within a community would categorise this research as a single instrument case study. Case studies create a hollistic view of the communities researched through single interviews, group interviews and observations. Another benefit of the casestudy is that the results are more easily accepted by the field, because the researcher usually has close interaction with the case or field of research.

Grounded theory research tries to explain why and how factors can influence reality. Important aspects that are part of the theory and model. The goal of grounded theory research is to create a new theory based on findings by continuously comparing data from the field with theory and cross checking data from the field. The objective of this research is not to develop a new theory, but to test if an existing theory can be successfully tested in a different case and hereby gaining a new theoretical insight. However, the approach of grounded theory can be very helpful in giving meaning to the data that will be collected and in understanding the signifcance of the data.

Cresswell (2007) describes different approaches within grounded theory. This research could have been conducted with a systematic approach, where the process is systematically explained and interactions are systematically analysed. This would benefit both the validity of the research and the transferability. The constant comparison to exising theory is an important aspect of this research. Since the goal is to test if Graci's case has met similar challenges and follows the same steps as in the new case of Wli. Where the research of Graci can be classified as a secondary theoretical comparison (continuously comparing data from the field with existing theories). This research will be considered a secondary emperical comparison. Where the data of the field research will be compared with the case described by Graci.

Small parts of this paper has been desk research, finding appropriate theories that can be reviewed. An attempt has been made to complement the data gathered in the field by minutes from meetings and archives, but this was not readily available.

4.1.1 The strategy and research approach that fits this research best

This research has some aspects of a grounded theory approach and of the case study. The results could be achieved through a grounded theory approach, but a case study is more appropriate. The results will mostly be compared to the case of Graci instead of the entire theory. The goal is also not to find a new theory but to test one in a new case. Just like in a casestudy, this research will look at every aspect of a single process, which is improving sustainable tourism by testing if the tourism partnership model can be applied to the case of Wli. As mentioned above, an understanding of the motivations of stakeholders and partners will create an insight into the development process. This will also help identify if phases similar to the model are followed. One of the goals of this research is to create a hollistic view of the process to develop sustainable tourism. Another aspect of a case study.

4.2 Data collection

This section explains how the data was collected, and what the role of the researcher was in the research. It will explain who the interview respondents were and how they were selected.

4.2.1 Role of the researcher

The first phase of the field research consisted of an observatory role, combined with preliminary research. This helped to let the researcher and the case accustom to each other. A slow graduate integration of the researcher into the case has helped to create a level of trust, which in turn provided a more responsive and open environment. Upon arrival a combination of observations and purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007) helped to gradually explore the case. With the support of NAREMA, meetings and introductions were made in the area and a network of contacts was beginning to build. This phase was used to learn about the tourism industry in Wli, how the internal relations are configured, if similarities to the chosen

theory and its model can be identified, identifying possible interview respondents, identifying important and key players for the theory and process and who were willing candidates or persons for improving the sustainability of tourism in Wli. With the help of 'gatekeepers' and contacts of NAREMA the insight in the tourism industry could be increased and possible interview candidates identified. The insight in the tourism industry based upon my personal observations and preliminary interviews were important in identifying interview candidates. Initially the network of NAREMA was used, as the people of this network were more approachable and open to the researcher, which was based on the trust NAREMA placed in me. For a small part this made me dependent on their views on the tourism industry, as well as their personal network. However, in the later phases of the research my personal network extended and I was able to verify their views and find different views and insight on the tourism industry.

After the tourism industry and the case were identified, key people in the process were selected as interview candidates. The industry was divided into several stakeholder- or partner groups, each with different views and interests. From each group, respondents were selected in order to create a case seen from as many different angles as possible. This phase was also used to identify possible problems, sensitive subjects and create input and understanding for the interviews to follow.

The second phase of the field research had a more active approach of the researcher. In this phase respondents and interview candidates were actively approached. The selection of respondents will be discussed below. One-on-one interviews were set up between the researcher with an as diverse as possible selection of respondents. Not all selected respondents were easily available and setting up introductions and interviews was not always easy. However, I overcame these challenges by patiently gaining the trust of the people in the area. My extended stay in the area, neutrality on sensitive subjects and willingness to help tourism also helped to gain trust. By diversity, I mean that I sought respondents from as many different stakeholders and partners as possible and that can help identify the process of the 'tourism partnership model' as described in the theory. Group interviews, group discussion and focus groups were used to create a better insight in the development of sustainable tourism while testing the tourism partnership model.

The respondents were selected through a sampling strategy based on theory and the possibility of the respondent to confirm the use of the theory and create an insight into the case. By theory based respondents is meant; respondents who are part of the tourism industry and who are part of the process of developing sustainable tourism or have a stake in this process or its outcome. Respondents were also actively selected on the possibility to identify the model or phases of the process. A criterion for respondents and potential interview candidates was that they needed to be able to contribute to the testing of the theory or analysing the case. This is either by helping identify the process and model or by explaining its impact on stakeholders, partners and its environment. The forms of data that were gathered are mostly observations and interviews.

4.2.2 The respondents and interview questions

Apart from the criteria that have been mentioned above, a respondent needed to be able to contribute to the theory and help identify the process. As described earlier, the case was divided into stakeholder groups. These stakeholder groups are: the Tourism Management Team (TMT) and the tourism office, the chiefs and elders, the community, the landowners, (district) assembly and lastly the hotels, shop owners and others involved in tourism. These stakeholder groups will be further explained in the case description. My goal was to interview at least one person from each stakeholder group, but as Wli can be roughly divided into three communities, I also sought to interview at least one person from each community for every stakeholder group. For the most part this goal was achieved; at least three people representing almost each stakeholder group were interviewed. But not all communities were equally represented. The community of Wli Todzi, which lies on top of the mountain range and therefore further away from the other two, is under represented. It was difficult to arrange meetings with this community and for a large part I relied on the opinions of people who originated from that community but now lived in the other two communities; Apegame and Agoviepe. It was not until the end of the research that I realised that they could not fully represent the views of this community. When I presented my research and its results

to them I noticed a lower level of involvement compared to the other two communities who were more familiar with my research. I have tried to account for this potential under-representation as much as possible in my conclusions and findings.

I have also tried to get the insights of the young and old and men and women in the communities. Their views and opinions might be different from one another, even though they are part of the same group. When possible, the respondents were selected on these criteria as well. However, this was not always possible.

As mentioned earlier, the first respondents were selected from the network of NAREMA. Since the case of Wli consists of a rather small community, it was relatively easy to identify those involved in the tourism industry and what role they played. Through known contacts these people could be approached and the researcher could be introduced to them, usually followed by an appointment for an interview. This was sometimes a lengthy process and not all respondents were easily available. Another criterion for respondents involved the local decision-making process. As this research also has a strong societal relevance, NAREMA wants to improve sustainable tourism in the area, it was also important to reach people who are part of the decision-making processes in the community. This led to a slightly larger percentage of elders among the respondents, since the elders are usually considered as opinion leaders.
For this reason people were also selected who are part of the decision-making process or those who have influence on it, the 'opinion leaders'. An effort was made to talk to most of those considered part of the above criteria. This yielded important information such as their position and views on certain points, especially with regard to sustainable tourism development.

The questions and approach during the interviews evolved gradually during the research period, but the major topics remained more or less the same. The initial approach that was taken during the first interviews had an open approach. The rationale behind this was to avoid blind spot, because the case was new to the researcher. The idea behind an open approach was to mention the topics that were to be discussed and let the respondent share his or her view on the topic.
The topics in the first interviews were:

- 1 Increasing sustainable tourism in Wli and suggestions by the respondent
- 2 View on present and future of tourism in Wli
- 3 Challenges and problems faced by improving sustainable tourism
- 4 Looking at the process of sustainable tourism
- 5 Stakeholders and partners

While some were able to talk about some of the topics with regard to tourism and sustainable tourism, not all were familiar with neither the terminology nor the tourism industry itself. Unfortunately, the topics proved too technical for most of the respondents. Much explanation was needed during the interviews and judging from the answers, most respondents did not completely understand the topics after all. This could be considered the pilot testing phase of the interviews. This led to a revision of the questions. After testing the questions with the first few respondents, though most interviews turned out to be a good source of information, I concluded the questions needed to be simplified. Less technical questions and terms needed to be used to achieve better results. During the first interviews, on the spot changes were made to achieve better results.

This led into changes in the approach for the following interviews. Gradually the topics and questions became more structured, leading into a semi-structured approach. The topics were still presented to the respondents and when necessary sub-questions, explanations and specific questions were asked or explained to the respondents. This led to a better understanding of the topics by respondents, more information and information that was more useful in testing the model. As can be seen by the topics of the last interviews, this was much more elaborated. The guideline can be found in Appendix A, the new topics were:

-1 Role of TMT
-2 Role of partners
-3 How is cooperation between partners
-4 Why is the process/partnership failing
-5 Forest conservation

To get a better idea about the topics above, they will be shortly elaborated. The first topic; Role of TMT, had supportive questions such: what respondents expected, what did TMT actually do, are there misunderstandings between TMT and other stakeholders, what is their role and do they promote sustainable tourism. The second topic; Role of partners, briefly covered the same topics as the first, combined with the relations between the different partners.

The third topic looks at the different roles partners might play, how this might help sustainable tourism and what they expect from one another. While the fourth topic tries to identify the current state of the cooperation between partners and if respondents think this is going well or why they think it is failing. The last topic looks at the current efforts of forest conservation, what respondents think should be the ideal situation for forest conservation and what is a more realistic scenario.

4.2.3 Conducting interviews and observations

The research strategy is clear, how the researcher got to know and integrate into the case has been explained, who the respondents were, how they were selected and finally what questions were asked during the interviews has been explained. Next will follow a short account of how the actual interviews fared.

To get the most out of the one-on-one interviews, a private and preferably friendly and familiar location was used to conduct the interviews. The approach with most of the respondents started with public announcements in town that an outsider would be residing in the area for the purpose of research on tourism. Next a select list of respondents were approached by the researcher together with a familiar person or face to the potential respondent. Formal introductions were made, the mission of the researcher explained and a formal request for a private talk was made. Some respondents were immediately open and available, which resulted in an immediate interview. As most respondents were visited in or around their own homes, the majority of the respondents felt comfortable and were willing to talk openly about the many topics discussed.

An open, neutral position of the researcher with extra emphasis on neutrality, which was sometimes important, helped give the interviewee the ability to explain the situation from his or her perspective to an outsider. This turned out to be a good approach, based on observations and experience, many respondents were actively looking for help with both the topic issues and personal issues. This created a willingness to talk about these topics and finding solutions. Neutrality was important because of the difficulties between Apegame and Agoviepe, which is explained in the case description in the next chapter. As many of the respondents were some sort of authority figure, they naturally and perhaps unconsciously tried to achieve the upper hand in the interviewer-interviewee relation. This could be smartly used with the open, neutral position, allowing the respondents to open up to the interviewer. Acknowledging their authority and knowledge about the topic was several times useful to coax respondent to explain processes and find out about their opinions. There was a danger that the interviewee took over the interview, which unfortunately happened on one or two occasions. Nevertheless these interviews were more successful than some, were the respondent was unwilling to open up. This approach did not work on every respondent, but an understanding of this relation and the view of most respondents on outsiders, especially whites, helped get the most out the interviews. Unavoidably, some respondents reflected some questions or were unwilling to open up. But overall the results achieved from the interviews were good and matched or came close to what was hoped for at the start of the interview.

The interviews were all done face to face and most were done in English, with a few exceptions where with the help of translators, interviews were done in Ewe. Most interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. None of the interviews are recorded, which was a conscious decision. During the first interviews respondents were asked if the interview could be recorded. Some agreed to this, but others did not. I noticed that this was something of a taboo topic, people were reluctant to give their approval on this. For this reason I decided not to ask respondents about recording the interview anymore. This led to a better atmosphere when the interview started. During every interview, extensive notes were taken to compensate for the lack of a recording. Unfortunately, this led to less eye contact during the interview and much writing. On the positive side, respondents felt that they were taken more seriously. Their words were actually listened to and noted down. To help gain the trust of the respondents, anonymity in the report was promised to them. For this reason, the interviews only have a number instead of the actual names.

To prepare for the interviews and working out the data from the interviews, I used interview protocols. The interviews were prepared in advance with the help of several protocols. The most important one was the guideline and topic list which can be seen in the appendix. The interviews were started by an explanation of the goal of the research, an explanation on confidentiality, elaboration on neutrality and the topics of the interview were explained. Followed by the interview and ending with an open topic where respondents could talk freely or elaborate on any topic of their choosing. At the end of the interview the respondent was thanked for their insight and time.

During every interview notes were taken. With the help of a topic and question sheet the responses were written down. An interview form was used, containing header and footnotes such as welcome, confidentiality and thanks. On the interview form were the topics of the interview, complemented later by explanatory and steering questions to guide the interview. Immediately after the interview these notes were worked out digitally and the notes translated into interview transcripts. The elaborate notes helped to create an as complete transcript of the interview as possible. Some of the transcripts were shown to the respondents to see if anything was missed and if it captured the interview correctly. They all agreed that it did. Furthermore two interviews were indeed recorded and compared with the written notes to see if it indeed resembled most of the interview. Of course small sentences were missed or written down a little differently, but these differences were minor and it can be concluded that most of the transcripts based on the notes resembles the interviews. These transcripts were stored digitally for easy access.

The data gathered was cross-checked by asking the respondents the same questions which made it easier to verify their answers. The data was also checked through observations and informal conversations. Bias of respondents has indeed affected their opinions and answers to a certain level. But since the process of improving sustainable tourism through multi-stakeholder partnerships is based on cooperation, these individual opinions and views are indeed relevant.

As the research was being conducted on-site, one-on-one interviews were the preferred form of information gathering, combined with different forms of observation and interaction. The different focus groups and discussions held at the end of the research, have complemented and confirmed the data that has been gathered through one-on-one interviews. After the one-on-one interviews, separate meetings were arranged between each stakeholder group to discuss the findings of the research. During these meetings I explained my research and presented my findings and conclusions. Together we reflected on the data and debated the results. The goal of these meetings was to create consensus within each stakeholder group, but also to create common goals. These goals could be presented in the last debate, where all the stakeholder groups were gathered and represented. I was not able to arrange meetings with each separate stakeholder group as it was difficult to gather the people together. Meetings were held with the hotels and shop owners, the chiefs and elders and the community. The different stakeholder groups agreed with my findings and were very much interested in the results of the research. After the separate stakeholder meetings, a discussion was arranged with representatives from each stakeholder group. Here all the stakeholders were represented and the findings once more discussed,

followed by steps and plans for the future. Their input was combined with the research results and formed into the basis for a sustainable development plan.

4.2.4 Observations

Apart from the interviews and group discussions, insights in the case were found through observations and day-to-day dealings. These observations were useful to confirm the data from the interviews, but also to gain a greater insight into the case. The reality and experience of the case could in this way be seen and used to describe the case. As explained above in the research strategy, at first an outsider's view was used to analyse the case. This was part of the gradual integration of the researcher into the case, but also to look at the case with an open mind. To see things before they are explained or before you become familiar with the logic and explanations of the case which can provide blind spots. I have used observations mostly to complement the interviews and to understand the case. Observations were used to identify the case itself, what was part of it and what did not belong to the case. Key people in the tourism industry were identified through the interviews and casual conversation, but they were also verified by observations. Seeing how people respond to each other, what and who they talk about can be interesting to see who are opinion leaders and informal leaders.

I have spent almost my entire time in the area of Wli, talking to the people and those involved with tourism, hanging around the tourist office, seeing how tourists are treated in and around the village, seeing people behave towards tourists and each other and many other daily situations have become part of my observations. All these experiences have helped me understand the case and are part of the case description. Unfortunately, due to a lack of discipline and experience I did not write many observation reports. At the time of research, I took many observations and gained insights for granted and did not write them down as observation reports. Most of the observation reports consist of personal evaluations on the progress made, but also insights gained through day-to-day dealings and the research itself. This is valuable information in creating the case and context, but after the first weeks I took these insights for granted during the learning process. These were no longer written down, but can still be found as part of the case description.

4.2.5 Other data

Apart from the interviews and observations I have used internet sites, mostly from the hotels and the district municipality, to gather background information and to orient myself before arrival. Another important source was the constitution of TMT which was created in the early 90s when the community took control of tourism. The constitution is an elaborate document that very clearly describes the different roles of TMT, the Tourism Management Board (TMB), different internal roles, organisational matters such as holding elections and meetings and much more. Unfortunately, I was not able to arrange a copy of the document as there were only limited issues available. But I was able to read the document while I was doing my research in Wli. It clearly describes the different responsibilities and I was impressed by the extensive detail and range of topics that the constitution covered. The constitution is a good guidebook to run tourism in Wli and can help to plan for the future as well.

4.3 Analysis of data

To analyse the data, the transcripts were printed and each was individually and critically reviewed on important topics. Every passage that was of interest or could be useful was marked. Important topics were marked in the document and coded into a general descriptive word or sentence. Each was given a unique numerical combination for easy access and reference. Next every passage received a keyword that described the passage or what its content referred to. The coded terms were also placed in categories; Suggestion and improvements, Challenges, Problems, Tourism positive, Tourism negative, Solutions, Goals, Government and administration, Culture and perception, Essentials for tourism and customer understanding. The coded terms are described in the random order that follows the original data. The categories and keywords that were created are based on logic and experience of the researcher with the

case. This turned into a list divided by categories, with keywords and the numerical code of the passage behind it to represent how often a subject was mentioned during the interviews. This list can be found in Appendix B.

Out of the coded data, conclusions can be drawn. First of all it is important to note that, conclusions drawn from this data are based on opinions or public opinions. These are not necessarily true, but nevertheless important. The importance of some subjects can clearly be seen by the number of representatives who mention this subject. Other subjects come from expert-knowledge on the topics, knowledge not many respondent have. Some subjects are controversial or taboo topics, which might not be repeated by many respondents. From this range of codes a selection has been made, based on a combination of importance to the respondents, useful contributions and expert opinions combined with the gained insight about the topics from the researcher. The codes will be presented in different categories.

How these categories are reviewed and selected depends on the research strategy that was chosen. The strategy that was chosen, the case study, has its own methods for analysing and interpreting data. A case study approach is usually analysed by making a detailed description of the case and its setting. A description of the case as part of the case study approach is useful when trying to analyse the progress that has been made in improving sustainable tourism and to see if this case resembles the case of Graci. It might also be more useful in checking if the same stages are followed.

For this research a detailed description of the case and its setting has been created out of the data. This description gives a more selective answer to questions such as the challenges faced when trying to improve sustainable tourism. And give a greater emphasis on data gathered by experts or more knowledgeable people in Wli regarding tourism. Their specific knowledge and insight might not be repeated by others and lost when the analysis only looks at how much a subject was talked about during the interviews.

4.4 Validity and evaluation

4.4.1 Validity

There are several strategies of validation that can help improve the accuracy of the results. Cresswell (2007) names several of them and suggests that qualitative researchers use at least two or three methods to improve their validation. The prolonged engagement helps a researcher determine, based upon experience with the case that which is important and what is not. The considered amount of time spend in the area has indeed contributed to the insights in this case.

Another method is to check the data with the participants of the case. An effort was made to share the gathered data and the conclusions from this research with the participants of the case. The results of this research, which are placed in the appendix has been described to each stakeholder group in a separate meeting. These meetings were described above and were followed up by a general meeting of representatives for each stakeholder group. In this final meeting all the results were once more discussed with the participants. During these meetings the participants were asked if they agreed with the data and if they could possibly make more additions. Most agreed with the findings that were presented to them. However this process was not done with the results that are described in chapter five and six, the actual case description and testing of the theory.

Other methods that have improved the validation of this research are triangulation of sources. When possible, data was collected to present as many different views as possible. And cross-checked through observations and documents such as the constitution of the TMT. To some extend the guidance of a thesis supervisor can be considered a peer review, to critically check the process and review the methods and meanings of results.

4.4.2 Evaluation

There have been a few points that might have had an effect on the results in this research, these points will described in this paragraph.

A minor failure must be noted with regard to the community of Wli Todzi who were under represented in the research. Wli Todzi lies on top of the mountain range and therefore further away from the other two. It was difficult to arrange meetings with this community and for a large part I relied on the opinions of people who originated from that community but now live in the other two communities; Apegame and Agoviepe. It was not until the end of the research that I realised that they could not fully represent the views of this community. When I presented my findings to the different communities, both me and NAREMA realised that Wli Todzi was not aware of the research being conducted. I assumed that after informing their chief and talking to some of their people who lived in Apegame and Agoviepe, most would know about the research. Unfortunately this was not the case. They did not share the enthusiasm of the other communities about the results of the research. There was no curiosity and a much lower feedback on the presented data compared to the other two communities.

Other limiting factors to this research have been possible blind spots. One of the dangers of testing a theory with a new case is that you deliberately look for certain aspects in society and the process. In the search for these aspects you might unconsciously create some of them, when interviewing respondents there will be a risk that driving questions create blind spots for the interviewer. There is also the risk that driving questions will be answered by the respondents in a way that they think will please the researcher. Trying to avoid confrontations, sensitive or taboo topics, meanwhile keeping good relations with the researcher. When this behaviour was recognised, an effort was made to learn the actual opinion of the respondent. But there is not guarantee that this was always possible.

This active search for some described aspects in society might also lead to a misinterpretation of an aspect. The goal of this research was to test a theory and therefore the case was analysed using this theory, but it might be possible that several aspects could be labelled or describe differently if a different lens was used to review the case. A different lens might have highlighted other aspects of the case or classified them differently. This biased lens might have created unknown blind spots in the case.

Another risk is the limited knowledge of some of the respondents or poor education. There were some respondents who did not have a good understanding of the questions or the context of the questions. This led some of them to give answers that were only partially related to the questions asked. This sometimes turned out to be useful information and also helped to sense the atmosphere and general feelings in town. Some respondents were also not very talkative and had to be asked very specific questions, out of which very limited answers were produced. There are some who responded very politically or were unwilling to talk about sensitive or taboo subjects. Not being able to communicate in the native language; Ewe has also presented limits to some of the interviews. Being able to speak Ewe would have made explaining certain topics much easier and also help gain the trust of respondents. Several important people in the decision-making unit did not speak English or poorly. They could only be approached with a translator, which did not make it easier for them to talk openly about sensitive topics.

And finally, while this case has produced a lot of useful information. It is unfortunate that the new use of the tourism partnership model is still in the early phases. Fortunately the use of the tourism partnership model 20 years ago was helpful in testing the theory. To be able to fully verify and test the theory in this case a longer study period is needed to review the later phases Wli is currently going through. Perhaps a return visit or a follow up research can verify the remaining phases of the tourism partnership model in Wli in the current process.

5. Research results and describing the new case

In this chapter the case and context are described. The actual testing of the theory will be covered in the next chapter. This chapter provides the context to the test results and will help to understand these results better. It also explains the different stakeholders that play an important part in the tourism partnership model.

5.1 Important points from the interviews

In this chapter, the data that has been analysed will be described. The data and conclusions from the field research can be found in the appendix. Although the field research turned up some very interesting conclusions, not all are relevant for this thesis. It does however show that this case has its own unique aspects and challenges; it also helps to create the case and its context. The interviews show what kind of challenges the case of Wli faces, how tourism is managed in the current situation, important aspects of tourism for the people of Wli and some very interesting solutions to their challenges faced. The full research results can be found in Appendix B.

The most important ideas and data that were gathered through the interviews are the insights in the minds of the people from Wli. How they think about, for example, the chiefs, how tourism is run, how the money is spent. But also how they feel about a certain sensitive topic or how they regard other groups or in this case, stakeholders in the traditional area. Especially the internal relations have come forth from the interviews, together with their views on improvements. How they think improvements can help the place, what they think is not going well and sometimes how these improvements can be made. Who's responsible is another important idea that can be gathered from the interviews, from the interviews can be seen that most place responsibilities not upon themselves, but with others. Cultural differences can also be traced from the data. For example a mistrust of authority figures is a point that can be filtered from the interviews. But also the pressures from a society that expects help and solutions from one's family or community. These insights have been crucial in understanding the case, but also in finding indicators of the different phases.

Out of this data, several important topics have been selected. Challenges that could be initiators of a new process have presented themselves. For example, the disagreements about land management and the falls income, a topic that despite its sensitivity has been brought up by almost all of the respondents. This challenge has caused a rift in the traditional area for a long time, with both sides wanting a bigger piece of the pie.

Another important challenge is the lack of unity. Partly caused by the previous challenge and for a large part caused by a lack of trust. This lack of unity shows itself in the lack of cooperation. When for example, a community meeting is held the communities of Wli Apegame and Wli Agoviepe usually meet separately. The tensions between the two communities have created a situation where both sides do not show up when they know that a meeting is held for both sides. When I was introduced in Wli, there was a large turn-up for a meeting that was held for Wli Apegame, but Wli Agoviepe was not represented. At the end of my research I have tried to organise a presentation of my research for both communities. In spite of the advice and warning that this will result in a poor turnout, I have actively tried to get a decent turn up of both sides, but failed. My educated guess on the low turnout is that trust between the two communities is still too low for them to join meetings together. Tensions in the past have led both communities to try to avoid each other and possible confrontations as much as possible.

The research results show that in this case, there is a pressure of society on individuals to help solve problems of family members and friends as much as possible. This can place a big responsibility on individuals. The high expectations that many people have of each other is often met by disappointment when these expectations can't be fulfilled. This pressure is recognizable on all levels, the community has

high expectations from the income of tourism and therefore from the TMT. When TMT can't organise high-profile projects, the people are disappointed. On an individual level, people can put pressure on family members who have a paid job. But who can't help every member of their family, which can once again lead to disappointment.

Despite the problems that the income from tourism is causing as mentioned in the challenge above, it still benefits the traditional area as a whole. In spite of the differences between the communities, this is a binding factor that keeps the communities at least on a talking level. All the communities benefit from the income and investments that tourism can bring. A few of the projects in town are supported by foreign people who at one time visited the area and decide to sponsor a particular project. A project that they would not have seen if it wasn't for the falls that brought them to Wli.

Solutions have also been discussed. Many respondents would like to see a better dialogue or improved communication between the community and TMT. As many in the community feel that they don't know what is going on at TMT, they don't trust them anymore. They think that better communication will help improve this relationship.

Finding an alternative income for the landowners or solving the land dispute is a solution that was often mentioned and deemed important by most of the inhabitants of Wli. Different version and solutions for this problem have been mentioned, but it shows the level of involvement this topic has on the communities in this area.

5.2 The new case of Wli, Ghana

5.2.1 The traditional area of Wli

By Wli is meant: the traditional area of Wli. This lies in the Volta region and is part of Ghana, located in West Africa. Ghana's official language is English, surrounded on all sides by French speaking countries. As a former English colony, Ghana was the first African nation to gain independence. A large part of Ghana's people make a living with farming, sustenance farming or cash crops farming. Cash crops farming in Ghana consist mostly of cocoa or coffee. Ghana is a low lying country, the highest peak being Mount Afadjato in Volta that reaches 885 meters. Just like the rest of Ghana, farming is important in the Volta region. The Volta region is one of the last provinces that were added to the then called Gold Coast colony. After World War One, German colonies were divided between the United Kingdom and France. Ghana's neighbour Togo was a former German colony and split between the UK and France. This explains the native language of the Volta region, which is Ewe and is also spoken in a large part of Togo. It has also led to several calls for independence on behalf of Volta, who in several cases feel closer to their neighbours in Togo than their countrymen in Accra. This feeling of outsiders in Ghana to some extend has had an influence on the local culture and policy, but to me it appears that relations between Volta and the rest of Ghana are improving.

Wli is located to the north of Ho, a city in the south of Volta and lies close to Hohoe. From Hohoe, it can be reached by trotros (the local name for the minibus transport service) that follow a partly paved road through a hilly area, arriving in Wli on a gravel road. The traditional area of Wli is divided between three major communities and two smaller settler communities. The first community you arrive in from Hohoe is Wli Agoviepe, which is a border town that ends at the border with Togo. The main road can be followed to the border on one end or further onwards towards Wli Apegame. The two towns are not divided by a clear marker, but blend seamlessly into one other. Central between the two towns are the primary school, football field and antenna tower.

Figure 3. Volta region (source: www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/ghana-maps.html)

Most citizens of the communities live in plastered mud brick or concrete brick block houses. Light natural colours are painted over the plastered walls, which are mostly roofed with tin roofs instead of the traditional thatch roofs of old. Most houses in the traditional area of Wli are provided with wooden doors, glass windows, power, satellite and several households have running water. Power is provided from Hohoe and is fairly steady, apart from the occasional outage.

Wli Agoviepe and Wli Apegame are the two towns most tourists encounter, they are at the bottom of a mountain range from which the waterfalls can be reached. At the top of this mountain range, following a three hour footpath uphill lays Wli Todzi, the third major community of the traditional area. A more airy village because of its altitude, it also lies closer to Togo than to its sister communities at the bottom of the mountain range. To reach Wli Todzi by car you need to take a large detour of about five hours that partly takes you through Togo. The two so called 'settler communities' are small in size and are usually reached on foot from the major communities. This separation of Wli Todzi and the settler communities sometimes makes them feel isolated from the other communities and makes it harder to arrange meetings between them.

Most of the inhabitants of Wli are farmers, which has had an impact on their culture and way of life. They are fortunate that they can mostly provide for their own food, but there are not many opportunities to get an additional income. Most of the income people make comes from cash crops, tourism or skilled work such electricians or taxi drivers. Farming has always been an important part of their life and owning your own land is a big aspect of this. Their dependence on their land has affected their attitude and development to the extent that most people pass up opportunities for development in favour of farming. Eddy, a NAREMA representative, explained this dependence on farming and further elaborated this point. He explained that jobs in the tourism industry or skilled labour are usually planned around the farming activities, sometimes leading to frustration of, for example those who run the tourist office or a hotel. This point of view is also supported by (Interview 7. Community stakeholder 2, 2014).

According to local history, the current inhabitants of Wli were hunters who were coming from Togo and standing on the edge of the mountain range saw this large unused land below. However it was not completely empty. After having received warnings from the small number of people living there about a hostile neighbouring village, they nevertheless decided to settle this land. According to the stories, the settlements started at Wli Todzi on the mountain range and then came Wli Apegame. Who after several clashes and a war with the neighbouring villages established peace. The settlement grew gradually into the Wli traditional area of today, speaking Ewe as part of the Volta region in Ghana (Interview 8. TMT stakeholder 4, 2014).

5.2.2 Tourism in Wli

As a tourist destination in Africa, Ghana is not known for its wildlife but for its history and culture. The relaxed atmosphere in the villages on the coast together with the old forts that go back to the days before colonisation draws tourist to Ghana's coastline. These were initially used to protect the trading posts from other European powers, but later turned into slave forts. The Volta region has the highest waterfall in West Africa and the highest mountain of Ghana, tourists are mainly drawn to Wli to see the waterfalls, this is also one of the biggest attractions in the Volta region. The upper and lower falls together are said to be the highest waterfall in West Africa.

Once they have arrived in Wli, a gravel road, approximately on the border between Wli Agoviepe and Wli Apegame leads to the tourist office. From which a footpath through the forest can be followed that leads to the lower falls, at the bottom of the mountain range. Or a longer walk up the mountain to the upper falls. Tourists are led by one of guides provided by the tourist office to the top the falls. The guides who take tourists to the falls are all officially provided by the tourist office and exclusively from the communities. There are several hotels in town to accommodate visitors and the tourist office is surrounded by small souvenir- and general goods-shops. The staff and guides at the tourist office are local people. The hotels and shops are mostly locally owned and staffed as well.

The tourism industry in Wli is based on the waterfalls, combined with the forest surrounding the falls. During a conversation with Eddy and Martha, who are part of NAREMA and could be considered my mentors in Wli, they described what tourism was like in the past. People have visited the falls for decades, many of the elders in town recall how in their youth, foreigners would occasionally arrive to visit the falls. The foreigners in those days were usually led by local young men to the falls, this was ad hoc and not organised or structured. Unlike today, you could not see the falls from afar. The cutting of trees and clearing of the forest has changed this view.

It was somewhere in the 70s that the government started to organise tourism and turn this into a profitable business for Wli. It was decided that the government would run tourism, but the land would remain locally owned. The forested area around the falls was eventually turned into a protected area designated to preserve the forest and wildlife (Interview 8. TMT stakeholder 4, 2014). This area is mostly owned by people from Wli Todzi and Wli Agoviepe. The landowners have been given a special position within tourism, which has caused some controversy.

Several years later in the 90s, disappointed by management from the central government, the community decided to take matters into their own hands and run the tourism industry themselves. Under the guidance of a Peace Corps volunteer, plans were developed and steps were taken to take control of the tourism industry. Together with the chiefs, landowners, assembly and community, she initiated a process with the goal to develop an organisation that could run tourism and which was represented by local people. Together they worked out the roles everybody needed to play and how this was to be organised (Interview 10. Landowner stakeholder 1, 2014). This foundation was worked and become the constitution upon which the TMT is based and that is meant as a guideline and support for their activities and organisation. In cooperation with the government and district assembly the tourism industry was handed over from central government management to management by the local community.

Today the management of the waterfalls is in the hands of the community and run by local people. The tourist office is run by the TMT who are elected from people of the three communities, they are to represent their community and help organise the day-to-day business, make sure the profits are used to the benefit of the community and plan for the future. They have agreed to pay a certain percentage of the income as tax to the government and to share a percentage with the district assembly as well. In the last couple of years, the percentage that is meant for district assembly has been lower than they agreed upon initially. TMT has defended this lower percentage by saying they don't get the support that they should receive from the district assembly. They are unsatisfied with the amount they need to pay compared to the support that they receive from it. This has put a strain on the relationship between TMT and district assembly(Interview 10. Landowner stakeholder 1, 2014).

5.2.3 The tourists that visit Wli

Moscardo et al. (2013)'s six tourist types will be used to describe the tourists that visit Wli. Tourists in Wli are mostly Archetypal Tourists combined with a few Green Nomads. The Archetypal Tourists who visit Wli come in two different forms. The first group are the Ghanaian tourists. They visit the falls with their families and friends on holidays or come in groups as part a school visit or other organisation. They generally visit Wli for just a day to see the falls. On busy days they can put pressure on the facilities and services that are provided for tourists in Wli.

The second group of Archetypal Tourists is smaller than the first group. These are the volunteers who on their weekend break or at the end of their period as a volunteer in Ghana travel around the country to visit places such as Wli. While they are in Ghana as volunteers they do not visit Wli as a Green Nomad, but simply as Archetypal Tourists.

The few Green Nomads who visit Wli are volunteers who occasionally come to Wli for a longer time and help out in the community. Over the years, Wli has seen quite a number of Green nomads. But the small size of the area and small number of projects that volunteers can help with means that at most, there are only a handful of volunteers and sometimes none at all. During my stay as a Green Nomad, there were only a handful of volunteers who mostly stayed for no longer than a week.

5.2.4 Tensions in the community

For a long time now, there have been tensions between Wli Apegame and Wli Agoviepe. Some say this goes back more than 100 years when a second paramount chief was installed and the old system of a single paramount chief was disrupted. Most recently the tensions and discussion have been about the division of the falls income and how the remaining profits are used. Both sides feel that the other should receive less. Wli Apegame points out that the falls belong to the whole traditional area and the profits need to be divided. Wli Agoviepe sees it differently as the land of the protected area and around the falls mostly belongs to them, they think that they should receive a larger share. This has created a lot of tension between these communities and has fed mistrust (Interview 22. Community Stakeholder 7, 2014).

This tension has had a major influence on relations and management of the falls. For example, the mistrust has made TMT change the previous money collectors, who were mostly from Wli Agoviepe and were not trusted by Wli Apegame anymore. Another example is the ´water project´. The water project started with the creation of bore holes. Before the bore holes, the people had to draw water from the streams that these days are polluted through the use of stream by communities upstream. The bore holes throughout the towns provide fresh and clean water. The second stage of this project is to provide fresh and clean water in every corner of the community by laying pipes from the bore holes to the extent of the community. After consulting an engineer, plans were made and the pipes bought. As Wli Agoviepe is slightly higher this was the most logical place to start and this is where the pipes were delivered. Wli Apegame saw this and they were afraid that there were not enough pipes for everybody. Thinking that they might not benefit from this project they took the pipes to Apegame to ensure they could benefit from it too. This has disrupted the project which is currently on hold and the pipes have not been used yet (Interview 21. Community Stakeholder 6, 2014; Interview 22. Community Stakeholder 7, 2014).

5.2.5 Cultural differences that have had a influence on the research

The mistrust that has been described above has been an influence on this research. Some people were reluctant to share their full view and opinion, most likely afraid that it would get them into trouble. Others clearly had a biased opinion on matters and for some it took time to trust a researcher who lived in Wli Apegame. This mistrust also affected the chance to record interviews. During the first interviews, there was a noticeable tension when respondents were asked if the interview could be recorded. Some refused and others were uncomfortable with being recorded. When this was no longer brought up and recordings were not made, trust between the interviewer and respondent came faster.

Another cultural difference that has been of influence to my research was the hierarchy and leadership. According to some theories in the sustainable tourism debate a strong leader to guide the process is important, especially in the early phases. This is why I have actively searched and discussed this option with NAREMA. During my discussions with both Prosper and Eddy, they explained a cultural difference to me. Prosper has founded NAREMA and works for a Dutch NGO throughout West Africa and Eddy has had a successful banking career in Ghana and has now retired in Wli. I respect and value their opinions, which have helped me understand the case much better. I told them that I had difficulty in finding a leader that can help the process of improving sustainable tourism, upon which they told me that this is because it is not a local custom to have a single leader. They value decisions that are made by a group above those made by individuals. It is uncommon in the local context or culture to have a single leader, Wli for example has several chiefs. Even though they now have one paramount chief, they do not expect him to make all the decisions and almost never solely by himself. This local context of group decisions can be seen in the entire tourism industry, where important decisions are mostly made as a group. This accepted form of group decisions combined with the respect of hierarchy creates as societal context that does not

easily allow a person to work outside the existing channels. By respect of hierarchy is meant that people can make efforts to improve sustainable tourism, but they still need to respect the position of the chiefs and elders and TMT. They need to be consulted and brought in to make decisions.

5.3 Stakeholders, who's who in Wli?

Each stakeholder or partner has a different role to play, in this case I have identified six different partners who will be described below. These partners were identified by observations and interviews, after having identified the stakeholders or partner myself I tested my findings by checking them with respondents during interviews and specifically asking for their views and feedback on this subject. This topic was discussed with the first respondents and NAREMA, after several confirmations from different sources, the six stakeholders were regarded as confirmed and no longer specifically tested. Each group is described separately and as a whole, but this does not mean that there are no internal divisions or difference of opinion within each group. The stakeholders described below are for a large part based on my observations, combined with everyday dealings and conversations about these different groups and their roles in Wli.

5.3.1 The chiefs and elders

The chiefs and elders are considered the local government, they are elected through the traditional tribal ways. The legal government, which has been elected according to the law, has taken a supportive position with regard to chiefs and elders. Communities are largely allowed to run themselves without much interference, but generally with support of the central government. This means that the chiefs and elders are responsible for the laws and supervision, but also other matters that concern the communities. The chiefs and elders in Wli follow a tribal system, there are nine clans in Wli who each provide a chief with a different role to play. With a paramount chief to oversee them all, who has the final say in matters should this be needed.

This story about the history of the paramount chief was told to me by Eddy from NAREMA and several other elders during the inauguration of the paramount chief. It was not until 2014 that one paramount chief was installed to represent all the communities, for the last 100 years there has been either no paramount chief or there have been two representing both Wli Apegame and Wli Agoviepe. Instead of one paramount chief, there were now two. This has caused much unrest and goes back to the colonial days when the municipalities were created. The then paramount chief was forced by the government to make a quick decision while most of the chiefs and elders were working their land. When they heard about his decision to join a certain municipality they did not agree and urged him to retract his decision. Because the paramount chief had already committed to a municipality, this could not be reversed. They were now part of a municipality where they felt they did not belong. This led to mistrust between the two communities and some accused the paramount chief of being bribed and biased. This led eventually to a lack of trust in the chiefs by the communities as a whole.

It is only in the last years when the two paramount chiefs decided not to elect a successor and mandated the chiefs and elders to resolve their differences that a single paramount chief was elected. This process has taken several years, ending in May 2014 bringing back unification amongst the communities. This whole ordeal has led to a loss of faith by the community in the chiefs, something that affects their authority and ability to help the community. The chiefs are elected by the elders of the community and each chief has different responsibilities, specific chiefs are usually chosen from a certain clan by the elders. These decisions have to be approved by all, which can take time. But this normally leads to decisions that are supported by all.

Chiefs are not paid for their role in the community, they are only compensated for their expenses. Chiefs need a different income to provide for their families on top of the responsibilities of being a chief. This has created a local culture of avoiding chieftaincy. When someone is elected as chief this is done in secret and this person is being collected that same night, if a person hears of this decision in advance it is tradition

that he runs to avoid the chieftaincy. The position of chief is for life and is a big responsibility that has gained a negative image amongst the people, who rather earn a living and avoid this responsibility.

The elders are influential people from the community and/or opinion leaders. Ghana has a culture of making joint and informed decisions, this means that people usually decide as group and ask advice from opinion leaders on matters. These are people whose opinions are valued and trusted on certain matters. Most of the elders also consider themselves part of the group 'community'. However, since important decisions are usually made by the chiefs together with the elders they can be seen as one group. Together the chiefs and elders form the local government who decide on matters that range from land possession to the approval of marriages. They arrange community services and meetings, but also have the final responsibility when it comes to tourism.

The chiefs are using the income from tourism to support their role as chief, compensations are paid from these funds. Not only compensations are paid from these funds but also costs that belong to the position of a chief, these can range from gifts to the rental of cars to visit other chiefs and bring delegations to official occasions. Using the tourism income for these purposes is controversial within the community and the many inhabitants are not happy about the idea of using these funds (Interview 28. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 3, 2014). Funds that should go to the entire community in their view and not just the chiefs.

The role of the chiefs and elders within tourism has different aspects. As chiefs they have the final responsibility and authority on all matters. If things are not going as they should it is up to them to check up on TMT. They need to ensure tourism runs smooth, but also that the income from tourism benefits the community. As leaders of the community they need to check with TMT on the best way to spend this income (Interview 24. TMT Stakeholder 6, 2014). They are also the mediators between different parties should problems occur. In theory, TMT is reporting to the chiefs, but in the last years this has not always been the case. TMT has, on occasion, acted without checking with the chiefs. The chiefs sometimes feel that they are losing control of tourism. Both the chiefs and the community would like TMT to follow the hierarchy more clearly. Unfortunately the hierarchy in town is not always clear, different people have different opinions on who is actually responsible for tourism and its affairs. Because responsibilities are unclear, they are sometimes not taken. Problems that need to be dealt with are pushed off to other parties or different persons. All these matters affect the authority of the chiefs and their ability to lead the communities.

5.3.2 The community
As described earlier, Wli is divided amongst several communities who together form the stakeholder group 'the community'. This group could very easily be split between the different communities as they have different representatives and different goals. They could even be split further as youth and elders, whose ideas between innovation and tradition clash from time to time. But I have decided not to do this. As a collective group their role within tourism is mostly the same, on the whole their goals are the same. Splitting this group further will not help this research, while as a whole there is still room for different views within this group.

As mentioned in the case description, most people living in Wli are farmers. Most people with a higher education or training do not stay in Wli as there is not much employment beyond farming or the tourism industry. They tend to look for better jobs in Hohoe or further off in Accra, although a fair share tries to return to Wli for their retirement. This drain of education has an effect on the community; large parts of the community remaining in Wli are illiterate. This is has fed misunderstandings and mistrust with regard to tourism and the income that is supposed to benefit the area (Interview 13. Community (elder) Stakeholder 4, 2014). It has also created a sceptic attitude towards authority. Some people see the buses filled with tourists arriving at the tourist centre and expect a big income, not realising that these groups are mostly Ghanaian students or other groups who can enter at a low rate. Not to mention the costs that the office has to spend to keep tourism running and the further division of the income before only a small percentage is left for the benefit of the community. It is this misunderstanding that has led to mistrust in

TMT by a large share of the community (Interview 18. TMT (landowner), 2014; Interview 28. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 3, 2014).

People also have a general mistrust and negative image of public figures and leaders. I have not investigate the source of this, but people generally assume that leaders or public figures abuse their position, take money, benefit their friends and are corrupt. During one of the interviews a respondent explained this mistrust to me (Interview 13. Community (elder) Stakeholder 4, 2014). 'His nephew, a successful businessman was asked to join the TMT. He came to his uncle for advise on this matter, who told him that if he wanted to take this position he had to arrange a few things first. His uncle knew that his cousin was planning to improve his house and would shortly be able to get a lease for a new car. His advice was: get these things in order and make sure people know and see this before you accept a role in the TMT. Otherwise people will say that you did all these things with money from tourism.' I have also noticed that people expect a lot from public figures, while there is mistrust in leaders, people also expect these same leaders to solve all their problems, both community problems and personal problems. This can put a lot of pressure on public figures.

The community has different roles to play with regard to tourism, firstly they are responsible to create a positive and safe atmosphere that will continue to attract tourist. On the other hand, the income from tourism is designated for the community. When they decided to run tourism as a community the goal was to increase the benefits for the area. It has created jobs and public income to support funds and other benefits for the community. They also like to have a say on how the income from tourism is spent and where the money is spent on.

5.3.3 Tourism Management Team (TMT)

TMT are the chosen electives who each represent his or her own community, combined with representatives of the landowners and joined by the assemblyman. Together they are responsible for the planning and management of day-to-day business with regard to tourism in Wli. TMT is also responsible for the tourist office, where the day-to-day activities take place. I have chosen to make the tourist office part of this group, even though it has a different role and could be regarded as a different stakeholder. Since TMT is also responsible for the tourist office a big part of their role and goals overlap, for this reason I have chosen to combine them into a single group.

In the past there was also a Tourism Management Board (TMB) but this group was dissolved a few years ago. Their role was to supervise TMT and was to be the link between TMT and the chiefs. TMB consisted mostly of elders and opinion leaders, who could help and advice TMT with regard to policy choices and other matters (Interview 9. Community stakeholder 3, 2014). Some people are not aware that TMB has been dissolved, some agree with this and others think they should be re-instated at the next elections. For daily and operational manners there is TMT and the tourist office. The difference between TMT and the tourist office lies in their role, TMT can be seen as management. They create plans for the future, manage the funds and decide how the money is spent.

The tourist office is the face of tourism in Wli. This is the part where tourists arrive, talk to the 'money collectors' who explain the different options available to tourists and assign a guide to take them to the falls. The tourist office and its employees are paid from the tourism income. When TMT is mentioned it is important to realise that we are only talking about the current team. Every four years a new team has been elected since the community took over management in the 90s. New elections were scheduled for the summer of 2014, this could lead to a totally new team or the people might decide that the current team did a good job and re-elect most of the people.

This team has made plans to promote the waterfalls and to create more exposure for Wli. Their most visible contribution to the community has been the water project. Unfortunately this was not finished due to the tensions between Apegame and Agoviepe. This group has had an uneasy four years, they have received much interference from both the chiefs and the community. They are under pressure to create and show big, highly visible projects from the tourism income (Interview 18. TMT (landowner), 2014). On

the contrary the community is not always appreciating their efforts and have criticized their lack of communication with other parties and their lack of information to the public about their activities and choices. Both TMT and the tourist office are hoping to improve the facilities for tourism such as toilets and showers and are looking for possibilities to train the staff. They are aware that the standards of tourists are rising and that they need to keep up with this. Tourists these days tend to ask more critical questions with regard to management and wildlife preservation.

This stakeholder group has a central role to play in tourism. Not only are they the face of tourism for most of the tourists, they also control the income, service level, expenditure and create plans for the future. They interact with the community, involve district assembly in their meeting, have representatives of the landowners present and report to the chiefs. While I was examining the role and history of TMT, I realised that they are the outcome of a previous attempt to improve sustainable tourism in Wli. When the community took control of tourism, TMT was created and much of what TMT is based on can be traced back in the tourism partnership model. This will be described in the next chapter where the phases of the tourism partnership model in Wli are described. What makes the role and place of this stakeholder group in the community difficult to describe is that it very much depends on the persons that form this group. This research and its results describe the current group, but the next group might have a completely different dynamic and way of dealing with affairs. This shows a major flaw, tourism in Wli depends heavily upon TMT, who in turn are influenced by its members. While the people will naturally elect the persons that they think will be best for themselves and tourism like any other election for government, the elected people might not always have the skill and know-how to run tourism optimally.

5.3.4 The landowners
The landowners are the group of people, mostly families, who own the land that has become part of the protected area. They own the land around the waterfalls and on which the rivers run, generally this is the protected area and the area that is visited by the tourists. They divide themselves further into immediate and distant landowner, immediate being those who own the land on which the water 'falls' and runs.

Land rights and land use in Wli
Unlike other parts of Ghana, land in the Volta region is privately owned instead of publicly owned. One of the chiefs has the responsibility of land matters, but this simply means that he is the person to make a ruling on land issues. Most of the land is privately owned and privately used. Since the traditional area of Wli is divided into clans, land is divided along these lines as well. This comes from a historical perspective when the land was divided between these clans. These lands were passed on their children through inheritance. As these lands are mostly in the same area, it keeps families close together. I was not able to confirm if this also means that land is tilted communally, but judging from the conversations with regard to farming this is done individually. Where each person looks after his own land.

As a group they receive a share of the profits from the falls to compensate for not being able to use their land for farming. The size of their land and the location determines the share they receive, which is divided internally within this group. They have a chosen representative in TMT and are a controversial group as a whole. Their percentage has grown over the years, from 20% of the profits when TMT was founded in the early 90s to 38% today. Some of the landowners think that the entire profits of tourism should go to them, since they own the land. In their opinion, the falls belong to them and they are allowing the town to profit from it as well (Interview 20. Landowner (hotel) Stakeholder 2, 2014).

When the government confiscated their land to create a protected area, they were promised compensation for this. This compensation was never paid to the landowners, which has caused trouble ever since the area was created. Many people regard this as the root cause of a lot of issues that trouble Wli. Although most people of Wli understand the difficult position that the landowners are in, a permanent solution that is acceptable by all parties has not been found yet. Most of the community would like to see this issue resolved or an alternative found for the landowners, they expect either TMT or the chiefs to solve this issue. As most people use their farmland to gather an additional income, which is used to send children to school or to improve living conditions, the landowners don't have this option or it

has been reduced. This leaves them without means to earn an extra income and this is why they receive a share of the income from the tourism office. This point was shared by a large part of the respondents and this was also the general opinion in town. There was much understanding for the difficult position the landowners are in.

This group is not without its internal struggles, it seems that the landowners amongst themselves not always agree either. Some families are happy with the way this run right now, others are not and question the current situation. It was hard to get a good insight in this group as they tend to avoid public conversations on these manners. What makes the landowners an important group for tourism can be seen in the actions from the past. There was a time when they were unhappy with the situation, they decided to use their land again as a form of protest. Some facilities and trees that were planted to let the forest grow again were lost. Finding a good balance between conserving the environment, tourism and the community is impossible without the landowners on board.

5.3.5 Assembly

District assembly or as they are called in Wli 'assembly' represents the official government on a district or local level. Ghana is divided into municipalities, Wli is part of Hohoe municipality and this is where district assembly resides. Taxes collected at the tourist office go to the central government, beside these taxes district assembly also receives a share of the profits. This share is used to benefit tourism in the whole region and is usually run on a regional level, in this case the Volta region. Since Wli has not been paying assembly what they initially agreed, this relationship has been put under strains from time to time.

The people of Wli democratically elect an assemblyman to represent them within the district. An assemblywomen is also elected, but I have not been able to find out what her exact role and influence is. The name suggests that similar to assemblyman she represent Wli within the district, but in practice I noticed this was mostly ceremonial. Where assemblyman was always called upon to join meetings and councils, the assemblywomen was mostly not invited. Furthermore, I have not seen her involvement in informal decision either, nor did she have a visible presence in town, unlike the assemblyman. This leads me to believe that her role is to represent the women from town, but that she is not heavily involved in decision-making.

Apart from representing Wli within the district assembly, the assemblyman has a specific role to play within Wli. As mentioned above he is usually invited to town meetings and official business to represent the government and voice their position. He is also invited to TMT meetings and is often called upon to settle disputes together with the chiefs and elders. Ever since the community has taken back control of tourism, the relations between district assembly and the TMT of Wli have been difficult. Wli feels that they are not supported by assembly and argue that they pay more taxes then they receive investments. The road to Wli, which is in poor condition, was often mentioned as an example of this unequal relationship during the interviews. The people of Wli find it ridiculous that to reach the highest waterfall in West Africa, the large number of tourists must travel on a gravel road full of holes.

I was not able to find out the full position of the district assembly. But after having spoken to some representatives at the district assembly office, besides the assemblyman from Wli, I have heard the other side of the story. It seems that Wli is consequently paying a lower share then was agreed, but they do receive support from the district assembly. This has also been confirmed by several people from Wli itself. From time to time they are supported by management- and other trainings and they are also building a new tourist office. Unfortunately, the construction of this 'new' tourist office was started several years ago and is still not finished. Wli is also represented in the regional effort to increase tourism with for example flyers which were shown to me during an interview, but not many of the Wli-people are aware of these efforts because they usually don't see the flyers (Interview 15. Assembly Stakeholder 1, 2014).

5.3.6 Hotels and shop owners

The last stakeholder group consists of those who provide the indirect services that are part of tourism in Wli. As their roles are more or less the same; therefore, I decided to combine them into a single group. This group can be seen as the service-providers of tourism, where the tourist office and TMT provide the core business, they give the location more appeal and facilitate tourists in their other needs. This group consists of the four hotels located in Wli, including all their personnel, together with the different shop owners. Shop owners is a general term, in this case it consists of the souvenir- and food shops around the tourist office. But also the small local restaurants across town, called chop bars, who occasionally cater to tourists and the general shops spread across town with a similar purpose. The taxi and trotros that bring the tourists to Wli can be considered part of this group too. The contact of this group with tourists tends to be different than that of the TMT. Tourists might spend half an hour at the office and half a day with a tour guide. But the day before the hike and the rest of the day is mostly spend around the hotels. This gives the personnel of the hotels the opportunity to have chance to get to know the some of the tourists and how they experienced the area and the waterfalls. It is also easier for tourists to give feedback on the tourist office during their stay in the hotels then at the office itself (Interview 14. Hotels and shop owners (community) Stakeholder 4, 2014).

The increasing number of tourists is putting pressure on their facilities in high season. During the weekends of the peak seasons most of the hotels are fully booked and on public holidays the shops do good business. On busy weekends, several people from Wli try to sell food from their farm to tourist alongside the shops. Providing to the increased needs in busy days and also trying to make some extra money. This is done on an ad-hoc level and these people are not considered shop owners. There is a public pressure on this group, especially on the hotels to hire local people and help family members with their income (Interview 22. Community Stakeholder 7, 2014).

The role of this group is to provide additional services to the tourists and make their stay more pleasant and comfortable. Together with the stakeholder group 'TMT' they represent Wli to most of the tourist and it is important that tourists enjoy their time in Wli. Thereby giving positive feedback to other potential visitors. They provide the services such as food, drinks and a place to sleep. Services that the TMT do not provide and which gives these people the opportunity to earn an income from tourism. Their knowledge of tourism- wants and needs can be a useful source of information and should be consulted when plans are made for the future.

5.4 Challenges

The case of Wli has several challenges that need to be overcome. I will briefly describe the most pressing issues that affect sustainable tourism in Wli. These challenges were based on a combination of the most important problems that came forth from the interviews. They were then combined and described in the challenges below. More on how the challenges were determined can be found in Appendix B and C.

5.4.1 Lacking a sustainable development plan

The first challenge is the lack of a sustainable development plan. It would be wrong to say that there is no idea about the future and that there are no plans at all, it is just that not many people know about them or are involved. Several people in Wli have a good idea which direction tourism should take for a better future, the constitution upon which TMT is based is a good foundation for future plans as well. The real challenge is the lack of consensus on the future. So long as the goals are not written down and discussed by those involved in tourism, this lack of direction will remain. The tourism industry has definitely grown over the years and part of it was achieved through a good vision and cooperation. When people were asked about tourism in the area, most had good ideas to improve the industry and a general idea on what is going on. Unfortunately, not many people know if there are plans for the future and if this encompasses sustainable tourism. Judging from conversations with representatives in TMT, the plans for the future do not encompass sustainability. No clear effort is made or worked out to find a good balance between tourism, the environment and the community. The plans that TMT generally create are concerned with

are improving the bridges that tourists need to cross to reach the falls, the organization of busy public holidays such as Easter, getting more exposure or how much money was made last month and dividing the income according to the agreed percentages. Respondents have remarked upon the lack of a long term mind set. Many people often choose a quick, short-term profit rather than a possible larger profit that will take longer to come about. Creating a sustainable development plan that includes a vision and goals for the future of Wli will help decision-making and planning on a daily basis and perhaps make better decision that support a long term vision. This is a good opportunity to test the tourism partnership model and see its effectiveness in practice.

5.4.2 Disagreements on land and income from the falls

Another pressing issue, which is also seen by the community as a major challenge to resolve, are land management disagreements and the falls income. There seems to be a never-ending debate between the landowners and TMT about the percentage of the profits they receive and another debate mostly between Apegame and Agoviepe about the percentage each receives from the falls. It appears that these discussions started when TMT was created years ago and continues to this day. During the years this topic has surfaced many times and unfortunately it has not been resolved to the satisfaction of all parties yet. This discussion has not helped improve the level of trust and cooperation in the communities. Nor has it helped the relations between the communities.

The first debate is mostly between the landowners and TMT about the percentage they receive. TMT needs the support of the landowners to preserve the forest and the landowners are entitled to a share of the profits to compensate the lands they can't use. The position of some of the landowners, that they own the land and should receive all the profits, makes this debate difficult. It appears that they are not satisfied until they reach this goal. Their share has gone up from 20% at the start to about 40% today and still they are not satisfied.

The second debate is generally between Apegame and Agoviepe and is about the general management of the falls. As the landowners mostly hail from Agoviepe and Todzi, they feel that their percentage and control over the falls should be bigger. On the other hand, Apegame thinks that the root of all the communities lies at Apegame and that the falls should be shared between the entire traditional area. For a long time, the people working at the tourist office came almost exclusively from Agoviepe and Todzi. This has slowly changed over the years and people from Apegame are now more involved in tourism too. How the profits are spend is another sensitive subject, to avoid one town from feeling left out or short, only project that involve all towns are started together can generally be chosen and executed. To support a project in only one town would feed mistrust and create a feeling of favouritism.

5.4.3 Lack of unity

The third challenge is a general lack of unity, this is a point that almost 66% out of the 32 respondents pointed out. While it would not be fair to say that this also means that 66% of the traditional area supports this argument, it nevertheless shows the importance of it to those who represent this area. The general lack of trust between the communities and citizens has created a lack of unity. This lack of trust and unity shows in the second challenge, where both sides do not trust each other enough to support projects that only benefit one community. This lack of unity is preventing TMT from choosing the most urgent and useful project over the ones that can be supported by the entire community without endangering the relations. During an informal talk one of the TMT-members gave an example of this. If for example the primary school of Wli Agoviepe needs to be renovated, this project could not be supported unless the school of Wli Apegame was renovated as well. Regardless if this was necessary or not. Therefore, only projects that can be done in all the communities or are beneficial to all the communities are viable options for TMT to execute. This lack of unity is affecting the cooperation between the different stakeholders in Wli.

Poor communication between different stakeholders is not helping this challenge either. In a small community such as Wli, it is hard to avoid each other and face-to-face encounters can't be avoided entirely. But real communication, talking to each other about current affairs in tourism and plans for the future is not always happening. For example the stakeholders 'TMT' and 'hotels and shop owners' could learn a lot from each other and also receive good feedback about one other if they would talk about these things more often. At the moment this is not always the case, many of the tourists stay in one of the hotels where they naturally ask about touristic activities in the area. When guests at the hotels ask about activities in the area or the price of admission to the falls and no answer can be given, than this is not a sign of good cooperation and communication between both parties. Improvements in this area could greatly increase the knowledge and know-how of both parties.

5.4.4 Losing the natural environment

Wli is gradually losing its natural environment, a topic which a large group of citizens are concerned about, but some take for granted. Some of the respondents talked about the loss of the natural environment and explaining its effect by using the example that decades ago the falls were not visible from town. In those days the trees covered the view, but most are now gone. After checking with several foreign tourist and a cross-check with the hotel owners, I can conclude that a large percentage of the foreign tourists appreciate the walk through the forest they must take to reach the falls. This is an opinion that is not always shared by the Ghanaian visitors who rather see a road build to the falls to avoid the walk there. This means that to one group the natural environment is not part of the attraction, while it is important to the other group. Protecting the natural environment is therefore not an important topic for everybody involved in tourism. It is important for the future of tourism in Wli to protect its natural environment, a large part of the visitors already consider this part of the attraction. Moreover it most likely easier to protect the areas that exist today for the future then to reforest an area cleared of all vegetation. A quick calculation of the profits from foreign tourists compared to Ghanaian tourists show that the foreign tourist are more profitable. An aspect that might help the discussion on preserving the natural environment. While not everybody in town sees the need to protect the forest, this understanding is at least present with most of the people of the tourist office and they are making an effort to preserve the forest.

Another reason that has helped preserve at least the forest around the river comes from the understanding of the people from Wli about evaporation. They understand that the forest around the river prevents the sun from evaporating the river. Since the river is important to the daily needs of many of the inhabitants, finding support to protect the trees around the river is therefore easy to get. But further away from the river support is harder to find. As these trees do not protect the river and most tourists don't see them anyway, cutting a tree in these areas is generally not opposed. This attitude has helped the gradual loss of the natural environment which for the future of sustainable tourism should be contained or even allowed to grow again.

6. Testing the tourism partnership model in Wli

As mentioned in chapter three, the most important points to test are if the tourism partnership model is (1) increasing the cooperation between stakeholders and (2) if it is helping to improve sustainable tourism. Is this process of improving sustainable tourism through stakeholder cooperation following the phases that Selin and Chavez have developed and can we recognise the aspects that are described within these phases. Is the role of a strong-willed leader similar to that in the case of Graci, is it important to involve all the stakeholders and how is the organisation formalised are important points to test in this process.

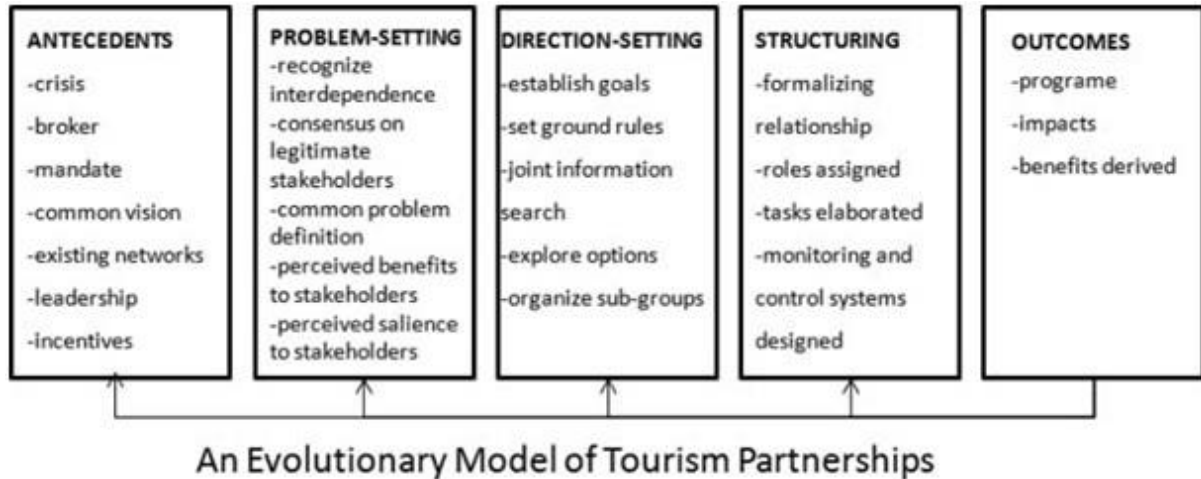Graci has summarized that the key elements of a partnership are that all
- stakeholders are interdependent;
- solutions emerge by dealing constructively with difference;
- joint ownership of decisions is involved;
- stakeholders assume collective responsibility for the future direction of the domain; and
- partnerships remain a dynamic, emergent process

Either of the challenges in the previous chapter can be used to test the tourism partnership model in Wli, but the creation of a sustainable development plan might be the best opportunity to test the model. Not only was the lack of a sustainable development plan the antecedent that brought me to this case, a good plan also has room to consider the other challenges that have been mentioned. During the field research, it was sometimes difficult to find indicators of the model and trying to determine the phase tourism in Wli was currently in. It was not until later that the realisation struck home that Wli had already used most of the model to create the constitution and establish the TMT. Many signs and results that are mentioned in the model can be traced back in the constitution and the way TMT was set-up and operates. Since the model is iterative and gives those who use it the option to continue the partnership once the goals have been reached or end it, it appears that the partnership outside TMT was ended. This means that beside the outcome of the TMT, the stakeholders decreased their level of cooperation. TMT can be seen as the outcome of the previous partnership. Unfortunately, several years later this outcome is not always achieving the goals that were set out upon creation. Not all stakeholders are happy with the way TMT currently operates and are disillusioned by the lack of development in town. Some expected the profits and development from tourism to be higher, others feel cooperation and sustainable tourism could improve faster than it is doing today. This is why they are now looking for new solutions or other ways to achieve these goals.

The results that were achieved when TMT was created have many similarities and follow several of the same steps to create a sustainable development plan. One could choose to revisit the previous outcome and see if this result can be updated to meet the new needs. However the creation of TMT was such a long time ago and they have become an important player in the process, the situation has changed too much to go back. TMT is still a very useful organization, but to improve sustainable tourism in Wli it is better to use this organization as part of a new process. While TMT is supposed to be a representation of all the stakeholders involved with tourism, many do not feel represented within the decision-making process. They rather see the TMT as a different entity than a cooperation between stakeholders. This also makes it easier to test the model by looking at the developments of today instead of 20 years ago. Nonetheless the previous outcome can already give us several important conclusions. For this reason and to avoid confusion on the double use of the model, the use of the model 20 years ago with TMT as its outcome will be discussed briefly at first. This also has the benefit that all phases can be evaluated. What follows is an analysis of the new process with the goal: to improve sustainable tourism by creating a sustainable development plan.

6.1 Analysing the use of the model 20 years ago

It is difficult if not impossible to review every phase of a process that was finished about 20 years ago, but many people do remember the general reasons and how TMT was created. This analysis and testing of the model is based on the operations of today, the constitution and communal memory.

ANTECEDENTS	PROBLEM-SETTING	DIRECTION-SETTING	STRUCTURING	OUTCOMES
-crisis	-recognize interdependence	-establish goals	-formalizing relationship	-programe
-broker	-consensus on legitimate stakeholders	-set ground rules	-roles assigned	-impacts
-mandate	-common problem definition	-joint information search	-tasks elaborated	-benefits derived
-common vision	-perceived benefits to stakeholders	-explore options	-monitoring and control systems designed	
-existing networks	-perceived salience to stakeholders	-organize sub-groups		
-leadership				
-incentives				

An Evolutionary Model of Tourism Partnerships

Figure 4. The tourism partnership model (Source: Selin & Chavez , 1995**)**

6.1.1 Antecedents

Before TMT was created, tourism in Wli was managed by the government and a small share of the proceeds were donated to the communities of Wli. This money was meant to develop the town further, but progress did not come as fast as people hoped. This became one of the reasons for the Wli-people to take control of tourism in their town. This was possible because, unlike in other areas, the government did not own the land (Interview 18. TMT (landowner), 2014). With this antecedent and the leadership of a US Peace Corps volunteer the first step was taken to improve (sustainable) tourism in the area of Wli. Most people acknowledge the important role that the Peace Corps volunteer has played in bringing tourism under control of the community. Which they call community based tourism as it is run by the community, not to be confused by the theoretical term community based tourism, where people visit a community for the purpose to learn more about another or unique community. When asked about the creation of TMT, people acknowledge the importance a strong leader or her leadership has played in creating TMT, thereby confirming the points of both Graci and Sheehan & Ritchie. A strong-willed person who does not take no for an answer. She was not a resident of Wli, but was given the opportunity together with the people from Wli to take control of the tourism sector and develop a way to manage this properly (Interview 10. Landowner stakeholder 1, 2014). With the goal to increase the profits that go to the area of Wli for development. The existing networks were used to reach this goal, the handover was done in cooperation with the government and advise of the people who ran the business were followed. They were also able to use the existing networks in town to mobilise and start this process of bring tourism under control of the communities of Wli.

6.1.2 Problem-setting

The constitution and TMT show that a consensus was reached on who were legitimate stakeholders, the landowners, community, assembly and the chiefs and elders. It is safe to assume that they recognised each other's interdependence since they were able to create a governing body such as the TMT, where practically all the stakeholders are represented. In TMT the representatives of the landowners and different communities are present together with the assemblyman they report to the chiefs and elders on their affairs. This level of cooperation recognises five of the six stakeholders that have been identified in today's case; TMT itself, the landowners, the community, assembly and finally the chiefs and elders. Only the hotels and shop owners are not mentioned here. It is difficult to judge the perceived benefit and

salience to the stakeholders at this point, but the documented role of four clearly marked stakeholders in the constitution (TMT being the fifth) shows that they at least recognised each other as stakeholders with regard to tourism and that cooperation was needed to achieve their goal in increasing the income from tourism for the area.

6.1.3 Direction-setting

It is difficult to determine how the goals and ground rules were created at that time. Judging from the constitution, where the organisation of sub-groups are described and clear rules are worked out, several important issues that are part of the direction-setting phase can be acknowledged. The constitution shows that time and energy has gone into creating ground rules for this new organisation. But also to support its activities by organising sub-groups and deciding who for example should be part of the financial committee. It is obvious what the goal was and still is; to develop the area with the help of income gained through tourism and ensure control of this source by local ownership. A clear goal that is recognised by all to this day. How they explored their options at that time and how they were looking for information is hard to determine, but the previously mentioned aspects show that they at least partially moved through this phase.

6.1.4 Structuring

The indications that Wli moved through the structuring phase while trying to improve sustainable tourism in the 90s can be found once again in the constitution. The constitution in my opinion can be seen as a formalisation of the relationship between the different stakeholders. As most of them have a role to play in the outcome I assume they also had a role to play in its creation and the same for the constitution. As an extension of the sub-groups mentioned in the previous phase, roles are also described in the constitution. For example the roles of president or secretary are described in this document, but also who is in charge or can take decisions if the president is not there. Specific task are assigned to each role and the same goes for the sub-groups, which clearly indicate who at least should be part of each group and what their tasks are. TMT was designed to report both to TMB and the chiefs and elders, this can be seen as a control system of sorts.

6.1.5 Outcomes

As mentioned before, the outcome of this previous process is the creation of TMT and TMB (Tourism Management Board) at that time. The benefits derived were a greater control on the tourism industry and most importantly all the profits now go to the traditional area of Wli. Where previously Wli had to rely on the government spending the tourism profits on development, they can now decide for themselves where to spend the profits. Over the years these profits have been used to develop tourism by first creating wooden and later concrete bridges across the nine rivers that tourists must take to reach the falls. They have improved the area around the falls with bins, benches and a simple shelter (Interview 24. TMT Stakeholder 6, 2014; Interview 28. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 3, 2014).

In town the profits have been used to support the schools, invest in initiatives such as a trotro that was meant to bring extra profits, waterholes and piped water throughout the communities and other initiatives. Whether these improvements would have been made if the government would still control tourism is something we will never know. But it are definitely the outcomes that the people of Wli were hoping for when they took over tourism. Perhaps development has not come as fast as they hoped since they took over, but they now have direct control over the profits.

6.2 Testing the model today

Now comes the time to test the model in the present day of Wli and see if it can help overcome some of the challenges that this case faces. As mentioned before, the lack of a sustainable development plan can be seen as a challenge. This is also how I found the case, through their search for a sustainable development plan. The first indicators of the antecedents phase are already showing. Just as in the new case description, a large part of this analysis comes from observations and daily encounters, combined with the information from the interviews.

6.2.1 Antecedent phase

The antecedent that has started the new cycle or process to improve sustainable tourism process is not a crisis or a life-changing event, but the realisation of some people that tourism, the environment and the community in Wli are not benefiting optimally. This is not something most people actively realise or think about, but when they are asked this question most people in Wli would agree with this point. The need to tackle this challenge and create a sustainable development plan for the area has them looking for solutions and possibly advice from outside of Wli. These actions have started the process of improving sustainable tourism in Wli. During the field research it was noticeable that most inhabitants have not considered tackling this problem by creating a plan for the future, but that is also because most people are not working in the tourism industry on a daily basis. This is why I find the support for innovation and improvements through plans such as this are remarkable. Even though most of the people are not involved with tourism and it is not part of their everyday life, they still have an opinion on it. Despite the lack of involvement of most of the people from Wli, they are still more than willing to support projects that can help overcome challenges. Even challenges that do not benefit them directly, such improving tourism can find support from almost the entire community.

This brings us back to the antecedent indicator, the active search for a sustainable development plan. This search is not initiated by the entire tourism sector, but only by a small group in the form of NAREMA. It was through their actions that I was able to study the case of Wli. Therefore this process was not initiated because of a crisis, but can be considered 'brokered'. There can be considered a common vision in town with regard to the current situation of tourism. While some are already satisfied with the current situation, most would like to improve tourism. There are some who are already thinking about sustainability as well. This common vision encompasses a more successful industry that will benefit the town as well, bringing more development. In a small community such Wli, it is easier to create a common vision. A thriving tourism sector brings development to the entire community, a good incentive for all parties to make sure this is achieved. How to improve sustainable tourism does not have a common vision yet. This is where the tourism partnership model can help with. Protecting the environment is an issue that not all agree upon yet, opinions differ on this matter. Some think that the forest needs to be given the opportunity to grow again (Interview 3. Hotels and shop owners stakeholder 2, 2014), others don't think this is important enough and rather see a road constructed through the forest such as (Interview 27. Assembly Stakeholder 3, 2014).

While there are difficulties between the communities and cooperation has not always been easy, they are forced to work together for the benefit of tourism. It is once again the paradox of tourism, on the one hand it forces cooperation between different groups and communities and on the other hand brings division and problems when the profits are divided. They can call upon the existing networks and are familiar with each other, this assists the new process of improving sustainable tourism with the help of the tourism partnership model. While cooperation is not always at its best, the networks are there. The relatively small size of Wli helps this case as people know each other.

Finding a leader
During the field research I have actively looked for "a strong-willed, enthusiastic leader, who is often the catalyst for partnership development in tourism" (Graci, 2013, p. 30). This leader is not only described by

Graci as an important element in developing sustainable tourism between stakeholders but also by others such as Sheehan and Ritchie (2005), Timur and Getz (2009) and Kernel (2005).

Unfortunately, such a person could not be identified in the tourism industry today. The search for a leader in this process has been hampered by aspects that have come forth in the interviews. The high expectations that people have of one another and especially public figures does not always make it desirable for a person to become such a figure. Since this is generally one of the aspects of a leader this might prevent people from stepping up.

People also tend to expect that leaders or authority figures abuse their position, over time, leaders have received a negative image in the eyes of the inhabitants of Wli (Interview 10. Landowner stakeholder 1, 2014; Interview 13. Community (elder) Stakeholder 4, 2014). Another aspect that is of influence to the search of a leader is the hierarchy and local context of communal decisions. In a culture where introductions are expected before a meeting and arranging a meeting takes time and effort, a leader in Wli also needs to navigate the hierarchy and take into account that decisions are generally made as a group and not as an individual. All these aspects make it harder for a leader to step up, present him or herself and become a public figure. These aspects have been of influence in finding a leader, who according to Graci and others, is important in the first phases of the process.

There were several citizens who in my view had a good potential to fulfil this role, but due to several reasons did not take up this part. There were several explanations for this, one is a cultural reason. The negative image public figures and leaders have in Wli, together with a culture of making joint decisions and strong hierarchy are preventing a single strong willed-leader to present him- or herself in Wli. While the cultural difference makes it harder to find a single leader, there are still those who are actively trying to improve sustainable tourism. It are those people who can be considered the leaders in this case, unfortunately not a single person could be pointed out. It is rather a collective effort, a burden that is divided between people who, depending on their place in society or the need of a particular action, take up the tasks that are needed at that moment. I have seen several people who might have the vision and energy to fulfil this role, but the cultural context is preventing them from publicly rising up and taking more initiative.

Other reasons extended from the inability to commit one's time and energy into this role due to other obligations or to the lack of contacts and goodwill which are needed to fulfil this role. Several potential leaders had interests elsewhere and had to divide their time and energy between these places and Wli. Those who divide their time between Wli and other places are not looked upon favourably by those who remain in Wli.

For example, a respondent explained the benefits and disadvantages of not living in Wli. He talked about a situation that was going on between the youth and elders in town. Since he was not living in Wli, it was easier for him to voice his opinion and condemn certain actions that took place. He knew that most people agreed with him, but they didn't want to speak up because they still need to live together in this town. Voicing his opinion had consequences, such as name calling and even threats. But these consequences were easier for him to bear as an outsider, compared to someone who would then face these consequences daily (Interview 24. TMT Stakeholder 6, 2014). The respondent sees this is a benefit of not living in Wli, he could more easily hold people responsible without the trouble it that might bring him if he were to live in Wli. On the other hand he did notice that his contact with the people from town was not as good and that getting things done was sometimes harder because he did not live here anymore. These sorts of things make it more difficult for people who do not live in Wli assume a leadership role, they are no longer considered full members of the community.

Getting support

Finding the support that is needed to improve sustainable tourism can be hard, the process that is started in the antecedent phase will need the support of all the stakeholders. Another conclusion from the research is that a large part of the community only cares about the money that tourism brings in. They do

not appreciate the effort and energy that it takes to organise this (Interview 18. TMT (landowner) Stakeholder 5, 2014).

The lack of unity that has been described above makes the search for support harder. The cultural aspect, no long term mind can also be of influence, this is described in appendix B. The farmers mentality, where people value their farm above everything else, combined with the lack of a long term mind tends to decrease support for projects that do not have a short term goal (Interview 7. Community stakeholder 2, 2014). Improving sustainable tourism is such a project.

The existing network
There are several indicators that there already is a network within Wli, which those who would like to improve sustainable tourism can use. One of the issues that were brought up was bad communication between the hotels and the (tourist) office. The fact that people remark upon this, already shows that there is a line of communication between them, however bad it might be. This mainly came forth during the last meeting where all the stakeholders were present and lines of communication were discussed or criticised.

There has also been talk about interference, the community is said to disrupt the work of the TMT, but also of the chiefs taking money from the TMT. Despite the negative comments with regard to the relations between different stakeholders in Wli, it at least shows that they are involved with each other. They are aware of each other and there has been interaction between the different stakeholders. This is based on several interviews, namely; (Interview 13. Community (elder) Stakeholder 4, 2014; Interview 20. Landowner (hotel) Stakeholder 2, 2014; Interview 17. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 1, 2014), more sources can be found in appendix B.

6.2.2 Problem-setting phase
At the time of the field research, Wli was going through the problem-setting phase. Important aspects of this phase are recognised interdependence, consensus on legitimate stakeholders and an avenue for dialogue amongst the stakeholders where common problems can be identified.

As said, Wli is going through this phase but has not met all the criteria yet. Following on the antecedents phase, Wli is using their form of mutually agreed decisions to continue to work on a new partnership. Many of the stakeholders have realised that improvements can be made and most understand that they will need a collaborate effort if they want to be successful. So far there have been several smaller individual efforts but with only a minor effect. For example the hotels are partially promoting the area with their website, district assembly has created flyers for the general area and mentioned Wli in this. TMT has plans for billboards and better signs to find Wli in the area. Despite these separate efforts, different stakeholders are starting to realise that they can achieve more when they cooperate.

Their existing networks help the different stakeholders keep in touch on events and other matters in the area. It has also helped them identify and accept the different stakeholders that are part of tourism in Wli. Both the separate stakeholder meetings and the combined stakeholder meeting at the end of the field research have helped to identify and confirm that Wli has reached this phase. Recognised interdependence, for example, has not hit home with all the stakeholders yet. But all the identified stakeholders are recognised and respected. These different key aspects will be described below.

Recognised interdependence
As mentioned above, not all the stakeholders have realised that a combined approach between the stakeholders can lead to better results and a partnership that can improve sustainable tourism more effectively. As said above, several stakeholders have plans or are actively trying to improve sustainable tourism on their own. While all the stakeholders are part of the existing network and they all know each other, the communication and collaboration is lacking as of yet.

During the combined stakeholder meeting, some of the stakeholders talked about their plans and ideas. It was in this meeting that most of the stakeholders realised that they were unaware of each other's efforts. They admitted that communication between the different stakeholders was not as good as it used to be. On a more positive note, they did acknowledge that each stakeholder group could bring a unique knowledge or contribution to a potential collaboration. For example, during the combined stakeholder meeting, the TMT and the hotels and shop owners talked about mutual feedback and keeping each other better informed in the future. They figured that they could mutually benefit from this relationship, because it would give tourists the opportunity to give feedback on both of the organisations indirectly. Tourists could give feedback on the hotels at the tourist office and the other way around.

Consensus on legitimate stakeholders
There are several signs that can confirm the consensus on the legitimacy of all the stakeholders that were identified. During the combined stakeholder meeting all the different stakeholder groups were presented and accepted by all without as much as hint of disagreement. Each group was recognised and accepted.
Other indicators can be traced back from the interviews, were respondents remarked on bad communication between the tourist office and the hotels or the landowners and the chiefs and elders. Even though these are not positive signs, they do confirm that each of these four stakeholders are recognised as legitimate stakeholders within tourism. All these indicators confirm that the different stakeholders are accepted and recognised within Wli. This is based on several interviews and can be found in Appendix B with the keywords: bad communication between office and hotels, chiefs need to inform community and community, landowners, TMT, TMB dialogue.

Common problem definition
One of the most important aspects of the problem-setting phase is the common problem definition. As Graci recognised in her case, the setting of a common problem brought the different stakeholders closer together. It is this common problem that needs to be resolved and can be done easier through cooperation between stakeholders that starts to bind these groups together. While simultaneously building the foundation for this partnership.

In Wli, the opportunity or avenue for the stakeholders to talk about common problems together was not created yet. During the research, these sort of avenues were not seen nor talked about. Nobody could recall a meeting between all the different stakeholders as such. And judging from the responses and input during the combined stakeholder meeting, this was not done for a long time. This meeting was the first of its kind according to Eddy from NAREMA. While this led to the discussion of some old grudged between different parties and different stakeholders, it also brought forth several common problems. During the combined stakeholder meeting, all the different stakeholders were given the opportunity to talk about the views of the future of tourism in Wli. But they were also given the opportunity to identify problems that needed to be resolved to achieve this view of the future. This meeting brought forth several problems that all of the stakeholders agreed were important to resolve.

While this is a good start, more discussions between the stakeholders are needed. Their different views and opinions need to be discussed on more than one occasion. This gives every stakeholder the chance to reflect on the discussion, but also gives everybody more opportunities to talk about different subjects and eventually decide as a group which is the most important problem to resolve. A shared discussion about these mutual problems could also increase the interdependence of the different stakeholders.

Perceived salience and benefits to the stakeholders
Many of the stakeholders are starting to see the benefits a cooperation between them can bring. The example above about feedback on the hotels and tourist office is a good one. Here both parties can benefit from this cooperation by receiving feedback. The benefits are different for each stakeholder group, but for example they all accepted during the combined stakeholder meeting that each stakeholder group has a different role to play within tourism. More importantly they recognised that each group contributed to the tourism industry in this way and that the different encounters each group has with tourists brings different insights. These different insights could contribute to the shared knowledge and understanding of tourists. Not only will this shared knowledge help to establish more solid plans for the future through a better insight in tourists, it also bring appreciation for each stakeholder group. If their roles and opinions are valued this could bring support for the new partnership. The different stakeholders would most likely be more willing to cooperate with each other and perhaps trust the judgment of those who can speak for the entire group if their opinions and contributions are respected and valued.

6.2.3 The remaining phases
As the process is only in the early phases of the model, the other phases can't be evaluated yet. The relatively short time of three months spend researching the case is too short to witness the entire process. Time has always been an issue for the implementation of this model. But conclusions can be drawn based upon the results of the process now and 20 years ago.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Are the two cases facing different challenges?

While the tourism partnership model was set out by Selin & Chavez and based upon several different cases. This new case will mostly be tested against the case of Graci, who as part of her research tested the tourism partnership model in another case. These were the Gili Islands in Indonesia. For this reason the case of Wli will mostly be tested against the case of Graci.

Let's first look at the challenges that the case of Graci has faced compared to the case of Wli. The biggest problem in the case of Graci was the slow progress with regard to overcoming challenges, this was later resolved by a strong leader. Gradual loss of the environment, tensions within the community, corruption and a lack of support from the government were the most important challenges to overcome in the case of Graci.

Several of these challenges can be recognised in the case of Wli. The lack of support from the government is a topic that was mentioned during some of the interviews, but it was also a mentioned in casual daily conversations. Some of the challenges in the case of Wli are more important than in the case of Graci, such as tensions within the community. While Graci briefly mentions a tension between westerners and locals, in the case of Wli there are tensions between different communities which are actually hampering cooperation in the traditional area. Therefore this challenge is much more important in the case of Wli. Both cases are faced with a gradual loss of the environment, but again the importance of the challenges is different. Most of the people in Wli do not consider this to be the most important challenge compared to the people of the Gili islands in the case of Graci, who see this is the biggest challenge to overcome.

And finally the slow progress to actually overcoming these challenges in the case of Graci. An important problem that in the case of Graci was resolved through a strong willed leader. Because of the limited amount of time that I was able to spend in the case area it is difficult to judge the progress that the case of Wli is making to improve sustainable tourism. To be able to make a sound judgment on this, repeat visits would be needed to see the actual progress that the case is making.

The priorities in the challenges are different in the two cases, but most of the challenges are similar in nature. The most important challenge in the case of Wli is the lack of a sustainable development plan, respondents who talked about this challenges mostly called it a lack of plans for the future, but also a lack in progress to resolve this issue. This has a resemblance to the challenge in the case of Graci, were progress to overcome challenges was slow as well.

The second and third challenge in the case of Wli; disagreements on land and income from the falls and the lack of unity are somewhat similar to the tensions within the community of Graci's case. But the importance of these challenges to the case of Wli are much higher.

Lastly the loss of the natural environment is mentioned in both cases as a challenge as well. Of course the challenges are not exactly the same and it will most likely be different for each new case as well. But the nature of the challenges shows many resemblances. It would be too early to draw conclusions based upon two cases. But it is starting to appear that smaller cases such as these with a similar tourist attraction meet challenges that show a resemblance in nature. Does this also mean that the tourism partnership model is especially suited to resolve these specific issues? This is a question that needs to be researcher further.

7.2 The effectiveness of the tourism partnership model

The first point to be tested was whether the model helped improve the cooperation between stakeholders. While it is difficult to say for certain if the model has improved the cooperation between stakeholders 20 years ago, at least for a while the different stakeholders joined together to create the TMT. In today's case of Wli, it might be too early to conclude if the tourism partnership model will improve the cooperation between the stakeholders, but the first signs are good. During the field research a meeting was organised where all the different stakeholders were present. This can be the first step in improving the cooperation between stakeholders.

Despite a lack of conclusive evidence, mostly because the situation before the application of the model 20 years ago is unknown, I would still say that the model has helped improve cooperation between the stakeholders. While we do not know what the situation was before, the case of Wli 20 years ago shows a high level of cooperation between the different stakeholders at that time. While it is too early to judge on the case of today, if they continue on this path, cooperation between the different stakeholders is likely to improve. Most are starting to realise their interdependence and see the benefits that cooperation can bring them. These are good motivations for cooperation between stakeholders.

The second point was whether sustainable tourism has actually improved with the help of the tourism partnership model. As concluded at the end of the analysis of Wli 20 years ago, sustainable tourism has improved with the help of the model. While the situation of today is not perfect, at least it has improved over the years. The tourism industry has been able to develop itself by building a tourist office and improving the area around the falls. The community has benefited from the profit that was made from tourism through the projects mentioned before and there is a better awareness on maintaining the environment than there was 20 years ago. There is still room for improvement on all fronts, but with the help of the tourism partnership model there has been improvement over the years.

As we can see in the previous chapter, many aspects of the tourism partnership model can be found in the case of Wli. The testing of this model in a new case can therefore be concluded as positive. The tourism partnership model was used in Wli 20 years ago to improve sustainable tourism and is starting to be used again today to improve sustainable tourism further. Many similarities can found compared to the case of Graci and more importantly many indicators and important aspects of the tourism partnership model were recognised in the case of Wli.

As can be seen from the results in testing the case, it is fair to say that the tests proved positive. The many aspects and indicators that were recognised in Wli confirm this conclusion. Not only were many aspects traced back in the process that was started over 20 years ago. They are once again recognised today. The antecedents-phase can be clearly described in the case of Wli. The tourism partnership model does not only describe the previous phases that have gone by. It can be a useful tool for the people of Wli in improving sustainable tourism through partnership. Wli can use the phases of the model to improve the cooperation between stakeholders, take its advice to ensure that progress continues in Wli. They can use the model as a guideline and whenever progress is slowing down they can use it as a reference. Checking to see where they are in the process, what's the next step, but also to see if they missed any of the aspects of the phases. This might help the case if progress is slowing down.

The importance of involving all the stakeholders, a point that was made specifically by Graci can be confirmed as well. The example of Wli Todzi, the community that was not involved much during the research is a good example of this. Their lack of involvement in both the research and the initial steps in creating the sustainable development plan resulted in less enthusiasm and support compared to the other communities. This is a direct result of not being involved and shows the importance of involving all the stakeholders if their support is needed for the future of sustainable tourism.

The theory set out by Selin & Chavez feels as the most obvious path to take, the phases that follow each other seem very logical and the natural choice to make. Selin & Chavez were able to describe a complex process in such a way that it feels the most logical choice to use their ideas. Wli 20 years ago, before Selin

& Chavez finalized their ideas, followed large parts of this process to reach their goals. The case of the 90s resembles to a large extend the results that Selin & Chavez describe, making this case a good contribution to the validity of their model. Wli of the 90s instinctively followed this path because it seemed the best option for them at that time. Herein lies the strength of the model, they were able to describe a complex problem-solving process in a natural way. Using logic as a guideline for those trying to find an answer to their problem.

7.2.1 What's different?

There are several notable differences between the case of Graci and the new case of Wli. First of all, the people of Wli are not happy with the results of the previous attempt to improve sustainable tourism. This might suggest that in their eyes the attempt has failed or at least does not meet their expectations. Another big difference is the role of leaders. Graci concluded that a strong leader made a big difference in pushing the process forward. A similar effect can be seen in the case of Wli 20 years ago, where a foreigner helped set up the TMT. But this result is to some extend not sustainable in Wli. They are planning to do the whole process over or, at least review the entire outcome of the previous attempt to improve sustainable tourism. Only this time they are trying to make it work without a strong leader.

We will now take a closer look at these differences and try to find out what they mean to both the theory and the case. Let's first take a look at the attempt to improve sustainable tourism in Wli 20 years ago. Although it has been too long to be able to properly analyse the entire process and see if the tourism partnership model was used and how this has affected their attempt to improve tourism. Several significant steps have been identified.

There was a clear antecedent that started the process; taking control of tourism. A strong-willed leader was of great importance to the improvement of sustainable tourism, this was the American Peace Corps volunteer. All the stakeholders at that time were recognised and involved and they had a common vision. They organised their partnership in the form of the TMT and formalised this in the constitution, this was also meant to regulate TMT. These were the result of the model 20 years ago. A self-regulatory organisation to manage tourism and that was controlled by the people of Wli. Why then are the people looking for new solutions to manage tourism and improve sustainable tourism in Wli?

It appears that they have not found the right balance between tourism, the community and the environment; one of the most important aspects of sustainable tourism.

Let's first see why the previous outcomes are now being questioned. The critics can largely be divided into two groups, those who are disappointed by the results TMT has achieved over the years but are not looking for alternatives and those who think more can be achieved and are actually looking for new ways. The first group is by far the largest, many citizens of Wli are unhappy with TMT because they had expected more results and bigger projects to be finished with the profits from tourism. But this does not necessarily mean that the previous outcome is a complete failure and should be rejected. Tourism is now run by the people of Wli and there have been improvements in tourism such as concrete bridges and an office. People are making a living through tourism and the town has gradually developed with projects such as funding for the schools and the water project. Finally the natural environment has some form of protection and there is awareness that they should at least keep the natural environment around the river (Interview 4. TMT stakeholder 2, 2014).

The second group, who are actively looking to improve sustainable tourism are unhappy with the progress of the current situation. The failure for them is the lack of cooperation between the different partners. Even though most are represented in TMT, the majority do not consider cooperation between the different partners, including TMT to be good. This lack in cooperation has made them look for alternatives and lose faith in the outcome of the last time the model was applied, which was the TMT. Depending on the objective that was set 20 years ago, you might conclude that on the long term the outcome partially failed to continue to bring progress through cooperation between stakeholders.

For the first group it is the balance between the community and tourism that is at risk. But is this a flaw in the model or can it be explained otherwise? In my opinion, the balance between the community and tourism (read TMT) is largely dependent on the behaviour and actions of the TMT. This makes this a problem that can possibly be restored without actually looking for new alternatives. This failure lies largely in the expectations that most people have developed over the years. Expectations that might be unrealistic. Keeping the community informed and explaining the revenue and expenditures that are involved with tourism might go a long way in solving this issue. Educating people on this topic could prevent false expectations. Since it is important that the stakeholders continue to support the process and new partnership, this can be a small addition to the model. The ideas of Timur and Getz (2009, p. 221) can perhaps be added to the model: "To facilitate community empowerment, stakeholders have to be educated on sustainability and cooperative action has to be fostered. Clear benefits of collaborative action have to be demonstrated to all stakeholders".

7.3 The three reasons why Wli is looking for alternatives

The second group has exposed a more deep-routed problem. They see a lack of cooperation between the stakeholders and this is affecting progress to improve sustainable tourism. For them the outcome in the form of TMT has at least partially failed. I believe this partial failure comes from three different sources. This first problem lies with the leader being an outsider who eventually left. The second problem lies in a failing monitoring and control system. And the third issue was a challenge that either was not identified properly or not resolved to the satisfaction of all parties. These challenges were the disagreements on land and income from the falls which lingers on today. But this third issue should not be seen as a critique on the tourism partnership model, but rather a failure in the execution of it.

7.3.1 The role of the leader in the tourism partnership model

I believe that the strong leader has been important to the process last time but might be a liability today. Where in the case of Graci the strong leader was an insider who stayed in the area and remained involved in the case. This was different in the case of Wli. Here the strong leader was an outsider who did not stay in the area, leaving a gap that had to be filled. Even though the task of the leader needs to be taken over by the organisation that is formed to improve sustainable tourism, this might have effect a long-term effect.

The fact that the strong leader was an outsider can make a world of difference. This can change the feel of a process from a grassroots initiative to a mandated challenge. It could very well be that a mandated process or lead by a strong willed leader who is an outsider has an influence on its sustainability and long term effect. The cultural ideas on leadership in Wli, combined with an outsider as a strong willed leader have been a major influence on the long term effect of the outcome; TMT.

An outsider as a strong leader in this case has influenced the decision-making process. There is a possibility that not all partners were happy with the decisions that were made at that time. At least one stakeholder group appears unhappy with the decisions that were made at that time; the landowners. The fact that they are disgruntled and currently unhappy with their role and share in the process and entire tourism industry is an opinion that they have held for a long time. Almost half of the respondents have talked about the landowners and their influence and positions over the years, of which Interview four gave some good examples. The indisputable proof lies in the percentage that they receive from the profits. Initially this was 20%, this has grown to almost 40% at the time of the field research. Clearly indicating that they were unhappy with the divisions of the 90s, this even led to a loss of the forest. During one of the interviews (Interview 4. TMT stakeholder 2, 2014) one of the respondents explained the importance of keeping the landowners happy. There was a time when they were unhappy with their share, but the TMT at that time did not increase their share. As a result the landowners started to cut trees and burn down an area that was used for a reforestation program until their demand were eventually met. They were not challenged by the community because of the contradiction that was indeed their land. But also the cultural effect of keeping the harmony that was described by (Interview 24.

TMT Stakeholder 6, 2014), publicly voicing criticism on other community members can bring serious problems.

The new process that has started using the tourism partnership model has more of a grassroots character. Decisions are made between the local leaders and together they are looking for solutions. Outsiders can still be helpful here by offering expert knowledge, but should not take on the role of strong willed leaders. This might very well have a lasting decision on the long term effect of the outcome. Decisions are made that fit within the cultural context.

What is more striking is the actual lack of a strong willed leader in the new use of the model today. As mentioned earlier, a strong willed leader is not considered desirable in the cultural context of Wli. How this will turn out is difficult to predict as they are still in the early phases of the model. But based on my observations it does not seem to be a hindrance to the progress. Decisions might take more time and progress is a bit slower without a strong willed leader who is actively working on advancing the model and improving sustainable tourism. But the decisions that are made have been thoroughly discussed between all the parties, this leads to a better acceptance of the decisions that are eventually made. A decision is not made until all parties have agreed to it, making them better suited for the long-term and sustainability of the outcome.

A strong-willed leader can be helpful to keep the process going and prevent it from stagnation, but it might also be a risk on the long-term effect if this behaviour does not fit the cultural context. As we can see in the case of Wli 20 years ago, the strong-willed leader was very helpful in finding a solution. But we can also conclude that the outcome was not satisfactory on a long-term. Comparing the process of Wli 20 years ago to the process of today, the lack of a strong-willed leader is a remarkable difference. Observing the decision-making process and as explained in chapter 5.2.5, decisions are made as a group. Decisions that were made 20 years ago under the guidance of the strong-willed leader are being disputed today. This is affecting the long-term effect of the model and made stakeholders lose faith in the outcome. The tourism partnership model needs to adjust to cultural differences, in this case a strong-willed leader can be helpful. But needs to be aware that decisions can't be forced and need to be mutually discussed and agreed upon.

The role of the leader needs to be critically reviewed before it is used in a case. Based on the developments in the case of Wli an addition can be made to the role of the leader. While this research does not necessarily disproves the role of the leader in the model, in fact in the case of Wli 20 years ago it was with the help of the strong-willed leader that much progress was made, it rather brings a nuance to the role. It is important to realise that the role of the leader needs to fit within the local context. Who the leader this, how this role is performed, where the leader comes from are all aspects that have an influence on how decisions are made and accepted within the model. The role of the leader needs to fit within the local, social and cultural context of the case to ensure decisions are respected by all the stakeholders and will continue to be respected over time.

7.3.2 A failing monitoring and control system

The departure of the leader from the case should not be a problem because this person is eventually to be replaced by the new organisation and a well-managed monitoring and control system, but this has failed to some extent in the case of Wli. The TMT was set up to have several monitoring and controls; TMB, the chiefs and lastly the community itself. TMT was to report to TMB and ask their advice on important decision. TMB were to the link between TMT and the chiefs. This entire system was worked out and made part of the constitution of the TMT. After several years a decision was made to dissolve the TMB, but this same system should have been covered by the chiefs. It was expected of TMT to take important decision together with the chiefs.

Next to this there was also a community meeting to be held at least twice a year where TMT presented their results to the community itself for approval. But this system gradually lost influence, I was told that the first TMT groups held these meetings as scheduled. The teams that followed later, usually held these

meetings in the first years of their appointment. But as their four years went by these meetings became less frequent. The same has been said about the current TMT. This development gave TMT more and more control without any checks by society. The number of community meetings went down and decisions were not always made in agreement with the chiefs. This is a point that a few of the respondents remarked upon with regard to the current group, especially the chiefs themselves. They were not consulted for every major decision. The current use and partial failure of this system has been confirmed by many respondents during the interviews. One of the topics that were brought up by almost a third of the respondents was that TMT had too much power, does not listen anymore or fails to inform the community.

The whole purpose of the monitoring and control system is to keep a good balance between the different stakeholders and prevent one group from dominating the process. In the case of Wli, this system was not enough to make it sustainable on the long run. The different stakeholders have lost faith in the TMT, some because they could not meet their expectations but also because they are no longer accountable for their actions. The monitoring and control system should be expanded with an extra function; to keep the stakeholders involved on the outcomes and progress. While the improvement and outcomes of the model are important, the role of the stakeholders should not be forgotten or become overshadowed by the success of the outcome.

7.3.3 The challenge that was not resolved
One of the challenges that is identified today is the disagreements on land and income from the falls. But as mentioned earlier, this should not be seen as a critique per se, but more of a failure in the execution of the model. This challenge goes back to the days when the government created the protected area but did not compensate the landowners for their loss of land. When the TMT was created the profit percentages were divided amongst different stakeholders, including the landowners. Unfortunately even today, the discussion between the landowners and TMT goes on. This challenge has never been resolved to the satisfaction of all parties and is interfering with the cooperation between stakeholders and with the policymaking and decisions of TMT. While this was an important challenge for this case, I have deliberately avoided going to deep into this topic to avoid losing the focus of this research and keep to the framing that was made of the case. This was the testing of the tourism partnership model.

In conclusion, I find that the model proposed by Selin & Chavez and refined by Graci is useful, because it accurately describes several key components to increase sustainable tourism through cooperation amongst local stakeholders. It not only described the process, it is also a useful tool for those who are still involved in the process. The results of the research confirm many of the aspects described in the tourism partnership model. However, there are a few differences. First, the role of a strong willed leader is likely overstated. While it may indeed be helpful in moving the process forward, it might also force decisions and leaves a gap should this person leave. Additionally, depending on the local context, there may be alternative ways to organize decision-making. The model itself is solid enough to help different stakeholders work together on sustainable tourism. But progress will always be dependent on the willingness of the stakeholders to cooperate in order to improve sustainable tourism. Acknowledged interdependence is a strong motivator for this, combined with the added benefit for each stakeholder.
To continue to receive support from the stakeholders it is important to manage their expectations. The monitoring and control system is also of influence on the long-term effect of the tourism partnership model. If the stakeholders are still involved but no longer heard or involved through the monitoring and control system, they could start to lose faith in the outcome of the model.

7.7 Recommendations

One of the recommendations is to check if the tourism partnership model is especially suited to resolve the specific challenges that seem to trouble small cases where natural environment is the main tourist attraction. Or is the model also able to tackle the problems of a bigger case, for example an urban area that attracts a lot of tourists.

Another recommendation would be check up on this case over the long-term to see if they have made progress in improving sustainable tourism. This is a logical recommendation given the length of the process. Graci also used several repeat visits to support her research and to see the entire process. What will be important to see is if they still follow the phases of the tourism partnership model and if they continue to make progress without a strong-willed leader but with their own cultural system of mutually agreed decisions. This could confirm that a strong-willed leader is part of a cultural context and not necessary in every case, or if they have not progressed further confirm that a strong-willed leader is actually a key aspect for the progress of the tourism partnership model.

The monitoring and control systems seem to affect the long-term use of the tourism partnership model in the case of Wli. The failure of this system, made the stakeholders lose faith and eventually abandon the previous outcomes. Instead of using the previous outcome; TMT, they are now looking for a new alternative to improve sustainable tourism. It is worth investigating if the monitoring and control systems are the cause of more failed partnerships and what can be done to improve this system.

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Interviews

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Interview 2. Hotels and shop owners stakeholder 1. (2014, April 15). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 6. Community (elder) Stakeholder 1. (2014, April 23). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 14. Hotels and shop owners (community) Stakeholder 4. (2014, April 29). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 16. Community (elder) Stakeholder 5. (2014, April 30). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

Interview 17. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 1. (2014, May 1). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

Interview 18. TMT (landowner) 5. (2014, May 1). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

Interview 19. Assembly Stakeholder 2. (2014, May 2). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 21. Community Stakeholder 6. (2014, May 3). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 27. Assembly Stakeholder 3. (2014, May 6). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

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Interview 29. Chiefs and elders Stakeholder 4. (2014, May 24). Sustainable tourism. (D. Prince, Interviewer)

Appendix A. Guidelines and topics for the interviews

Below are the guidelines and topics as they were used during the last interviews:

1) Role of TMT
expectations vs reality   misunderstanding
            How does this promote sustainable tourism?
- What is the role?
- What is their position?
- What is expected of them?
- What do they expect from others?
- What are their responsibilities?

2) Role of partners
TMT   Chiefs   Landowners   Assembly   Community   Misc
expectations vs reality   misunderstanding
            How does this promote sustainable tourism?
- What is the role?
- What is their position?
- What is expected of them?
- What do they expect from others?
- What are their responsibilities?

3) How is cooperation between partners?
                How does this promote sustainable tourism?
- Role of different partners
- Manage expectations

4) Why is the process/partnership failing?

5) Forest conservation
- What is being done?
- What is needed?
- What can be done?

Appendix B. Analysis of data from individual interviews

All the interviews have been worked out digitally in separate files. Each was individually and critically reviewed on important topics. Important topics were marked in the document and coded into a general descriptive word or sentence. Each was given a unique combination for easy access and reference. The coded terms were also placed in categories, which can be found below.

Suggestions and improvements
Marketing; 1-1,4-14, 5-8, 7-37, 15-49, 18-21, 27-30, 27-48, 27-50
More restaurants; 1-7, 5-10
More activities; 1-8, 3-3, 7-41, 9-17, 28-29
Improve office and facilities; 1-14, 2-3, 5-2, 12-13, 12-19, 20-15, 21-20, 26-40, 27-28
Share tourist income; 1-29
Youth involvement; 1-34, 3-26, 15-9, 23-12
Cheaper hotels; 2-4, 9-16, 12-22, 23-7, 23-19, 27-25
First aid post; 2-5, 5-20
Conference room; 2-6
Educate tourist office; 2-9, 6-8, 19-5, 27-13
Regulate tourists; 2-14
Digital office; 2-32, 4-12, 5-17, 18-9
New TMT should live in Wli; 4-19, 8-9, 13-9, 19-1, 27-6,28-40
More hotels/homestay; 5-6, 9-15, 12-21, 16-5, 19-6, 26-44, 27-25
Transport service; 5-21, 23-9
Guide uniforms; 5-22
Build secondary school; 6-7, 9-8, 12-14, 12-16, 16-4, 26-27
Only young and educated guides; 6-9
Free lodging (for nurses and teachers); 9-24, 19-7
Chair and VP not from same town; 9-27
Hotels can help future of tourism; 10-16, 18-34, 18-39, 19-19, 22-35, 20-14
TMT one project at a time; 10-27
Landowners farm without woodcutting; 10-33
Bike to falls for elderly; 12-5
TMT micro-finance loans; 12-6, 23-10
Orphanage; 12-26
Improve schools; 12-27, 15-44, 16-4, 17-3
Library; 14-16
Community can assist; 15-13, 19-13, 22-23
TMT find alternative for landowners (take pressure off); 15-45, 23-10, 23-27, 26-33
Stairs and rails at falls; 17-20, 19-16, 28-31
Tour office guidebook/guidelines; 18-42, 27-49
auditors to check; 23-2
Show worth and willingness to attract investment; 23-21
Satisfy tour guides; 26-38
Chiefs meet with volunteers; 27-18
Create chief fund; 28-19

Challenges
Bad roads; 1-3, 2-20, 4-9, 5-5, 7-9, 9-14, 12-20, 15-24, 18-13, 19-9, 19-11, 20-15, 21-23, 23-5, 26-30, 29-3
Bad fund management; 1-11, 8-13, 9-6, 12-1, 13-8, 13-10, 22-8, 22-22, 26-4
Mismanagement; 1-23, 8-6, 9-20, 12-17, 13-20, 19-2, 22-22
New TMT-team (Also part of **Government**); 1-26, 7-25, 8-8, 15-5,15-27
Bad communication between office and hotels; 1-35, 24-26, 27-34, 27-35
Tourists feel cheated/ bad info; 1-27, 3-7, 5-14, 22-36

Youth feel unused; 1-31
Guides misbehave; 2-16, 2-21, 12, 31, 27-37,
Tourists misbehave; 2-22
People are complaining; 2-25, 21-2
School fees; 3-19, 12-15
Too fast projects; 4-5, 4-25, 7-23
Close bridge reduces tourism; 4-10
Community only cares about money; 4-20, 7-16, 9-5, 23-4, 26-26, 27-27, 28-37
Camping at falls; 3-13
Community is not clean; 1-4, 3-11, 19-8, 21-19, 22-39, 24-21, 26-41, 27-24
Misunderstandings; 7-14, 7-27, 10-5, 18-19, 19-21, 22-4, 23-4, 26-15, 28-23
Not much left over for re-investment; 7-15, 9-3, 21-6, 24-5, 27-14, 28-36
People expect a lot (Also part of **Culture** and **Tourism negative**); 7-16, 9-11, 10-9, 13-7, 15-27, 18-14, 18-18, 18-30, 21-2, 22-24, 24-27, 26-8
No incentive for innovation; 7-19
Controlling Africans is not easy (Also part of **Culture**); 7-31, 14-7
TMT does not listen; 8-12, 16-8, 28-24
TMT too much power; 9-32, 27-8
Bad relation between TMT and district assembly; 10-17, 27-31, 27-32, 27-33
Shouting at office; 12-3
Tour guides should not drink; 12-31
People don't manage accounts responsibly; 13-2, 15-42
When funds are available, chiefs and elders want a share; 13-3, 17-5
Unclear responsibilities; 13-25
Rising tourism standards (Also part of **Customer understanding**); 15-3
TMT elected on gut-feeling, not merit; 15-28
Own interests; 22-37

Problems
No facilities (at falls); 3-13, 4-16, 6-2, 12-2, 12-4, 22-40
Destroy forest; 1-12, 3-5, 10-35, 12-11, 13-28, 14-12, 17-16
Youth revolt; 1-19, 10-6, 18-8, 13-27, 17-9, 17-10, 20-8, 20-16, 21-4, 21-10, 21-11, 24-19, 26-6, 28-27
Corruption; 1-20, 1-22, 8-13, 9-6, 9-19, 10-11
Financial accountability; 1-27, 4-18, 4-21, 8-11, 9-19, 9-29, 15-2, 16-12, 17-1, 17-8, 19-4, 20-13, 20-18, 22-11, 22-33, 28-25
Landowners stop land abuse; 1-24, 3-9, 4-3, 7-30, 13-28, 14-19, 15-36, 18-23, 24-24, 24-25, 20-32
Community sees no projects; 2-12, 6-3, 9-1, 10-10,15-6, 15-32, 16-10, 21-2, 28-38
Youth and elders relation; 1-33, 9-7, 24-19, 24-30
Board does not inform/discuss with town; 2-24
Frustration/ no jobs; 2-31, 7-12
Can't meet tourist demands; 3-1, 4-23, 15-3
Individual vs communal land; 3-16, 10-38, 26-9
Landowners not paid; 3-18, 7-33, 15-36, 22-21
No long term mind (Also part of **Culture**); 3-23, 8-4, 7-19, 7-24, 10-13
Land(income) disagreement (Also part of **Government**); 4-3, 6-12, 7-35, 9-25, 10-38, 13-18, 13-24, 13-26, 15-26, 17-17, 18-22,18-27, 20-22, 24-7, 26-17, 28-5
Tour guides not well educated; 6-1
No unity; 6-10, 7-26, 9-25, 15-25, 20-20, 21-7, 21-8, 21-9, 21-13, 21-16, 22-13, 24-31
No cooperation; 13-15, 14-21, 14-24, 16-7, 18-31, 19-20, 20-25, 22-34, 23-28, 24-28, 25-5, 27-35, 29-9
No (not enough) government support; 7-8, 10-28, 14-7, 14-18, 15-23, 16-9, 18-12, 24-16, 29-4
African politics don't finish policy of predecessor (Also part of **Culture**); 7-25, 9-13, 23-18
Landowners left without means; 7-34, 13-29, 15-36, 15-37, 17-17, 17-18, 19-18, 20-7,20-33, 20-34, 20-35, 22-17, 22-19, 22-20, 23-9, 23-10, 26-16, 26-24, 28-6, 28-13, 28-15
No paramount chief (Also part of **Government**); 8-5, 13-25, 28-9

No trust; 10-4, 13-1, 15-4, 15-30, 15-33, 18-25, 22-9

no trust due to illiteracy; 13-4, 28-41 or envy; 13-5, 26-17   or grievances; 24-32 or jealousy; 26-47

People assume abuse by leaders; 10-5, 13-6, 17-5, 22-10, 20-11, 28-26

Interference/ (community) disrupts TMT; 10-6, 13-11, 13-14, 13-21, 17-5, 20-10, 20-27, 21-3, 21-5, 27-7, 27-9

TMT does not inform/create understanding with community; 10-11, 22-12, 23-4

Youth don't go to school; 2-8, 7-10, 10-24, 10-36, 12-7

Youth crime; 10-25, 12-8

One man claims falls ownership; 12-24

People gather guns; 12-25

People don't help because they fear community will turn on them; 13-13

Leaders have no future plan; 14-10

There are conflicts/ tensions; 18-26, 20-9, 20-20-21, 22-3, 22-5, 24-33, 26-3

Pressure on TMT; 18-29, 20-4

Family protection (Also part of **Culture**); 24-12, 24-13, 28-44

No unity within landowners; 20-21, 24-32

Landowners don't want to sell land; 26-33, 26-24

People don't talk; 19-22, 21-8, 20-30, 20-31

Tourism positive

Youth employment; 1-5

Community benefits; 1-9, 12-23, 16-2, 18-1, 18-8, 23-1, 20-3, 20-5

Attracts investments; 2-19, 7-7, 7-17, 14-6, 27-38

Room for improvement; 3-2

Increase will support more jobs; 4-13, 15-47, 23-20, 23-23

No effect on environment; 5-3, 6-4

Increases mutual understanding; 5-16, 14-9, 17-12

Leftover for reinvestment (Also part of **Government**); 7-5, 9-22, 12-18, 16-6

Civilian rule better than government; 8-2, 12-23, 15-18, 21-1

Keeps youth and office busy; 4-26, 15-48

Water project (Also part of **Culture**); 7-6, 9-9, 10-7, 13-12, 14-15, 18-6, 21-14, 22-14, 24-14, 27-39, 28-14, 29-2

Reforestation project (Also part of **Culture** and **Solutions**); 1-15, 4-26, 10-23, 10-34, 12-12, 14-26, 15-34, 17-15, 18-41, 19-24, 22-38, 26-45, 27-47

Bushfire prevention cooperation; 14-27, 15-29, 19-23

Bridge upgrades; 17-2, 18-7, 24-15, 26-28, 29-5, 28-34

Supports school; 17-3, 18-5

Supports chiefs; 17-4, 17-5

Tourism negative

Kids beg; 1-6, 7-11

Trees cut in disagreement; 4-3

Traders fight; 6-11

People expect a lot (Also part of **Challenges** and **Culture**); 7-16, 9-11, 10-9, 13-7, 15-27, 18-14, 18-18, 18-30, 21-2, 22-24, 24-27, 26-8

Maintenance is for community; 15-18

Trouble of fall income; 22-6, 20-26

Solutions

Reforestation project (Also part of **Tourism positive** and **Culture**); 1-15, 4-26, 10-23, 10-34, 12-12, 14-26, 15-34, 17-15, 18-41, 19-24, 22-38, 26-45, 27-47

Learn about forest; 1-16, 3-6, 3-22, 10-32, 10-37, 14-11, 14-25, 19-25, 24-23

Clear pricelist; 1-28, 27-49

Hotels can be good promotion; 1-36

Share knowledge; 2-17
Community, landowners, TMT, TMB dialogue; 2-23, 10-26, 18-28, 19-17, 22-32
Government compensate land; 3-17, 19-18, 23-26, 26-11, 26-19, 26-20
Communal landownership; 3-20
Stop cutting trees; 3-22, 14-26
Please landowners; 4-4, 4-17, 15-40, 15-41, 15-43, 23-26, 26-21, 26-22, 26-32
More rules; 4-7, 3-15
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Government should help; 6-5, 7-13, 9-18, 10-39, 12-24, 13-16, 19-12, 20-15, 23-6
Tourists can support projects; 7-17
Outside ideas/ broaden mind; 7-18
Europe show us what industry demands are; 7-20
Good cooperation; 7-38, 18-32, 18-33, 18-34, 18-38, 20-25, 20-28, 24-35, 24-36, 26-37, 27-41, 28-43
Needs individual start-ups; 7-39
Good project support; 7-40
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Community set goals for TMT; 9-21
TMB (Tourism Management Board) (Also part of **Government**); 2-7, 9-31, 9-23, 9-33, 10-21
Chiefs don't take TMT money; 13-23, 17-5, 18-16, 20-6, 21-3, 21-5, 22-28, 24-4, 28-17, 28-18, 28-20, 28-21, 28-42
Landowners subject to TMT: 14-20
Buy trees; 15-38
Pay TMT members; 16-13
Chiefs need to mediate; 24-39
New neutral party; 24-37, 24-38
Break taboo subjects; 24-39
TMT force government to pay landowners; 26-21
Landowners should help; 28-28
Good accounts and planning; 28-35

<u>Goals</u>
More community benefits; 1-17, 3-10
More local sales; 1-18, 3-12, 12-29, 17-11, 23-23, 28-32
Implement new ideas: 2-8
Always improve; 2-15
Find more 'outside' help; 5-4, 7-17, 12-30, 17-19, 21-18, 23-8, 24-37, 24-38

<u>Government and administration</u>
TMT change every four years; 1-25, 8-7, 24-1, 26-2
New TMT-team (Also part of **Challenges**); 1-26, 7-25, 8-8, 15-5,15-27
Youth wants involvement; 1-30, 3-27
Chiefs approval; 1-32, 9-29, 3-25, 26-36
TMB (Tourism Management Board) (Also part of **Solutions**); 2-7, 9-31, 9-23, 9-33, 10-21
Land(income) disagreement (Also part of **Problems**); 4-3, 6-12, 7-35, 9-25, 10-38, 13-18, 13-24, 13-26, 15-26, 17-17, 18-22,18-27, 20-22, 24-7, 26-17, 28-5
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African politics don't finish policy of predecessor (Also part of **Problems**); 7-25, 9-13, 23-18
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No paramount chief (Also part of **Challenge**); 8-5, 13-25, 28-9

Chiefs check TMT; 8-10, 9-23, 16-3, 22-15, 22-16, 22-25, 23-24, 25-1, 26-5, 26-35, 28-3
Government build tourist office and helps with tourist village; 9-12, 15-14, 18-3, 19-10, 20-2, 27-29
Nine TMT members represent nine clans; 10-2, 15-22, 27-1
Landowners have representative in TMT; 10-14, 15-22, 27-2, 28-1
Assembly attends TMT; 10-15, 15-22, 28-1
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Assembly district helps with promotion; 10-31, 15-8, 15-15
Government should advise more; 10-40
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Hotels sometimes talk with TMT: 14-13, 22-29
TMT duty to develop; 14-14, 15-20
TMT needs active approach; 15-11, 15-19, 18-35, 18-36
Bylaws against tree-cutting; 15-35, 27-45
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One person's handles money; 23-3
Chiefs lack control; 21-11, 24-18, 24-20, 27-46
Landowners could manage the falls; 20-19
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Culture and perception
Tourism is expected to grow; 1-13, 4-8, 5-7, 10-3, 10-30, 15-7, 16-14
Expect much tourism income; 2-26, 9-11, 18-15
No common community view; 2-27
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Farmers mind; 4-25, 7-22, 22-18, 23-13
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Government at root of land problem; 7-32
Reforestation project (Also part of **Tourism positive** and **Solutions**); 1-15, 4-26, 10-23, 10-34, 12-12, 14-26, 15-34, 17-15, 18-41, 19-24, 22-38, 26-45, 27-47
Own initiative is important; 15-10, 27-40
People listen but don't take action; 15-39
Youth group creates unity; 22-1, 22-2
Mainly Agoviepe works at tourist office; 22-7
Don't interfere with land; 23-30
Family protection (Also part of **Problems**); 24-12, 24-13, 28-44
Feel betrayed; 24-40
Landowners allow others to profit; 20-17, 26-13, 26-14, 26-25
Land belongs to different communities; 27-22, 27-26, 28-22
Essentials for tourism
Town friendliness; 2-2, 2-29, 2-30, 3-8, 4-22, 5-1, 7-28, 14-8, 24-22, 27-25
Community support tourism; 2-10, 4-1
Community supports the forest; 4-2
Good tourism experience; 4-24, 22-26
Common understanding between chiefs and community; 10-41
Customer understanding

Eco-tourism; 2-1, 4-1, 7-2, 8-14, 16-1, 18-2, 20-1, 16-1, 27-42
Domestic tourism; 1-2, 4-11, 14-3, 14-4, 14-5
Tourists come for forest; 1-12, 3-4, 12-10, 14-1, 22-27, 24-6, 26-46
Walkway to falls; 2-1, 3-4, 12-28, 18-10, 18-11, 27-44
See culture; 3-21, 5-15, 27-20
Bat colony; 4-6
Rising tourism standards (Also part of **Customer understanding**); 15-3

Appendix C. Research results

All the interviews have been worked out digitally in separate files. Each was individually and critically reviewed on important topics. Important topics were marked in the document and coded into a general descriptive word or sentence. Each was given a unique combination for easy access and reference. The coded terms were also placed in categories; Suggestion and improvements, Challenges, Problems, Tourism positive, Tourism negative, Solutions, Goals, Government and administration, Culture and perception, Essentials for tourism and Customer understanding. The coded terms are described in the random order that follows the original data.

Out of the coded data, conclusion can be drawn. First of all it is important to note that, conclusions drawn from this data are based on opinions or public opinions. These are not necessarily true, but nevertheless important. The importance of some subjects can clearly be seen by the number of representatives who mention this subject. Other subjects come from expert-knowledge of the topics, knowledge not many respondent have. Other subjects are controversial or taboo topics, which might not be repeated by many respondents.

From this range of codes a selection has been made, based on a combination of importance to the respondents, useful contributions and expert opinions combined with the gained insight about the topics from the researcher. The codes will be presented in different categories.

The original data upon which these conclusions were based can be found in appendix A.

Challenges

- Bad roads; is a challenge that has been mentioned by almost every respondent. Many see the need and added benefit of a good road for tourism. It is a common belief that when the road will be improved, it will attract more tourists.
- Bad fund management; has been mentioned by many respondents when the Tourism Management Team (TMT) was discussed. There is a general feeling that the funds and income can be better managed. Many think that better management of the funds will yield more results.
- Bad communication between the office and hotels; has not been mentioned by many. This is understandable, because not many of the respondents have information about this communication flow. This is an important issue that has been pointed out and therefore selected, but also an example of the overall communication between different parties.
- Tourists feel cheated (due to bad information); is something that some of the respondents have noticed. This can be seen as expert-knowledge as not every respondent is aware of this situation or state of mind of tourists. An important realisation and point brought forward, because it might affect future recommendations about the falls and tourism in Wli.
- Guides misbehave; is closely related to the previous point. A point noticed by completely different respondents then those who mentioned that tourists feel cheated. Combined, they show that the way tourists are handled around the tourist office, as most respondents described this as a process happening around the tourist office, can be improved upon.
- Community only cares about money; has been mentioned directly and indirectly by several respondents. In general, when people in Wli think of tourism, they only think about the income from the falls. Most citizens don't care or don't see the many other aspects and effort that is put into tourism by some of the people.
- Community is not clean; many respondents have pointed out that the community can look cleaner and nicer. Especially the paths, roads and area around the falls could be cleaner. There is too much garbage and plastic littering around which looks bad and gives Wli a bad image.

- Misunderstandings; has been mentioned by quite a few respondents as the source of many problems. A good observation by the respondents, which not only shows that the respondents see challenges, but also notice what lies at the root of some of these challenges.

- Not much left for re-investment; several respondents with expert knowledge have explained how the falls income is divided. They have also explained that after everything is divided and the operational and other costs are subtracted from this, there is generally not much left to re-invest in the community. This is in contrary to popular belief by the community, which causes misunderstandings.

- People expect a lot; is a point that not many respondents have mentioned directly, but can be noted indirectly and through discussing relations with other parties and other topics. Not only do people, as mentioned in the topic; 'Not much left for re-investment', expect that there is a lot of money coming in from the falls. But that most of it is embezzled or misused instead of re-invested in the community. It should also be noted that people expect a lot from each other in daily relations and when it comes to responsibilities. In general there is a high expectation from other parties to help and solve any issues that come across the life of citizens. People generally expect that any problem they individually face, needs to be solved by others, or they should at least receive help from others in solving their own issues. This puts enormous pressure on public figures or those with an income to support those around them, leaving them without the opportunity to develop further, or driving them away.

- TMT does not listen; is noted by some respondents and refers to their lack of interaction with the community. They are perceived to act without informing the public or without discussing investments and other actions with either the chiefs or the community.

- TMT has too much power; is seen by a different set of respondents compared to those commenting on 'TMT does not listen' above. This point closely resembled the previous, where respondents feel that TMT acts too much with accounting for their actions to the chiefs and community.

Problems

- Youth revolt; was a topic that was mentioned by a lot of respondents. The actions of the youth around February 2014, during this time they marched to the tourist office in anger about the lack of accountability and unwillingness of one of the shop owners to pay rent. This social action was clear in many people's mind and therefore mentioned by many. Both in positive and negative manners, condemning them or supporting their action.

- Corruption; has been noted by some respondents as a serious problem in the office. A sensitive subject that perhaps not all respondents are willing to mention. People think that corruption in the tourist office, TMT and generally with authority figures puts pressure on the funds that remain for re-investment in the community.

- Lack of financial accountability; is seen by many respondents as a serious problem. Not many people know what the actual balance of income from the falls is. This absence of knowledge creates a lot of mistrust in the community.

- Landowners stop land abuse; is regarded by a large number of respondents as a problem and threat to the forest. Many respondents think that the landowners of the forest should stop using their land and stop cutting trees to let the forest grow again. Both for tourism and for the general good of the area.

- Youth and elders relation; is sometimes difficult. A few respondents have remarked upon this division in the community and are afraid this might cause problems.

- Can't meet tourist demands; can be explained as not being able to accommodate the growing number of tourists. It also means not being able to meet the rising standards that tourists have. And lastly what tourists expect of the falls, the tourist office, hotels and town in general.

- Landowners not paid; refers to the government policy which created the protected forest, but never compensated the landowners for this. This is considered to be the root cause of the problems with regard

to land ownership and income around the falls.

- No long term mind; has been mentioned directly and indirectly by some respondents as a serious problem that stands in the way of good planning and development. The inability to make sacrifices or invest in ones future heavily influences many decisions to start new businesses and affects the success of new initiatives.

- Land (income) disagreement; noted by a big number of the respondents as a serious problem that needs to be resolved before any progress can be made. This debate in the minds of many respondents is not resolved and is dominating much of the discussions and influenced progress and relations in town.

- No unity; has been mentioned by quite a few respondents as a problem that stands in the way of development.

- No cooperation; is also mentioned by a large number of respondents as a problem.

- No trust; together with no cooperation and no unity, these three topics are considered by many people to be standing in the way of good development. It limits the resources that come from the falls and many also think that when these topics can be improved, much more can be achieved. Some have tried to explain these problems due to grievances, jealousy, envy or illiteracy and poor education.

- Landowners left without means; many people understand the problem that the landowners of the forest face. They acknowledge that when the landowners can't use their land for farming nor to feed themselves or create additional income they are in a difficult position. This is putting pressure on them to use their land for farming anyway. Which many people understand and which is also why many people would like to see this issue resolved once and for all.

- People assume abuse by leaders; is a state of mind that several respondents have talked about. They explained that the community or at least most of the citizens have mistrust for public or authority figures. They also naturally assume that leaders abuse their position and it is hard to convince them otherwise. Public figures are usually not appreciated and treated with mistrust and the discriminating idea that they always misuse their position.

- Interference/(community) disrupts TMT; a large number of respondents have commented on the relationship between TMT, the chiefs and the community. This relationship is not seen as productive and many think that TMT could be more productive without the interference of the community or the chiefs. This interference is caused by a general mistrust in the actions of TMT. This is influencing their effectiveness and willingness to initiate new projects according to many respondents.

- TMT does not inform/create understanding with community; is seen by some respondents to be the cause of much interference and mistrust of TMT.

- There are conflicts/tensions; is related to the lack of trust, unity and cooperation. 'Misunderstandings' which was one of the challenges is also at the foundation of the mentioned conflicts and tensions by the respondents.

- No unity within landowners; can be considered expert knowledge as not many respondents can honestly comment on these relations. A few respondents explained that there are tensions and no unity within the landowners which is creating problems of its own.

- Chiefs take TMT-money; was originally classified as a solution, but is more suited as a problem. Many people in the community do not agree that the chiefs take money from the TMT-funds for their use.

Suggestions and improvements

- Marketing; a topic mentioned by many respondents, which can be a useful contribution to the future of tourism in Wli. A good marketing plan and strategy can attract more tourists and should become an important part for any future plans and actions.

- Improve office and facilities; also a topic shared by many respondents. This is one of the topics that most people can support, this can be created into a common goal for the community. This common goal can

help bring people together in their shared support for this goal.

- Educate tourist office; an important topic, but not mentioned by many respondents because it does not come to mind easily. Nevertheless it is a topic that many people can support and see the use of it. The goal of educating the people in the tourist office is too ensure tourists remain satisfied, better management and accounting could also increase the productivity of the office and increase the availability of funds to the public and increase the output of projects.

- Improve schools and building of a secondary school; Once again these are topics that are mentioned by many respondents. And just like the improvement of the office and facilities can be seen as a common goal that the whole community can support. It can benefit the whole traditional area. Support and organisation for this suggestion can help unite people and increase cooperation.

- Hotels can help future of tourism; several respondents have noted that the contribution of the hotels to the future of tourism can benefit them all. The hotels receive regular feedback from tourists which can be useful. Their private promotion is also helping the overall promotion of Wli. Some also feel that hotels should help more.

-TMT find alternative for landowners (take pressure off); several respondents agree that because the landowners can't use their land to gather extra income, they are under pressure. Creating an alternative source of income, might take the pressure of their dependence on their land. This in turn could be beneficial for the forest.

Solutions

- Community, landowners, TMT, TMB dialogue; a good solution that has been selected because it promotes cooperation, has the potential to solve issues and can help create mutual understanding and appreciation.

- Government should help; this is a topic that has been mentioned by many respondents, which is why it has been selected. This topic has the potential to become a common goal, where the citizens of Wli together try to lobby for increased government funding. But it could very easily turn into a common enemy, this unites the citizens of Wli. But estranges the government and taints this relationship. A path that should not be taken as it is not constructive and does not create a solution.

- Good cooperation; another topic that has been brought forward by many respondents as a good solution for improvement. This is a very important point if the whole traditional area wants to progress. To develop tourism as a whole is too big a task for one person, which is why it needs good cooperation to succeed.

- Tourism management board; has been commented by several respondents as an organisation that has been dissolved. There are some who feel that they should be re-instated, others think that it will be better if TMT and the chiefs have direct contact.

Government and administration

- Tourism management board; for explanation please see **Solutions**
- Land disagreement; for explanation please see **Problems**
- Leftover re-investment; for explanation please see **Tourism positive**
- Hierarchy; several respondents have remarked upon the hierarchy in Wli. When discussing tourism, its future and responsibility, hierarchy was a common subject. Some respondents have placed responsibility and the future of tourism solely with TMT. Others commented that the chiefs have the final responsibility and should act upon it. The hierarchy and responsibilities were not always clear to some respondents, which can cause a lack of action.
- TMT responsibility; has been a topic during several of the interviews. What are and what are not the responsibilities of TMT was discussed with several respondents. The results varied amongst the respondents, from which can be concluded that the responsibilities of TMT are not clear to all parties.

- Tourism future; who is responsible for the future of tourism? As can be concluded from the subjects; 'Hierarchy' and 'TMT responsibility', is not always clear.
- Chiefs check TMT; there are many respondents who find that the chiefs should/ are checking TMT. They considered this too be an important role of the chiefs and also a good way to create accountability for TMT.
- Government should (not) take over; has been a discussion that some respondents mentioned. There were a few in favor for this measure, but most did not support this. They felt that they would lose everything that they build, should the government take over. Many respondents are very protective with regard to management of the falls.
- Chiefs need to inform community; is a responsibility some respondents mentioned. They see it as the task of the chiefs to ensure that the community is well informed. The current lack of information with the community, is considered by those respondents to be the responsibility of the chiefs.
- Chiefs lack control; is a point that a few respondents have commented upon. Especially regarding the youth, they consider that the influence of the chiefs and their form of control is lacking. This is something that they regard as negative.

Culture and perception
- No long term mind; for explanation please see **Problems**
- Farmers mind; is explained as the mentality of the community with regard to new projects and in general. Most of the citizens of Wli consider their farm to be an important possession and form of social security. It provided them with food and an opportunity to gather additional income. Those who commented on this subject, explained that new projects can only succeed if it does not interfere with farming. When people have to choose between supporting a new project or investment for the future and additional income, but which has the risk of not being able to work their farm, most people would not take this risk and pass upon the opportunity.
- People expect a lot; for explanation please see **Challenges**
- Family protection; can be explained in different ways. The first is that people who do not perform well in a function are usually not fired but protected by their family despite their poor performance. This way of management is not constructive and is not supportive for innovation and progress. People are not held accountable nor responsible for their actions. Another way to explain this subject is when a person has committed a crime or broken a law, it is hard to accuse that person. He or she will be hidden by their family should the police arrive and those who accused that person, rightly so, of a crime committed risk the wrath of an entire family.
- Landowners allow others to profit; is a mentality that some of the landowners possess. The position is not that the falls belong to the whole community, but rather that they allow the community to also receive an income from the falls. Their feelings of possession and ownership of falls could possibly be an obstacle in finding a constructive solution for the landownership and income debate.

Tourism positive
- Community benefits; many people see the positive effect tourism has on the community. The generated income from the falls has helped develop the town, for example many people have mentioned the 'water project'. Which is the current project of TMT to provide the whole of the community with fresh and clean water.
- Attracts investment; is another positive aspect that many people see. They realise that exposure of the town to tourists creates a willingness to help local projects or investment in the community.
- Increases mutual understanding; has been commented on by some respondents as a good aspect of tourism. Both the tourists and the citizens of Wli can learn from each other. Moreover, tourists and volunteers can bring new knowledge and insights to the community from which they can benefit.

- Leftover re-investment; the community acknowledges that the falls are generating income which is re-invested into town. A positive aspect that not many communities can benefit from and which is appreciated from tourism.

Tourism negative
- People expect a lot; for explanations please see **Challenges**.
- Trouble over falls income; a few respondents have commented on the rivalry between Wli Apegame and Wli Agoviepe. This rivalry is fed by the division of the falls income, both sides want a larger share and base their argument on their claim to the falls.

Goals
- More local sales; several respondents think that an increase in shops for tourists will be good for the community. It can generate extra income and with the increase in tourism numbers it will create extra income for the community. Some have mentioned that visitors need to become aware and trust that they can get everything they need at Wli and not take goods from other places. This will benefit Wli.

Essentials for tourism
- Town friendliness; is considered by many people to essential for tourism. They understand that town friendliness is a good promotion for Wli and that it helps tourism.

Customer understanding
- Eco-tourism; has been mentioned by many respondents. By eco-tourism they mean that tourists come for a natural attraction, in this case the waterfalls. This realisation is important because it shows a good understanding of the motivation for tourists to come to Wli.
- Tourists come for forest; additional to the falls, many respondents acknowledge that a large number of the tourists not only come for the falls. But that it is the combination of the nice walk to forest and the natural surroundings to the falls that is an attraction to tourists. This understanding is important because it might affect future development plans and clashed with some ideas for development in the area.

Conclusions drawn from the research results

After careful consideration the following subjects have been chosen and arranged in the categories below. A motivation for these particular topics will be discussed point by point, together with an explanation of the topic. These topics were chosen for their importance to tourism, applicability, considered importance to the different partners and ability to solve or use the topic in the future by the citizens of Wli.
The previous categories; challenges and problems have been combined into the category challenges. Important aspects of tourism is a combination of several categories, as is management and culture. The category suggested solutions and improvements from respondents is a combination of the previous categories; Suggestions & improvements and solutions.

Challenges

- Unsatisfied tourists

- Lack of unity

- Falls income and land management disagreements

Management and culture

- Failing hierarchy and unclear responsibilities

- High expectations

- No long term mindset

Important aspects of tourism

- Tourists come for both the forest and falls

- Community benefits from the falls income and tourism attracts investments

- Increase of mutual understanding and new ideas

Suggested solutions and improvements from respondents

- Increased accountability and good cooperation

- More dialogue between the community, Tourism Management Team (TMT) and the landowners

- Find an alternative income for the landowners/users and solve the land dispute

Unsatisfied tourists

Motivation

Unsatisfied tourists is a combination of: 'Tourists feel cheated', 'Guides misbehave' and 'Can't meet tourist demands'. The reason why this subject has been put on top of the list is because of its natural importance to the success of tourism. Unsatisfied tourists can be seen as indicator that improvements can be made. It is also important to contain, as it might affect the future of tourism. Unsatisfied tourists are bad advertisement for Wli and could possibly influence the decision of future visitors to go or not go. It is paramount that people continue to realise that the benefits from tourism can only continue as long as tourists continue to visit Wli. Tourists can leave Wli with an unsatisfied feeling from many experiences, starting at the ride to Wli, experience at the hotel, tourist office or for example experience of the falls.

Explanation

The rising number of tourists is putting pressure on the facilities of Wli, the continued increase in tourist standards and demands can also be a reason why Wli is not always meeting tourists' demands. As mentioned by respondents, tourists sometimes feel cheated. This could be caused by an unclear pricelist or the way this information is presented to them. Many western tourists are unfamiliar with the idea of paying several times separately at several people instead of a complete an all-inclusive price. This can make them feel cheated, which can be avoided with good information. It has also been noted that guides sometimes misbehave or drink before or during work. A good example that has been mentioned is the case where a pair of tourists were guided to the upper falls. At the start of the walk they were explained by their guide that he would like a tip of, for example 10 cedi afterwards, to which the tourists agreed. At the end of the trip they presented the guide with a tip of 10 cedi, who through misunderstanding meant to ask for 10 cedi each. This made the tourists feel cheated, upon which the guide became angry and misbehaved towards the tourists. Afterwards the tourists explained that if they were informed in advance of the price they would have understood and agreed to this. The reaction of the guide is an example of unprofessional behavior and the tourists left with a bad or unsatisfied experience.

Lack of unity

Motivation

Lack of unity is a combination of several important points that describe the internal relations in town, but also influences cooperation. A large number of respondents have noted upon the lack of trust, lack of unity and lack of cooperation in town. This is an important challenge that needs be overcome. Without trust and unity there can't be full cooperation, which is important for the future of tourism.

Explanation

As mentioned, this point is based upon several different topics with respondents. Bad cooperation in town can be explained by the lack of unity and mutual trust between inhabitants. Some respondents have tried to explain this lack of trust through envy, grievances, jealousy or poor education. However no conclusion about the cause can be drawn without further research in this matter.

Falls income and land management disagreements

Motivation

It is clear from the interviews, observations and discussions with the citizens of Wli that this topic is on the mind of many people. This topic has been mentioned in various forms and has been combined into a single point. The importance of this topic too many citizens of Wli is clear, which is why it has been chosen as an important point for the conclusion. Some respondents have claimed that no progress can be made until this issue is resolved.

Explanation

When people were asked about tourism in Wli, many of them mentioned TMT. For many, tourism and TMT are clearly linked and they don't think about one, without linking it to the other. For most respondents and citizens of Wli it is unclear how tourism exactly works, how much money is coming, the expenditure and the effort it takes to successfully manage this. This lack of information and understanding has turned into a big issue for a large number of citizens. Many think that the funds earned by tourism are badly managed, they see large numbers of tourists visiting the falls and are wondering why there are no bigger investments in the community. Misunderstandings are fuelling this topic and creates further mistrust.

They see the lack of financial accountability as the source of this problem. Some respondents reason that since TMT is not accounting their finances properly, there must be something to hide. Not necessarily true, but it is an important idea or feeling for a large number of the citizens of Wli. There is even talk of corruption at the tourist office by several respondents, a strong accusation. All these points support the discussion that the income from the falls is in dispute, badly managed or corrupt.

Other aspects that according to the respondents influence the management of the tourist office and falls income is the interference of the community or chiefs at the tourist office. This interference is once again based upon mistrust and lack of information. The youth revolt aimed at the tourist office and TMT is an example mentioned by some as interference. Many have also pointed out that these interferences are disrupting all attempts by TMT to initiate or finish projects in the communities. By interference of the chiefs is mostly meant the taking of money from TMT funds by the chiefs. People are unhappy about this and think that the money taken by the chiefs is coming out of the leftover for re-investment in the communities. Lastly there were several respondents who talked about the current TMT and how this group is not listening to the community or feedback. Some say they wield too much power and are not held in check.

Land disagreement is closely linked to tourism by many respondents. As mentioned earlier, this is considered to be an important topic for most citizens. Most feel that this issue is not resolved and that this debate is creating a rift within the communities. Income and management of the falls and income from the falls is central in this debate.

Failing hierarchy and unclear responsibilities

Motivation

Out of the interviews a lack of action and initiative can be noticed, mostly this was explained by placing the responsibility upon another party. Development of tourism needs action and initiative to be taken, which is why this topic is important and needs to be part of the conclusions.

Explanation

During the conversations about tourism and the management of tourism many people have explained the hierarchy within Wli. This is an important aspect for most respondents, but is also an unclear aspect. Many respondents gave different answers on who has final responsibility for tourism and who is responsible for what part. From this it can be concluded that the hierarchy and responsibilities are unclear. This has not helped tourism progress, many respondents who are part of tourism were unwilling to take action because they felt it was not their responsibility. Rather than taking action, the responsibility has been placed with another party. This has caused a pass-the-buck mentality that has slowed the progress and development of tourism down.

High expectations
Motivation
High expectations is a point that was made by many respondents indirectly and an important conclusion from observations. This mentality and cultural aspect is putting a lot of pressure on some key figures in town. It is important that this topic is discussed and part of the conclusions.
Explanation
High expectations can be explained in two ways, the first is that people expect an enormous income-generation from the waterfalls. As mentioned with the point; 'Falls income and land management disagreements'. This high expectation, followed by a lack of big, noticeable projects in the communities has created mistrust and bad relations in Wli. Lack of information is at the root of this problem. Another way this point can be seen is with personal relations. People generally have high expectations of others in the form of help and support. To most citizens it is only natural that others help and support them, without considering if the other person even has the means or can spare the expense. This puts a lot of pressure on public figures, people who are considered to have access to funds or are expected of having means. These persons are expected to share any resources they possess or can get their hands on, which puts a lot of pressure on them. The expectations are usually so high, that these expectations can't be met. Which can only lead to disappointment and feeds mistrust.

No long term mindset
Motivation
This mentality has been specifically mentioned by some respondents as hampering progress and is therefore an important point in the conclusion.
Explanation
There is a general lack of long term thinking in Wli. Many inhabitants only consider short term goals and plans or willingly sacrifice long term goals for short term goals. This mentality is affecting tourism development and strategic planning, but also entrepreneurship and business successes. People are unwilling to for example pay for training or education. They feel that they should be paid for their time, rather than seeing this as in investment in their future. The overall lack or willingness to invest in the future or long term projects has slowed development. Support is hard to find for projects who do not offer their yields right away. Unfortunately this includes any projects that are important to the development of tourism.

Tourists come for both the forest and falls
Motivation
Like the point; 'Unsatisfied tourists', the realisation that tourists come for both the forest and the falls is an important aspect of customer understanding. Future planning needs to be focused on preservation of both the falls and the forest. Which is currently not always an important point on the agenda.
Explanation
Based on observations, conversations, the pricelist and the records at the tourist office it can be noted that there are generally two types of tourists who visit the falls. The first type are the Ghanaian tourists, who are charged a lower price, usually come in big numbers and generally visit only the lower falls. They arrive by bus or public transport and generally do not spend the night in Wli. The second type are the foreign visitors, volunteers or students who are traveling through Ghana and reach Wli. A large part of them spend one or two nights at one of the hotels in Wli. They are paying a higher entrance fee and a bigger percentage of them visit both the lower and upper falls. Generating additional income for the tour guides and office.
The first group would prefer a shorter walk to the lower falls and not all of them appreciate the forest walk. The second group however consider the forest walk an important part of the experience and don't

want to see this spoiled. Based on a short review of the visitor numbers and quick calculations, it showed that overall the foreign visitors were the more profitable group from basic entrance fee. Hotel, food and extra income for the guides was not included in this observation. But to make a good conclusion, the finances for the whole year need to be reviewed and all costs and benefits considered. Nevertheless any plans for the future need to place the customer or tourists central. Understanding their needs is an important part of this.

Community benefits from the falls income and tourism attracts investments

Motivation

Community support for tourism is largely based upon this point. It is also a good, positive aspect of tourism from which support for new projects and ideas can be gathered. This is one of the common goals of Wli, together the citizens can expand the benefits from tourism for all inhabitants.

Explanation

The community recognises the benefits that tourism brings. They understand that the income from the waterfalls has helped develop the town and has potential for the future. Almost all respondents have referred to the water project of the current TMT as a positive aspect of tourism. Others have also noticed that not only does tourism creates an income, jobs and an opportunity for sales. It also exposes potential investors or supporters to the community. They have noticed that the warm welcome tourists receive has made them want to support the community in for example building a nurse-station.

Increase mutual understanding and new ideas

Motivation

Although this point was not mentioned by many respondents, it is considered an important benefit that tourism can bring to Wli. For this reason it has been selected for the concluding points.

Explanation

As explained by the respondents, visitors to Wli can promote mutual understanding. Both parties can learn from each other. This relationship creates mutual respect, but it can also help develop new ideas. Interaction with new people, a fresh look on matters or new ideas can be important inputs that can drive development or help build ideas in Wli.

Increased accountability and good cooperation

Motivation

A considerable number of the challenges discussed above are caused by a lack of information, which in turn is creating mistrust. While discussing challenges within the community a large number of respondents recognized that an increase in accountability will create a better insight and can be a solution to some of the challenges. Combined with the suggestion that cooperation needs to improve, these aspects can help build mutual trust and have the potential to resolve many challenges.

Explanation

An increase in accountability has been described in different forms and refers to different partners. Many people would like to see an increase in accountability from the tourist funds and the tourist office, but TMT and the chiefs have also been named as partners that can increase their accountability. Increasing accountability does not only mean that financial numbers need to be shown and explained to the public. It also means that important decisions need to be pronounced and sometimes explain to other partners or the community. It has also been mentioned that when the financial numbers for the whole year are clear, a good and dependable planning with a good budget can be made.

Good cooperation has also been mentioned by many respondents as an important solution to the challenges and for development in the future.

<u>More dialogue between the community, TMT and the landowners</u>

Motivation

This solution can be the foundation upon which increased accountability, good cooperation and mutual trust will be build. An important solution that has been suggested by the respondents.

Explanation

It has been keenly recognized that the lack of trust within the community is feed by the lack of information, knowledge and understanding of the actions taken by partners and others. At the moment people hardly talk about important issues and there is no opportunity for them to do so. This opportunity needs to be created, more public fora can give people the opportunity to explain their actions, choices and discuss important issues publicly. To resolve issues, discussions, provide accountability and insight it is important that all partners continue to talk to each other openly and freely.

<u>Find an alternative for the landowners/users and solve the land dispute</u>

Motivation

The community recognises the difficult position the landowners are in. As many named it as a big challenge for the community, many also talked about solutions. Most agreed that it is important that this issue is resolved, which is why it is part of the conclusions.

Explanation

As said, the community recognises that those who own the land around the falls are in a difficult position. They are asked not to use their land for farming, which denies them the ability to feed themselves or gather extra income. Many respondents proposed to find an alternative for the landowners or land users to take the pressure of the forest and the landowners. Suggestions have been made to create a trust that could buy the land and manage it for the community, to provide other lands for the landowners or other forms of income such as goats or bee-keeping. It has been mentioned by several that we need to please the landowners to avoid them cutting trees and abusing the forest. The best way to find a solution that is acceptable to all parties and that can end the discussion or dispute is good cooperation between all parties.