

# A Narrative and Reflective Assessment of the Institutional Contexts of Strategic Regional Development Programmes and Actor-agency Roles in the Central Region of Ghana

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## Abstract

Evolution, initiation and implementation of regional development programmes implemented over the period 1990-2001 in the Central Region of Ghana involved a maze of institutions of international, national, regional and local stature. These programmes include the Central Regional Integrated Development Programme (CERIDEP), Tourism Development Strategy for the Central Region (TODSCER) and particularly the Natural Resource Conservation and Heritage Preservation (NRCHP) Project (NCRHPP). The Central Regional Co-ordinating Council (CRCC) and its endogenous regional agency, Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM) designed and proposed these in agreement with their relevant stakeholders and partners. Therefore, all the relevant institutions were involved in the developments to various extents. In the post-project era, some of these institutions continue to be engaged in the successive extension and expansion of the NCRHPP's achievement. Therefore, the institutional framework and policy contexts of these programmes remain an imperative attraction. This study is aimed at appraising and assessing the roles, effectiveness and relevant successive sustainability of the institutional contexts and framework of the regional programmes. Practical assessment approaches, mainly the narrative form and reflective learning are emphasised. A number of challenges are also identified and policy proposals made for the amelioration of these.

**Keywords:** Strategic Regional Development Programmes; Institutional Effectiveness; Actor-agency Roles and Relationships; Practical Assessment Approaches; Narrative Form; Reflective Learning.

## 1. Introduction

This study is about an assessment of the institutional context, actor-agency roles and relationships during implementation of major strategic regional development programmes and the era since. The assessment is a narrative and reflective evaluation of the array of institutions involved in the initiation, evolution and implementation of the programmes. The initiatives under focus are the Central Regional Integrated Development Programme (CERIDEP), Tourism Development Strategy for the Central Region (TODSCER) as well as the Natural Resource Conservation and Heritage Preservation Project (NCRHPP). These were implemented between 1990 and 2001. However, some of the original institutions and organisations have continued their involvement in relation to the NCRHPP. The Central Region is a suitable case study in the trend and form of regional development processes in Ghana. It is seen as providing useful lessons for some of the other regions of Ghana. Figure 1 shows the map of Ghana and its existing political-administrative regions.

The assessment is made through the media of structured narrative and reflection, which aim at capturing the multiple and diverse actions, actor roles, interactive relationships and effects of these in relation to aims of the programmes within the Central Region. The strategic programmes involved wide assembly and network of institutions of international, national, regional and sub-regional stature. These played a variety and scales of roles, in the strategic regional development process. Since the critical resources involved under the initiatives are a continuing materiality, some of these organisations continue their involvement in the management and operations of the commissioned projects.

Therefore, the reflective assessment, within the context of experiential learning, and vehicle of the narrative form are critically relevant knowledge frames for this study. These are considered more relevant than formal institutional theories, whether these take the form of hierarchies, market systems or networks. Not all the stakeholder institutions involved in the strategic programmes lend themselves to such analysis, based on formal and structured knowledge.

A specific objective is to assess the roles and effectiveness of each of the identified organisations played through the various stages of the programmes. This perspective covers all phases of CERIDEP, TODSCER and NCRHPP. Another specific objective is to point out the implications of the achievements made for the further and future management of the post-project era and sustainability of the initiatives.

First, the knowledge foundations of the narrative form and reflective learning in the context of experiential learning are explained. Secondly, the institutional assessment is made at the various levels: regional, national, global and international and the operational local levels, with focus on the emergence of the GHCT and its institutional contexts and relationships. Thirdly, the narrative and reflective assessments are more specifically focused on the relationships between GHCT and all the other institutions involved.

GHCT and the Wildlife Division (WD) mainly provide the data and information for this study. Primary data are collected through the use of a research instrument, which is a combination of a semi-structured questionnaire and an interview schedule, in field interviews with the heads of both organisations. GHCT and WD also provide an amount of secondary data and information. Both the primary and secondary data relate to the roles, performance and relationships of the various stakeholder institutions involved in the project implementation and post-project management, where relevant.

## **2. Knowledge of the Narrative and Reflective Approaches in the Assessment of Institutional Contexts and Framework**

### **2.1 The Narrative Approach in Institutional Assessment**

Basically, the narrative approach is about giving a historical account or telling a story about an occurrence or event. It is not mere fictionalisation, telling of folk tales or fables. It is a 'scientific story'. In the context of this paper, the narrative or story-form is about the initiation, involvement, development, implementation and operation of tourism-based initiatives and specifically focused on the institutional roles and relationships involved.

According to Kaplan (1993), the narrative is suitable for giving expression to problematic situations relating to policy analysis and its execution. He argues that it is a powerful tool for organising a person's thoughts about a problematic situation and the world it opens. In the story-form, the actors, acted on, actions, aims, channels of delivery and impacts are brought together (Kaplan, 1993; Fisher and Forester, 1993). Similarly, Kaplan (1993, p. 167) argues that all 'circumstances', 'ends', 'means', 'initiatives' and 'interactions', intended and unintended consequences of human action are unified within the narrative.

Therefore, Kaplan (1993, p. 167) perceives 'stories' as able to 'play an important role in argumentative policy analysis and policy analysts and planners can frame and conduct their arguments through stories'. He argues further that the story-form is useful for making predictions because it provides a 'device for connecting and perfecting findings over time' (Kaplan, 1993, p. 171). In this way, the story vehicle imbibes and integrates the views, understanding and perceptions and values as well as enacted roles of all the actors involved in an act or action.

Essentially, the story-form is capable of grasping together and holistically, interpreting the multiple as well as isolated events. It integrates all the distant values, events and processes in a complex social reality, bringing together all qualitative and quantitative elements. (Kaplan (1993, p. 178) also believes that the narrative should have an internal linkage and underlying consistency among the following elements: 'agent', 'act', 'scene', 'agency' and 'purpose'. "Purpose" also implies 'who', 'what', 'how' and 'why' (Kaplan, 1993, p. 178).

Furthermore, Kaplan (1993, p. 171) argues that the story-form has a structure and that it is 'an organised form of discourse with a plot in three parts: beginning, middle and end', which must be closely inter-linked. Kaplan (1993, p. 182) describes these parts as three distinct stages of history: 'a present of future things, a present of past things and a present of future things'. The narrative or story-form has the personality and power to unify all three 'presents'. Using this structure of the narrative form in combination with reflective learning, elsewhere, 14 individual studies undertaken over 1980-2000 were analysed in terms of the context, aims, objectives and scope, use of tools, methods, techniques, models and outcomes (Ofori, 2000). The last item was focused on the initiation, actor and role, actual act and net impact of the various intervention projects studies.

The three-part structure is applied in the present study. However, it is neither the belief nor the perception that there is a definite end. Rather, there is a 'continuous' or 'successive end'. Indeed, in the procedural planning process, there is a direct link between the ex post evaluation stage and the initial stages of appropriate institutionalisation and scanning of the environment for privileged problems. The procedural planning process is continuous and cyclical (Chadwick, 1978; Hall, 1992; Cooke, 1983).

### **2.2 Reflective and Experiential Learning**

In the absence of a survey-based research strategy and general methodology, the study depends on interactions and field interviews with key leaders of the organisation, depending on context and relevance. Therefore, this depends on the experiences and views of the few or isolated respondents in relation to the roles and involvement of their respective organisations in relation to the regional development initiatives involved. Thus in terms of design and data limitations of the study, it is considered useful to adopt a reflective approach and centred within the wider context of experiential learning. Herein lays the relevance of experiential and reflective learning in practical and institutional assessment.

Experiential learning is a process of observing and analysing personal and group experience of any situation or event and identifying lessons to guide subsequent or future personal and group actions in relation to achieving an objective in the personal or group context. In taking the future action(s), guided by the lessons learned and achieving the desired objectives, the learner-actor goes through a transformation and adaptation process in terms of gaining new knowledge about themselves and their environment with progressive outcomes.

Such practical learning also involves reflection and being reflective about the lessons learned, the way and manner the new knowledge is gained and, in particular, its value and usefulness.

The leading thinkers and philosophers on experiential learning include John Dewey, Jean Piaget and Kurt Lewin (Kolb, 1984; Ofori, 2000). However, David Kolb has distilled their ideas into simpler forms and scripted on his own. Kolb (1984) particularly emphasises the value of new learning in bringing about adaptation and transformation in the learner and their environment, change resulting from the social learning. He proposes that this experiential process of social learning can be organised into four stages: (1) concrete experience; (2) reflective observation; (3) abstract conceptualisation; and (4) active experimentation (Kolb, 1984).

These four stages are inter-dependent and not discrete. Concrete experience relates to perceiving, having gut feelings and hunches about the situation or event experienced, without making any assessments, judgements or conclusions. Virtually, it is a passive stage in the experiential learning process. In reflective observation, the learner or person experiencing the event or situation makes thoughtful weighing of the new learning gained and makes it a material basis for any subsequent action or inaction. Reflective observation includes both affective and cognitive learning. Boud, Keogh and Walker (1985) have observed that such reflective analysis could related to value judgements as well as a critique of the constructs by which one values others.

Abstract conceptualisation involves making generalisations and theorisations about the experienced event or situation for guiding subsequent actions and events. It may include guiding ideas, principles and underlying laws. Rounds of learning could also be revised in this way. This stage may also include making comparisons, deductive reasoning and component analysis. This stage is most emphasised and applied in the practical assessment of the institutional contexts and framework of the regional development programmes.

At active experimentation, previous learning and derived generalisations are or may be revised. On this basis, action plans are made to implement or 'experiment' on the new knowledge. It has been observed elsewhere that: 'The action plan should have an in-built monitoring and feedback mechanism but should also be monitored in relation to subsequent stages of concrete experience, reflective observation and abstract conceptualisation' (Ofori, 2000, p. 23).

In a similar way, Donald Schon (1991) has argued for an epistemology of practice for all professional practitioners in whom reflective learning is the driver of new knowledge and effective change. This is also seen against technical rationality and positivistic methodology. Reflective practice involves challenging orthodoxy of ideas and thinking and developing an enduring quality of self-criticism. Schon (1991) argues in support of an epistemology of practice that is implied in the artistic and intuitive process as well as in situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict. Professionals need to have an attitude of conscious reflection with respect to the tools and objects of their practice. Schon argues that knowledge is only evident in our actions so practitioners should live by 'knowing-in-action' and 'reflection-in-practice'. Knowledge gained in this way may be commonsensical, spontaneous and contingent.

Knowing-in-action is as important as reflection-in-action so that practitioners are able to critically analyse and instantly evaluate the understandings they gain. In this manner, they are able to restructure, reconstruct and embody new knowledge into their subsequent action, apart from gaining tacit knowledge. Therefore 'Reflecting in action and practice makes one a ready learner and practitioner, a researcher right in the context of practice' (Ofori, 2000, p. 5). In this way, thinking and knowledge are not separated in action. Indeed, 'Reflecting in action and practice' provides a basis and context for meta-learning, meta-thinking and meta-action. In the context of this study, these ideas and views about experiential and reflective learning inform a practical approach to an assessment of the institutional roles and effectiveness for the strategic regional programmes.

### **3. Beginning**

#### **3.1 Assessing Effectiveness of Institutional Contexts and Actor-agency Roles**

The institutions and organisations being assessed are listed in Table 1. Their roles and contributions in relation to the strategic regional programmes are unfolded according to the narration, with relevant elements of the knowledge structures applied in the assessment process. This is the Beginning of the story of regional development in the Central Region.

##### **3.1.1 Regional Institutions and Evolvement of Strategic Regional Policy**

In 1987, the Central Regional Administration (CRA) had introduced an informal regional development plan for the 1987-1992 periods and indicated the general strategic role of tourism in the development of the Central Region (Central Regional Administration, 1987). It also emphasised the need to confront the general problem of disadvantage and deprivation and particularly, rural development. CRA observed that the Central Region was receiving 40 per cent of all tourist visits to Ghana at the time. However, the region lacked the necessary infrastructure. Figure 2 is a map of the Central Region showing its 20 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly (MMDA) areas.

More specifically, it was recognised that there was greater abject poverty, weak and declining economic

development, little or low employment levels and opportunities, equally low incomes, especially of farmers in the predominantly subsistence-based agriculture as well as most operators in the Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). Consequently, the regional development problem was further manifested in the ‘net emigration from the region’ (Agyare, 1997, p. 131) or ‘outmigration’, especially of the youth (USAID, 2001, p. 9). As the GHCT (2002, p. 2) put it, ‘outmigration had assumed serious proportions’.

In 1988, the Central Regional Office of the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) – formerly Ghana Tourism Board – proposed to the CRA that tourism development could be a solution to the problems of the Region. In this consultation, GTA expressed interest in designing a joint regional tourism strategy with the CRA. It was also realised that there was need to create an endogenous regional development institution to tackle the whole problem of regional socio-economic development. Although there was a state-originated Regional Development Corporation at the time, it had virtually failed to generate effective economic development in the region (*Regional Development Corporation Act, 1973 (N.R.C.D. 140)*; Republic of Ghana, 1973).

In late 1988 to early 1989, the CRA embarked on two major regional initiatives. First, it proposed a multi-dimensional regional development programme on an informal basis in tentative terms. Secondly, the CRA initiated processes towards establishing its own and endogenous regional development organisation. Both ventures constituted an innovative initiative which was also a smash at orthodoxy in development thought and practice in Ghana, with focus on generating development from within and directly addressing deprivation and disadvantage. A problematic of the situation was that the region’s problem of development also included an institutional challenge which needed to be resolved before any development strategy could be executed.

However, an ambiguity of this situation was that the Regional Secretary – now regional Minister – was the chairman of the existing exogenous regional agency and would also be the chairman of the new endogenous regional organisation. Nevertheless, the Regional Secretary and CRA recognised that a real future of progressive development could not be entrusted to the Central Regional Development Corporation (CEREDEC). Therefore, whether this existed or not they would have their own. CEREDEC was out of touch with the people of the region and not in full grasp of its problems, delivering to its own or those of Central Government. At a personal encounter with the Regional Secretary at the time, he intimated that he and the CRA would approach the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Ghana Mission) for possible financial assistance to implement their proposed programmes.

In early 1989, CRA introduced its Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM). CRA meant CEDECOM to be an institution of regional planning, investment promotion, programme monitoring and evaluation. It was also meant to be ‘a clearing house’ for programmes of the Ministries, Departments and Agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the private sector and the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). CEDECOM was also perceived as enhancing the ‘capacity’ of the CRA ‘to co-ordinate and integrate all regional development plans and activities and supervise implementation of the integrated development programme’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9).

Immediately on its introduction, CRA directed CEDECOM to carry out a regional study and determine the real comparative advantage of the region. As Agyare (1997, p. 131) describes this strategic move, ‘In view of the ... observation, the Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM), under the auspices of the Central Regional Administration in 1989 commissioned a study of the region to assess areas where the region has a comparative economic advantage. This was performed with the view to harnessing them to lift the region from its “economic slumber”.’

Out of its 1989 regional survey, CEDECOM identified the following as areas of its comparative advantage: forest reserves and wildlife, beaches along the 160 km coastline of the region historic and built heritage of castles and forts<sup>1</sup> and major traditional festivals celebrated in the principal urban communities: Cape Coast, Winneba, Anomabo and Elmina. On the basis of these results, the CRA and CEDECOM became more convinced that a regional tourism strategy would promote sustainable tourism and economic development, conservation of the forest bio-diversity, related environments as well as attract more people into the region. It was also the expectation that these planks of strategic regional development would create greater ‘opportunities for economic activities to stem the emigration of the youth and catalyse both the ethno-cultural and economic growth of the locality’ (Agyare, 1997, p. 131).

CEDECOM formally agreed and re-shaped the earlier regional development proposals made by the CRA. The strategic initiative was titled the Central Regional Integrated Development Programme (CERIDEP). It contained project dimensions on agriculture, fisheries, rural development, tourism and the promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). A principal aim of CERIDEP was addressing the ‘problems of lack of investments, socio-economic decline and low incomes in the Region’ (USAID, 2001, p. 34). A second aim was to stimulate ‘the region’s economy by developing industries, based on these assets with tourism as the lead sector’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9). Another aim under CERIDEP was to attract ‘investments to support micro-enterprise development and agricultural production as a basis for medium and large-scale agro-processing industries’ (USAID, 2001., p. 9).

According to CEDECOM (2011, p. 4), a specific object of CERIDEP was ‘to strengthen the capacity of the’ Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) in the Central Region ‘to implement and co-ordinate and manage a Regional Development Strategy using CEDECOM as the technical secretariat under the aegis of the Regional Co-ordinating Council’. A second objective was ‘to support the private sector by putting in place a mechanism that triggers accelerated private investments first in the established economic sectors of the Region and ... in new ventures where the Region has a clear comparative advantage’ (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 4). Another objective was ‘to promote traditional agriculture, fisheries and agro-forestry in a manner which improves productivity with maximum benefits targeted at the poor and disadvantaged in both rural and urban areas, notably women’ (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 4).

Further consultations between the CRA-CEDECOM and GTA produced a focalised strategy under the broad frame or portfolio of CERIDEP, still in relation to tourism. This was called the Tourism Development Scheme for the Central Region (TODSCER). ‘The principal objective of TODSCER was to serve as a regional entity to formulate policy and to co-ordinate multi-sectoral activities required for developing the region into an internationally competitive tourism destination.’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9). TODSCER became the Tourism Unit of CEDECOM and was directly responsible to the Commission for capacity building and activities in the tourism sector’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9). GTA co-operated with CEDECOM in the promotion of TODSCER’s aims and under which it carried out a number of initiatives. These would be unfolded as the narration flows on.

### 3.1.2 Contact With Global and International Institutions

CRA, with the involvement of CEDECOM, did contact the UNDP (Ghana Mission) for initial financial assistance with their regional development programmes as the Regional Secretary at the time had indicated. This invited a UNDP Familiarisation Mission to the Central Region in July 1989. Apart from accepting to provide some assistance, the UNDP Mission and the critical leaders of the CRA, CEDECOM and GTA agreed to expand the TODSCER component within CERIDEP. One emphasis was still on the conservation of ‘the natural, historic and cultural assets of the Region’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9). Another was further on tourism-based regional economic development. A third one was supporting micro-enterprise development and agricultural production in the promotion of ‘large-scale agro-processing industries’ (USAID, 2001, p. 9).

In response to CRA’s request, the UNDP provided CEDECOM with a Technical Assistance grant of US\$3.4 million for the period, 1990-1993, which the Government of Ghana matched with ‘counterpart funding’ of US\$2.4 million, totalling US\$5.8 million. Altogether, this amount was meant to provide the following: (1) purchase of automobile vehicles and other equipment; (2) training and consultancy services of international experts; (3) preparation of promotional literature and other material; (4) institutional development and overall capacity of CEDECOM.

Subsequently, the UNDP invited the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to support the CRA-CEDECOM initiatives. In August 1989, USAID (Ghana Mission) sponsored a trip for three project officials led by the Regional Secretary – now regional Minister – at the time to USAID headquarters in Washington D. C., USA. Apart from seeking additional funding and project support the trip was also aimed at initiating and promoting contact with a number of specialised private-sector, Private and Voluntary Organisations (PVOs). These were (1) the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA); (2) Conservation International (CI); (3) the US Chapter of the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS); (4) the University of Minnesota Tourism Centre (UMTC); (5) the Smithsonian Institution and (6) the Debt for Development Foundation. CRA and CEDECOM requested the US PVOs to assist them with the following: (1) project management; (2) natural resource conservation; (3) historic preservation; (4) tourism promotion and marketing; (5) development of museum and interpretative service and (6) debt swaps on conversions. CRA had identified these ‘as key to the success of its plans to develop the region’s economy with tourism as the lead sector’ (USAID, 2001, p. 10).

On their part, the US PVOs formed a Project Formulation Mission composed of their representatives and which visited Ghana in 1990. They interacted with leading Government of Ghana officials, notably those of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MFEP) and representing the Government, UNDP and USAID (Ghana Mission). Other public officials were those of the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB), Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) and the Wildlife Division (WD) of the Forestry Commission. Much effort had been made over the 1988-1990 period to formulate and secure funding for the regional development initiatives of the CRA and CEDECOM. However, CEDECOM was only formally established in 1990.

### 3.1.3 General Achievements Under CERIDEP and TODSCER

#### 3.1.3.1 General Achievements Under CERIDEP

CERIDEP was implemented in two phases: phase 1 from 1990 to 1993 and phase 2 from 1994 to 1997. Phase 1 attracted funding of US\$5.8 million and phase 2, an additional US\$950,000.00. First, initial conservation and preservation works were successfully carried out on Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Fort St. Jago, also in Elmina; all three sites were designated World Heritage Sites by UNESCO. Secondly, the castles project included the creation of international quality museums within Cape Coast and Elmina Castles. Thirdly, Kakum National

Park (KNP) was created as a natural resource conservation base, under formal legislation in 1991/1992. However, the area including the KNP and Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve (AARR) was declared the Kakum Conservation Area (KCA) (see Figure 3). Fourthly, CEDECOM established 'a handicraft production and training centre at Abrafo-Odumase' (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 4).

Fifthly, CEDECOM promoted basic management training for more than 1,000 operators in the micro and SME sectors. These included 'hoteliers, restaurateurs, fish-processors, technology transfer agents, credit providers, marketers and distributors (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 5). CEDECOM also packaged and marketed a number of 'key investment opportunities relating to tourism, oil palm, citrus, pineapple and fish' products at a form of 'Trade and Investment Fairs' (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 5). Similarly, some 'feasibility reports and business plans' were also prepared 'for the region's entrepreneurs as well as video and CD Rom investment documentaries' (CEDECOM, 2011, p. 5). Much depends on the success and/or failure rates of these businesses, to date.

#### 3.1.3.2 General Achievements Under TODSCER

TODSCER was covered under the budgetary allocations under CERIDEP and run concurrently with the main programme, over both phases. The first achievement under TODSCER was the development of a strategy and action plan for marketing and promoting tourism and the Central Region's tourism products. Secondly, an assessment was made of the promising target markets and product preferences. Thirdly, some training was provided for some staff of GTA in tourism marketing and promotion methods. Fourthly, familiarisation tours were organised for 'select tour operators' (USAID, 2001, p. 14). Fifthly, tourism promotional literature was prepared for GTA. Sixthly, some training was also provided for the visitor contact personnel at KNP. A seventh initiative was the preliminary 'assessment of the potential for establishing Cooperative Villages to provide economic initiatives for communities around the Park' (USAID, 2001, p. 14). However, this particular project was not achieved and remained a proposal.

Similarly, under TODSCER, a National Tourism Management Information System – a Geographic Information System (GIS) application – was developed by the University of Illinois 'for collecting, analysing and managing visitor statistics and tourism trends' (USAID, 2001, p., 14). TODSCER also assisted the Ghana Hoteliers Association to reactivate their Regional branch. It also helped with the establishment of the Ghana Tourism Federation and institution of an annual national Tourism Conference. Both CERIDEP and TODSCER were to give birth to the NRCHPP.

## 4. Middle

### 4.1 Evolvement and Initiation of the NRCHPP

By virtual parallel execution, the NRCHPP was to be introduced in the early 1990s and run almost in the same periods as CERIDEP and TODSCER. In July 1991, USAID approved a Technical Assistance and Funding Proposal for a 5-year initiative called the 'Natural Resource Conservation Heritage Preservation' Project (NRCHPP). It had been agreed by the CRA, CEDECOM, other regional agencies, UNDP, USAID and the PVOs as well as other regional and national agencies, including the Government of Ghana as represented by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MFEP), GTA, GMMB and the WD. The Agreement was formally concluded in April 1992. The initiative was a further or more focused tourism strategy on (a) forest reserves and wildlife conservation and (b) historic and built heritage of castles and a fort, both resource forms and assets being continuing ones. It was agreed that the NRCHPP should be managed by the MUCIA, the leading PVO.

USAID then provided a grant of US\$5.6 million to MUCIA as the main grantee and the other PVOs as sub-grantees for implementation and management of the NRCHPP. At the time, it was envisaged that this particular grant could be used to leverage in additional US\$4.0 million in terms of a debt conversion initiatives. However, this aspect of the funding did not materialise because it was observed that the emergent Ghanaian economy made it unnecessary to source funding of this nature.

According to USAID (2001, p. 10),

'The overall goal of the NRCHPP project was to provide the technical assistance and funding needed to support the Central Region's efforts to stimulate economic growth through the exploitation of the region's considerable potential for tourism development ... and preserve several of Ghana's most important cultural and natural assets – namely the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, Fort St. Jago and the Kakum/Assin Attandanso National Park.'

Under the NRCHPP Technical Assistance and Funding Agreement, one aim was 'to conserve' the Central Region's 'tourism resource base and assure' its 'integrated and sustainable development' (USAID, 201, p. 10). Another aim was to 'Promote the region as a quality destination, and support and strengthen the nascent beverage and related sector' (USAID, 2001, p. 10) and 'as catalyst for overall development of the region's economy' (USAID, 2001, p. 10).

Initiated in 1991 and planned to run for 5 years, phase 1 of the NRCHPP was to run up to 1996. However, in August-September 1994, a mid-term, evaluation of the Project was undertaken. It was observed that

'improvements in the Ghanaian economy resulted in the "scarcity" of debts for conversions' (USAID, 2001, p. 10), resulting in a shortfall in the expected Project Funding. So USAID provided an additional US\$3.0 million, bringing the total NRCHPP funding to US\$8.6 million. As a result of the mid-term evaluation, MUCIA requested USAID to have 'the project extended after the end of the first 5-year period in 1996, by an extra year, ending in March 1997. For most of NRCHPP phase 1, project management was provided by CEDECOM, jointly, with MUCIA. CEDECOM was responsible for project management, including financial management within Ghana. MUCIA project Co-ordinator and Finance Manager from Columbus, Ohio made quarterly visits and commented well on progress of work.

However, it was after the mid-term evaluation that MUCIA assumed control over the in-country project management activities. A Resident Advisor of MUCIA was stationed at Cape Coast. And there was a Project Steering Committee consisting of the Regional Minister, Executive Director of CEDECOM and the MUCIA Project Co-ordinator. However, MUCIA's mandate ended in 1997 and one of the PVOs and sub-grantees, Conservation International (CI), was appointed in 1987 to manage implementation of the second or consolidation phase of the NRCHPP. However, it was also decided that in view of the critical assets being continuing ones, there was need to identify or introduce an agency to take up permanent management of the Project after 1996 and into phase 2 as well as the post-project era. The organisation would be in the form of a trust or trusts and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) or NGOs and needed to be supported on an endowment fund.

Phase 1 run from 1991 till 1997. It was based on a 'collaborative partnership' under which a number of public agencies were given technical assistance to implement their part of the project. Thus the GMMB was assisted by US/ICOMOS with historic preservation; WD received help from CI in relation to natural resource conservation. GTA was technically assisted by the University of Minnesota Tourism Centre (UMTC) with respect to tourism promotion and marketing. CRCC also received some assistance with debt swaps by the Debt for Development Foundation. MUCIA was responsible for project management and the establishment of the endowment fund. NRCHPP Phase 2 was to run from 1998 to 2000 and the CI was to implement this initially 2-year phase of the Technical Assistance and Funding Agreement but they ended their mandate by the end of 1988. However, the consolidation phase was extended for an extra year and which ended on 30 June 2001.

#### 4.2 Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT) and the Endowment Fund

Buttressed on natural resource and built heritage conservation and preservation, the Project could not depend on short-term financing. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary to 'ensure sustainable project financing and to move conservation efforts beyond the "aid trap" ' and depending on donor assistance (USAID, 2001, p. 15). It was decided that the solution to this problem could be found in the establishment of an Endowment Fund. As USAID (2001, p. 15) states 'The endowment was to be the capitalization of a fund, invested and managed by a group of Trustees, as well as a means of generating a guaranteed, indefinite and permanent source of income to maintain activities specified in the Trust Deed'. All partners and stakeholders in the project were concerned to ensure the financial sustainability of the essentially long-term initiative, following the termination of the USAID/MUCIA's short-term assistance in September 1996.

An immediate obstacle to this consideration was that US law did not permit the use of its public funds to promote endowment financial support. Under the legislative regime at the time, 'the USAID's involvement in any establishment of endowments ... had been precluded by law from funding endowments with US Government funds' (Keben and Associates, 1995, item 3.2.2). Therefore, the endowment envisaged was not possible until there was a change in the relevant US funding legislation (USAID, 1998; 2001; GHCT, 2002; Keben and Associates, 1995). So it became necessary to enact two pieces of law in the US, i.e. (1) a revision of the United States Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) and (2) promulgation of the Foreign Operations Export Financing and related Programmes Appropriations Act, 1994 (PL 103-87) by the US Congress.

Immediately, the Africa Bureau of USAID and its Mission in Ghana accepted to 'support the establishment of endowments as a means to ensuring sustainability and meeting long-term goals of the programmes in Ghana. Therefore, establishment of endowments became 'a new programming tool for US Government assistance' (Keben and Associates, 1995, p. 6). So it was 'now possible for not-for-profit non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to obtain direct US Government appropriations and use them for purposes of endowments' (Keben Associates).

USAID (Ghana Mission) decided to endow 2 trusts funds for (1) 'the development and maintenance of Kakum National Park and Assin Attandanso Resource Reserve' and (2) 'the historic preservation and maintenance of Elmina and Cape Coast Castles and Fort St. Jago' (Keben and Associates, 1995). Indeed, Keben and Associates Investment Brokers and Consultants in Tourism and Heritage Development were appointed by MUCIA in 1995 to initiate the preservation of Trust Deeds for the 2 resource bases and tourism assets. Subsequently, USAID provided two amounts of US\$850,000.00 and US\$800,000.00 as seed money for establishing the 2 endowments, respectively.

In June 1996, the CRCC initiated actions towards creating the trust/trusts and drew up a list of 17 local

and international trustees for the Castles and Fort Trust and KNP Trust and had both registered under the laws of Ghana on 14 August 1996. – i.e. the Trustees Incorporation Act 1962 (Act 206) and as not-for-profit NGOs (USAID, 2001; Keben and Associates, 1995; GHCT, 2002). However, at their inaugural meeting on 31 August 1996, both Trusts decided, among other items, to revise the Trust Deed and ‘reflect the decision of the two Boards of Trustees to unite and constitute one Trust’ called the Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT). Unified, GHCT was to be governed by the 17-member International Board of Trustees (BoTs) with the majority of them being Ghanaian. Currently, the BoTs includes the Director of USAID (Ghana Mission) serving in an ex-officio capacity and in relation to the USAID endowment matters.

GHCT is structured into the following committees: (1) Executive Committee; (2) Parks Committee; (3) Monuments Committee; (d) Finance Committee; (5) Grants Committee. The Park’s Committee includes representatives of the WD and deals with the protection, management and development of natural resources at the project sites and further afield. The Monument committee also has representation of the GMMB and looks after the ‘management and development of cultural and historic heritage’ in the project areas and other parts of the country (GHCT, undated). GHCT is headed by an Executive Director who is assisted by a Deputy Executive Director. They are in turn assisted by a Programmes Manager, Finance and Administrative Manager, Assistant Programme Officers, an Accountant and other supporting staff. Altogether, GHCT has 16 staff. USAID provided GHCT with an additional US\$100,000.00 as start-up grant.

Apart from all the initial grants-in-aid, USAID, through MUCIA and its fellow PVOs provided GHCT with the Endowment Fund capitalisation of US\$2.0 million. This is wholly invested in the US by an appointed Fund Manager, Merrill Lynch, on behalf of GHCT and which benefits only from the interest income for the Fund (USAID, 1998; Keben and Associates, 1995; GHCT 2002). GHCT also derived income from its investment in various ventures and activities as well as outside the main project sites or areas. It has also made short-term and long-term investments in 4 securities companies: Gold Coast Securities, Fidelity Discount House, Data Bank and Strategic African Securities Ltd. The Endowment Fund is also intended to leverage in additional funding from any other sources where GHCT could raise it. GHCT is also required to contribute to growing the original Endowment capital. The Trust pays out 25 per cent of its returns, after all expenses, to various groups, communities and individuals to promote dimensions of its overall mission.

#### 4.3 General Impacts of the NRCHPP

Apart from the considerable emphasis put on the conservation and preservation of historical and natural resources as basis for the development of tourism, there is much emphasis on the regional and particularly Local Economic Development (LED) objectives and initiatives. Indeed, promoting tourism is aimed at leveraging the Central Region from its relatively weak economic development situation and poverty. Therefore, there is dominant emphasis on the ‘economic impact of the project’ and the need to demonstrate ‘that there are linkages between conservation and heritage tourism and economic development’ as well as ‘linkages between heritage tourism and economic growth’ (USAID, 2001, p. 3 and p. 39). However, there is observed investment in local hotel and guesthouse development, both on the KNP area and in the Cape Coast and Elmina urban areas, including the related levels of employment.

Concerns about the well-being and development of the rural and semi-urban communities around the KNP were also much related to the economic consideration. This was justifiable in terms of the fact that the establishment of the KNP and Conservation Area completely altered the economy of these communities, which hitherto, was directly based on resources of the Kakum and Assin Attandanso Forest Reserves. These had been the sources of their livelihood supports (USAID, 2001; Agyare, 1997; Oppong et al., 1997). And the alternative economic activities introduced to provide new sources of their livelihood have been largely unsuccessful. These include bee-keeping, snail-breeding and production of grass-cutters, vegetables and spices (USAID, 2001; Agyare, 1997; Oppong et al., 1997).

Certain projects were also initiated under the NRCHPP but were unsuccessful. These include the (1) Kakum Mineral Water Company to produce distilled water; (2) Kakum Demonstration Farm and Herbarium is tended to train local farmers in sustainable agricultural practices. According to GHCT, this was not well implemented. However, some citrus and oil palm plants remain out of this project.

On the other hand, the KNP Visitor Centre (KNPVC) was constructed and now houses 2 catering spots, 2 gift shops, and a photographic shop, all at Abrafo. GHCT has also developed a Bamboo Crafts Centre at Kruwa for training crafts persons and producing handicrafts for a ready market as well as serving an eco-tourism purpose. These have also generated minimal level of employment. There has also developed a string of micro business and SMEs in the rural and urban communities around the Park and mostly located along the Jukwa Road.

Furthermore, certain spatial and physical developments have taken place within and around the Park. These include campsites and tree platforms or tree houses for tourist visitors, trails made through the Park, a highly attractive and landmark Canopy Walkway through most of the Park. GHCT has also developed a small



overnight visitor lodge close to the KNPVC.

GHCT has contributed to the development of some community and infrastructure, including educational and health facilities, housing and material support for the WD staff. Others are the provision of water and electricity for the WD staff. Still others are the promotion of folk music and performing arts as tourist attractions and revenue-earning activities in the local community. In addition, GHCT has promoted community awareness and conservation education through organising quiz competitions for school pupils as well as site visits for these and grown-up groups.

Behind all these achievements is the successful creation of KNP under formal legislation. The natural resource component of the NRCHPP is the area of prime and partly secondary forest known previously as Kakum Forest Reserve and Assin Attandanso Resource Forest, respectively and both 30 km north of Cape Coast metropolis. The former still retains some 15 per cent of the original forest but the latter has been reduced to secondary growth. However, both forests were declared the Kakum Conservation Area (KCA) under Legislative Instrument 1525 of 1991, within Act 43, 1961 (Republic of Ghana, 1991; 1961). Therefore, all anthropomorphic disturbances have generally ceased. Generally KCA contains much wildlife but the KNP part is more teeming with this. Nonetheless, the whole of KCA has a very wide variety of plants and verdure. Both forests are also headwaters to major river basins that serve the majority of the populace of the sub-region.

In relation to the Urban Conservation and Heritage Preservation aspect, the two Castles and Fort were restored and regenerated. However, the regenerative development was isolated and limited strictly to the individual fortifications, even within the historic districts of Cape Coast metropolis and Elmina town. Moreover, recent observation and information show that there is need for an intensified effort to keep up maintenance of the structures. Nevertheless, a number of micro and small businesses and markets have shot up within the premises and precincts of Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Fort St. Jago in Elmina. This consists of dealers in handicrafts, gifts and souvenirs, paintings and art pieces, traditional textiles and folk-music makers and related performance services.

GHCT has also managed to fund and provide expertise for an amount of housing regeneration and rehabilitation within the historic district of Cape Coast, This relates to 15 family properties in one cluster and on the other hand a couple of stately homes. Relating to the former, GHCT provided money to the house-owners and technical advice and had most of the materials they needed purchased for them with the property owners providing only water and sand. With respect to the latter, GHCT rehabilitated and regenerated a private stately property originally built in 1837. On regeneration, the property has generated a variety of adaptive/re-adaptive uses, including offices of the GHCT. Formerly known as Government House, it was re-designated Heritage House and its garden, the Ato Austin Memorial Garden. The other property in this second cluster is the former Gothic House which has been re-named Emintsimadze Palace and currently the residence of the Paramount Chief – Omanhene – of Oguaa (Cape Coast). However, like the Castles and Fort, regeneration of these stately properties was equally isolated and disconnected from the rest of the historic district.

Furthermore, the rehabilitated and regenerated Castles and Fort as well as the conserved and protected KNP have all attracted massive tourist visitation. However, it has been observed that visits to all the resource sites reflect the general economic condition of the wider national economy and to an extent, seasonality. In favourable economic times, the level of visits increases and otherwise, decrease, both depending on the disposable incomes of visitors in relation to the prevailing visitor fees payable.

## **5. End**

### **5.1 End and Succession**

CERIDEP and TODSCER gave birth to NRCHPP and this third initiative continues on some of the gains of the first two. Therefore, NRCHPP is an expression of the future of the earlier two as of itself. The resource assets, under all three initiatives, are continuing ones under all three initiatives. Similarly, most of the organisations involved in all three strategic programmes continue to play various roles in sustaining the Urban Conservation Project (UCP) or the Natural Resource Conservation (NRC) components of the NRCHPP initiative.

GHCT was established to implement phase 2 of the NRCHPP and continues its direct management responsibility of the KNP in the post-project era. The Trust also continues to consistently provide significant amounts of funding for some of the organisations by commitment. Besides, GHCT assists other organisations in promoting conservation and preservation ventures and initiatives.

While NRCHPP remains a link between CERIDEP and TODSCER and the future of regional development in the Central Region, itself, represents the lead edge of that future. Doubly, these strengthen the case that the NRCHPP is an end, has an end but it is also a succession. GHCT remains the fulcrum of the connections and interconnection in the institutional-actor roles and relationships and all, together, signify the drivers of the end and succession of regional development programmes over the 1989-2016 periods and beyond, the main and formal project period and the future since.

## 5.2 Institutional Effectiveness and Sustainable Succession

A reflective analysis and assessment is now made of the individual and network of relationships between GHCT as the central project management organisation and all other institutions and agencies involved during the project and since it ended. Therefore, the field interviews with GHCT about these issues are now reported. The noted relationships and roles virtually have their own landscape if not topography in terms of some being highly active and others less so, still others in between.

### 5.2.1 GHCT and CRCC Relationships and Roles.

Achieving the CERIDEP, TODSCER and NRCHPP could not have been without the pivotal role of the CRCC. Therefore, it is important to address the relationship between GHCT and CRCC vis-a-vis these strategic regional programmes. The Executive Director of GHCT was quite affirmative that there continues to be a strong relationship between GHCT and CRCC. He emphasised that GHCT co-operated with CRCC and that they were working together on the development of a Legal Museum or Museum of Law. Another instance is that GHCT has made efforts to involve CRCC in all its initiatives. He gave another example of GHCT inviting the Regional Minister and the District Chief Executive (DCE) of Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (CCMA) to the Board meetings of the Trust in 2010. He was equally emphatic that GHCT always informs the Regional Minister about its programmes and activities. Indeed, as an NGO in the Central Region, GHCT is required to report on their activities to the CRCC (Acts 462 and 656; Republic of Ghana, 1993; 2003). In other connection, Heritage House remains the property of CRCC, which GHCT manages on its behalf. Unlike any other organisation which is currently a tenant, GHCT does not pay rent. Moreover, GHCT bore the cost of regenerating the building.

However, on its part, it does not appear that the CRCC retains active interest in the work of GHCT and particularly KNP and its operational management. Since GHCT is an NGO, CRCC appears to leave it to the Trust to manage KNP and deal with any challenges arising. For example, the Jukwa Road, the main route leading to the Park has badly deteriorated in extensive sections without any notice yet of the CRCC. This means that CRCC and CEDECOM have not given due attention to the maintenance of the developments under the various strategic programmes. Secondly, matters of compensation payments to the five original landowner Traditional Councils in the area remains not resolved since 1991, without the active involvement of the CRCC. Generally in matters of planning appeal and particularly in land disputes in the region, the RCC is the Regional Authority, including being a final arbiter. Therefore, the CRCC should have taken more active involvement in resolving the matter of compensation payments to the original owners of the KNP lands.

### 5.2.2 GHCT and CEDECOM Relationships and Roles

About the relationship between GHCT and CEDECOM, the respondent Executive Director stated that 'superficially, yes but depends on the kind of interaction; administrative involvement'. This means that the relationship is relative than a relational involvement. He admitted that GHCT perceived CEDECOM 'as the mother of GHCT' and 'as part of the bigger project that gave birth to GHCT' but have their challenges with CEDECOM. He observed that 'all agencies collaborating with CEDECOM developed a kind of conflict' with it. He meant that CEDECOM has not had a co-operative and effective relationship with its collaborating and stakeholder organisations but rather a constrained one with them. He observed that CEDECOM appeared to be 'extending the conflict' towards GHCT. He emphasised that 'So, CEDECOM is not getting any better with GHCT at the moment, despite being about the Central Region'. Executive Director of GHCT pointed out that there was an 'institutional weakness across the board' at CEDECOM; 'so they try to minimize this'. Thus GHCT is cautious about its contact and any interface with CEDECOM.

Probing the issue of the institutional conflicts between GHCT and CEDECOM further, the author requested information about CEDECOM's involvement in the post-NRCHPP era. Respondent Executive Director was quite emphatic that GHCT was 'not prepared to hand over the project to any other' body. On the other hand, CEDECOM was not really happy about GHCT's management of KNP because 'CEDECOM thinks they've lost the project to GHCT', he added. This shows that there was or had been a struggle in the selection of the organisation to manage the KNP. Indeed, GHCT Executive Director intimated that CEDECOM still 'disputes' over the ownership of 'Trust Lands given to GHCT'. He also stated that 'CEDECOM and other agencies' were 'protecting their own turfs, not in joint and collaborative working'. Executive Director further observed that 'CEDECOM is making claims for all things and not being focused'.

However, GHCT Executive Director indicated that 'GHCT was 'ever ready to support CEDECOM'. He gave an example of their intent to allow CEDECOM share-crop the Trust Lands and to pay levies on their crop produce but CEDECOM was not co-operative. He noted that 'They are for the economic development of the Region so they have to do the feasibility but could not deliver on everything' and 'that they need to share with others and be specifically focused'. Further evidence of the limited co-operative and collaborative working and relationships between CEDECOM and GHCT, as with other organisations, is clearly present in these statements by the GHCT Executive Director. These also reflect what appears to be a self-centred and isolationist attitude on the part of CEDECOM. Incidentally, the Regional Planning Co-ordinating Unit (RPCU) of the CRCC has made similar comments about CEDECOM's attitude and effectiveness (Interview with a Development Planning

Officer of the RPCU).

In a separate field interview with the Head of Integrated Tourism Development at CEDECOM, she explained that the conflict between CEDECOM and GHCT began in 1996/1997 when the latter was created and when the former was ending its formal involvement in both CERIDEP-TODSCER and NRCHPP. CEDECOM realised that GHCT was better financially resourced than the Commission was, so the latter was able to deliver more. Secondly, CEDECOM and Conservation International (CI) thought they could collaborate and co-operate effectively with GHCT over the transitional period. However, GHCT was rather operating parallel to CEDECOM-CI and there was a rather constrained working relationship between them. GHCT considers such relationship to have been ineffective particularly over the transitional period between the NRCHPP phases 1 and 2 periods. Therefore, it found itself better and capably more positioned to take over the Project, particularly management of the KNP and related interventions. Apparently, the prevailing quality of relationship between CEDECOM and GHCT is an inertia and fall-out from those tensions and conflicts of status, takeover and management roles.

#### 5.2.3 GHCT and WD Relationships and Roles

WD is currently the only operational organisation in joint overseership of KNP with GHCT. Therefore, their working relationship is of equal importance in context. According to the GHCT Executive Director, their 'relationship has been very helpful' and of a 'very effective' quality. He emphasised that the partnership has been quite strong' and that 'GHCT' is 'certain to support WD in managing KNP on a daily basis'. In a separate interview with the Head and Manager of the WD at KNP, he expressed similar views about the relationship between the two bodies. He listed out a number of material support items that GHCT has provided to WD. These include: staff housing, Wellington Boots, communication and Geo-positional equipment, water and electricity. Head of WD indicated there had been a slight conflict about the management responsibilities in relation to KNP because GHCT had its own Park Management and there was one for other stakeholders. However, they developed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) and created a Management Advisory Board for the whole Park and so resolved this challenge.

#### 5.2.4 GHCT and Global-International Institutional Relationships and Roles

GHCT had collaborated well with MUCIA and CI among the other PVOs as well as USAID and UNDP, especially over the 1996-1997 transitional periods and into 1998 when CI ended its involvement with the NRCHPP. Since the project ended, GHCT and related post-project developments continue to be linked to the international institutions through the Endowment Fund Manager, Merrill Lynch, which is based in the US. Apart from its minimal Internally Generated Fund (IGF), GHCT depends largely on its interest earnings from the Endowment Fund and to the extent that the Fund Manager makes available. For the first 10 years after the investment was initiated in 2001, GHCT hardly received any benefit. In fact, the period 2001-2010 also coincided with a generally unfavourable period in the US economy. So the original capital fund of US\$2.0 million actually 'lost 20% of its value on account of the severe downturn in the economy of USA' (GHCT, 2002, p. 10).

Therefore, GHCT was only able to fund its initiatives as well as support the executing agencies under the NRCHPP and continue to do so in the post-project era only to the extent that its limited financial resources permit it. Obviously, there was and continues to be a heavy funding request pressure on GHCT. For numerous projects undertaken by the immediate executing agencies, GHCT was and is only able to provide part-funding. Otherwise, it is only able to undertake rather micro and small-scale investment projects. In any event, that there occurs any deterioration in the US economy, Merrill Lynch would only release less or no funding at all to GHCT. And the BoTs of GHCT is neither in any direct control of the Endowment Fund investment and its yields.

#### 5.2.5 GHCT and GTA Relationship and Roles

Certainly, NRCHPP, like TODSCER was a tourism-based strategy and the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) had played a dynamic and active role in the evolution of CERIDEP which gave birth to these. According to GHCT Executive Director, their relationship with GTA is 'not that bad' and they 'collaborate very well when they need GHCT; when they need statistics and other information, they come to GHCT' and intimated that 'Indeed, GTA has an office unit within Heritage House'. Also, 'recently, GHCT is speaking with the national GTA that there should be a joint and collaborative relationship.' One such area of collaboration is the development of a proposed tourism map for the Central Region.

However, the GHCT Executive Director pointed out that 'GTA has not, itself, been coming enough but GHCT is open to them. Indeed, he emphasised that the Board Chairperson of GTA is a member of GHCT Board. GHCT Executive Director explained that in the post-NRCHPP era, GHCT has 'not been providing as much funding' as before and this also defines their relationship currently. In other interview with the Regional Director of GTA, she clearly denied that GTA had ever, received any form of support from GHCT. She also declined providing any data or information about GTA's roles in the NRCHPP because they, simply, had no such material to offer. She agreed that GTA and GHCT had met a number of times and spoken about tourism development in the Central Region but their interaction did not go beyond this. She stated that they did not have or keep a single

file or record of any data or information about any funding, training and other support ever provided by GHCT.

On contacting the GHCT Executive Director about this position, he responded that the current GTA Regional Director and other staff belong to a younger generation and more recent cadre of officials who are uninformed about the earlier initiatives. The fact that GTA retains an office unit at Heritage House and continues to engage with GHCT about tourism developments in the region, confirm the position expressed by GHCT Executive Director. Witness the fact that GTA's Board chairperson is also a member of GHCT's Board of Trustees. These also indicate that quite some time has elapsed since GTA benefited materially from GHCT services. Therefore, it is difficult to accept the position expressed by the Regional Director of GTA. Certainly, it contradicts the information provided by GHCT and indicates an unco-operative attitude on the part of GTA. Nevertheless, it all indicates that there is a positive way forward for the relationship between the two bodies.

#### 5.2.6 GHCT and GMMB Relationships and Roles

Involvement of GMMB, under the NRCHPP, relates solely to the work of the two Castles and Fort, all part of the Urban Conservation Project and heritage preservation component of the main project. GHCT Executive Director indicated that GHCT's relationship with GMMB is 'very effective'. He emphasised that 'In the post-project era, all depends on more valued relationship and level of funding' and that 'all agencies should be very careful about their approaches.' This means that while GHCT honours its responsibility to continue providing funding support to the stakeholder agencies, the latter should be realistically effective and efficient in their project designs and proposals and request for funding. He indicated that GHCT is not always able to provide the full amount of funding requested by GMMB like other stakeholder organisations.

At a separate contact with the Regional Director of GMMB, he confirmed that GHCT is always able to provide some funding but below the target requested. During our field interaction, the GMMB Regional Director, who has responsibility for both the Central and Western Regions, showed the author the burnt roof of one of the building structures within the curtilage of Cape Coast Castle and stated that GMMB was requesting additional funding from GHCT for the roof repair work to be undertaken. When I contacted the GHCT Executive Director about this proposal, he stated that 'the burnt out roof to be funded 50 per cent at GH¢64,000.00' (US\$16,000.00).

However, the USAID (2001) and GHCT (2002) reported about a conflict between GHCT and GMMB about the status and use of the Fabrication and Design Centre developed under the NRCHPP. Subsequently, a strained relationship developed between the two bodies about the resources, use and maintenance of the Centre. GHCT claims ownership and management of the Centre and GMMB sees it as 'a property of the Government of Ghana'. The Centre produces museum exhibition facilities and other such fabrications but has been shut down for a long time to date. On the other hand, both organisations have indicated that they have a MOU to revamp the Centre.

#### 5.2.7 GHCT Relationships with the Regional Offices of Environmental Protection Agency and Department of Town and Country Planning and relevant Roles

Although regional offices of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Department of Town and Country Planning were not part of the immediate NRCHPP implementation agencies, GHCT has equally considered them as stakeholders and kept a working relationship with them. According to the respondent Executive Director, GHCT has maintained an administrative relationship<sup>2</sup> with the two organisations. GHCT consults EPA when it needs information of classificatory and educational nature. Currently, EPA's Department of Wildlife is undertaking some projects for GHCT and collaborating with them to develop a bee centre.

In a similar way, GHCT shares research support as well as general advice on town planning practices with the Regional Department of Town and Country Planning (RTCPD). For example, the latter participated in the demarcation of the historic district of Cape Coast during the NRCHPP phase 1 (GHCT, 2002, p. 11). Other times, GHCT supports internship for students with the Department.

#### 5.2.8 GHCT and MMDA Relationships and Roles

The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) concerned are those within the NRCHPP sub-regions. However, other MMDAs may have a relationship with the Trust as may be relevant. These are (1) Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (CCMA); (2) Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) Municipal Assembly (KEEAMA); (3) Assin North Municipal Assembly (ANMA); (4) Assin South District Assembly (ASDA); (5) Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly (AAKDA) and (6) Twifo Hemang-Lower Denkyira District Assembly (THLDA) (see Figure 2).

GHCT admits that it maintains an 'administrative' relationship with these MMDAs and underlies a number of initiatives within their localities. Any such project is always at the request of the MMDA concerned. Otherwise, if the request is made by other organisation within the MMDA locality, GHCT requires the approval of the particular MMDA before it could fund the development. This is aimed at avoiding 'a duplication' and maintaining complementarity in development interventions. In its 2010-2013 Harmonisation Report, the CRCC heavily emphasised the need for all 20 MMDAs in the region to ensure that they undertake projects that are complementary and not duplicitous, through jointed and collaborative working (CRCC, 2012). Respondent Executive Director of GHCT reported that 'GHCT wants the MMDAs to understand and accept all the

assistance'. GHCT has a Joint Committee with these MMDAs and 'occasionally', they come to the 'GHCT offices for meetings'.

He further indicated that upon request, they were in the process of establishing a scholarship scheme for the KNP community, starting with the Jukwa Community. The Trust wanted to initiate this scheme from the Junior High School (JHS) level but the Jukwa Community wanted it to start from the Senior High School (SHS) level so as to promote chances of the students entering university and other tertiary institutions.

Another initiative is the GHCT's support for 'The Elmina 2015 Strategy' by the Elmina Urban Council which is under KEEAMA. According to the Executive Director, 'The Elmina' Town 'Strategy was born out of the Town Development Plan of Cape Coast' and from which Elmina Urban Council took a cue. GHCT was 'part of the oversight Committee and also part of the implementation' and that the whole project was sponsored by the Dutch Government. Elmina 2015 Strategy includes the area of fishery and fishing harbour development, including dredging of the Benya Lagoon, education, Local Economic Development (LED), sanitation and waste management and general development of tourism facilities.

According to the GHCT Executive Director, the MMDAs 'provide a conducive environment for what GHCT does', i.e. supporting and facilitating roles. However, some MMDAs may provide it with some direct support as for example, the Assin South District gave a plot of land at Kruwa. Nevertheless, MMDAs tend to benefit more from their relationship than does GHCT. In fact, GHCT occasionally receives requests from MMDAs outside the NRCHPP sub-region, an example being Gomoa West District Assembly in the Central Region and Shama District Assembly in the Western Region. It received similar request from other institutions in the Greater Accra Region, like the Osu Salem Boys School asking for funding to rehabilitate a historic building. So GHCT continues to strengthen its relationships with the MMDAs.

#### 5.2.9 GHCT and Traditional Council Relationships and Roles

Traditional Councils (TCs) of concern are those that GHCT has a direct contact and dealing with generally within the NRCHPP sub-region. These are (1) Denkyira Traditional Council; (2) Oguaa Traditional Council; (3) Assin Attandanso Traditional Council; (4) Assin Apimanim Traditional Council; (5) Twifo Hemang Traditional Council; (6) Edina Traditional Council and (7) Abura Traditional Council.

In terms of development interventions, GHCT often receives requests to fund various initiatives in the TC areas. According to the GHCT Executive Director, there is need for the TCs 'to do their own joint thinking and collaborative involvement and decide on the kind of help they need from GHCT' and that 'some of them have done, others are yet to do so'. However, it appears that the TCs are neither equipped nor have they the expertise to undertake such technical exercises and would look up to GHCT for greater support.

The respondent Executive Director stated that GHCT has a 'fairly effective' relationship with some of the TCs, e.g. Edina and Abura TCs. However, on the administrative plane, the TCs have provided a congenial atmosphere in which GHCT has an obligation to support them. GHCT reports a 'very effective' relationship with other TCs. It appears that the effectiveness of relationship depends much on the proactive and co-operative roles of the TCs in approaching GHCT with funding requests in a way that would facilitate GHCT's response. Such roles on the part of the TCs are not forthcoming currently. However, the respondent indicated that the TCs do help in 'providing lands for projects.' Nevertheless, GHCT regards the TCs as 'peripheral institutions' to its activities and programmes.

#### 5.2.10 GHCT and CSO and CBO Relationships and Roles

GHCT has been involved and networked with a number of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs). Some of the CSOs have been the (1) Cape Coast Development Association (CCDA); (2) Association for the Preservation of Historical and Archaeological Sites APHASS) but both now defunct. Another used to be the Ghana Wildlife Society (GWS) but has also moved out of the Central Region. Similarly, GHCT no longer has any contact with Cape Coast Crystal Lions (CCCL). Currently, GHCT retains ties with other CSOs such as Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme (ECHMP), CILTAD-AGORO Project (CAP) and Tour Guides Association of Ghana.

Executive Director of GHCT stated that they have 'a loose relationship with CAP at the moment' in relation to their dramatisation of educational messages'. And GHCT is still in working relationship with their Tour Guide Association of Ghana (TOGAG) with respect to training programmes for the tour guides. GHCT serves on the ECHMP Coordinating Committee in relation to the development of Elmina, especially connected with The Elmina 2015 Strategy. And GHCT expects that other CSOs would come up. Basically, GHCT provides these CSOs with administrative support, especially for educational purposes and particularly preservation and conservation of old or historic building structures. The Trust also has an advocacy relation with them and the CSOs on their part often organise programmes which could be of interest to GHCT.

#### 5.2.11 GHCT and NGO Relationships and Roles

Another significant relationship is that between GHCT and other NGOs, ranging from local to international institutions. Indeed, the five main US PVOs are also NGOs of international stature. GHCT worked jointly with some of these, MUCIA and CI, in the late phase 2 and the early phase 1 of the NRCHPP, sharing in the

management of the projects and reports excellent relations with them. Indeed, the GHCT Executive Director indicates that the Trust experienced a happier working relationship with these PVOs than with CEDECOM.

GHCT is also developing relationships with local NGOs. For example, it entered into a product order contract with one such NGO called, 'Beyond Aid' to buy out all the production of the Bamboo Crafts Centre which GHCT has established at Kruwa. Thus the BCC is assured of a ready market for its handicraft products.

#### 5.2.12 GHCT Relationships and Roles with Higher Educational and Research Institutions

GHCT has also maintained a consistent relationship with some higher educational and research institutions, both under the NRCHPP and in the era since it ended. One of these is the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in Kumasi. According to the GHCT Executive Director, KNUST 'did a lot of work in the past for GHCT' and pointed out the Faculty of Architecture and Building Technology, under the College of Architecture and Planning. The Department of Architecture had undertaken a survey of historic buildings in the historic district of Cape Coast in phase 1 of the NRCHPP (US/ICOMOS, 2000). It had also undertaken a survey to determine the potential for developing housing property at Abrafo-Odumase and probably replicable at other villages in the KNP community (Wellington, 1997). GHCT has also been engaging the services of the Department of Book Science at KNUST in the development of fabrications for museum exhibits. In addition, GHCT is also in contract with the Faculty of Art for their advice on and design of a life-size wooden monument which GHCT wishes to construct around the KNP Visitor Centre as part of the development of a children's play area there. The wooden monument is meant to be a play object for children visitors, in general.

At the University of Ghana, GHCT has a direct working relationship with the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies. The Trust has sponsored some activities of the Department. One of these is a workshop on Ghanaian archaeological relics and works. Other is providing sponsorship for masters students in archaeological and heritage studies.

Respondent and GHCT Executive Director further intimated about a fairly wide networking with the University of Cape Coast. The main Departments involved are those of (1) Tourism and Hospitality Management, (2) Wildlife and Entomology and (3) Management Studies as well as the Consultancy Unit of the School of Business. During the NRCHPP phase 1 and TODSCER, the Department of Tourism and Hospitality Management, which was then part of the erstwhile Department of Geography and Tourism, undertook a survey of hospitality facilities for CEDECOM, CI and GHCT. Department of Wildlife and Entomology maintains a Bee Hive and Study Centre at Abrafo-Odumase, just outside KNP. This is also intended to be an eco-tourism attraction. Currently, the School of Business is advising GHCT on reviving its failed Kakum Mineral Water Company business.

According to the GHCT Executive Director, GHCT maintains a 'very effective' relationship with all these university organisations. However, these relationships depend on the service that GHCT requires and as they may request with the universities. And it also depends on 'what they want to do', the respondent Executive Director emphasised.

## 6. Conclusion

Within the context of the narrative form, the conclusion is part of the 'End'. However, in terms of the procedural planning process, it has been observed that there is no real end but continuation and succession into subsequent rounds of planning and development processes. In terms of the experiential and reflective learning process, the conclusion is also a stage of active experimentation where results of the study are wrapped up and strategic policy proposals made for redressing any negative trends or tendencies for improving effectiveness and successive sustainability of existing and future interventions.

An attraction and focus of this study is its wide variety of institutions and organisations both during programme implementation and the post-programme era. In terms of the past, present and future roles, all the institutions and organisations are important. At the regional level, the CRCC and its endogenous agency, CEDECOM were particularly instrumental in initiating CERIDEP, TODSCER and which both resulted in NRCHPP. Equally, from the inception of all these strategic programmes, GTA, GMMB and WD contributed to programme implementation and continue to do so. Other regional institutions but not part of the formal implementation partners included the EPA and RTCPD. CRCC displayed an illustrious, dynamic and active leadership in initiating the process of regional planning and development from problem identification to programme implementation, except in the post-programme era.

At the global-international level, the various strategic regional programmes could not have become realities without the roles of the UNDP, USAID and the five main US PVOs: MUCIA, CI, US/ICOMOS, UMTC, and SI. Virtually, these had a knock-on inducement effect on each other to be involved in providing critical funding for the Central Region's strategic development initiatives. Other international organisation and financial institution was and continues to be Merryll Lynch, the Endowment Fund Manager, based in the US.

Responsively and at the national level, Central Government represented by the International Economic Relations Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (IERU-MFEP) also complemented and

supplemented contributions of the global-international institutions. Apart from being part of the referee role, Government of Ghana also part-funded the strategic regional programmes. Under the innovative Endowment Fund, GoG has no role in continuing to funding the NRCHPP developments in the post-project era.

Establishment of GHCT continues the regional engagement with the aftermath of CERIDEP-TODSCER and the post-NRCHPP era in particular. The profile, constitutions and operation of GHCT make it both a regional and local institution, with potential to capture a national standing. Indeed, it both aspires to and does occasionally make contributions at the national level in relation to the conservation and preservation of natural resource bases and historic built sites. All the original global-international institutions, CRCC and CEDECOM as well as GoG played critically pivotal roles in the establishment of GHCT. Within the Central Region and locally, GHCT has collaborated and worked in co-operation with a host of institutions and organisations. These include a number of MMDAs, TCs, CSOs and CBOs as well as other NGOs. Others are higher educational and research and consultancy institutions. Like GMMB, GTA and WD, all these had received and continue to derive significant amounts of funding from GHCT to undertake various projects in relation to the defined causes, policies and mission aims.

Under the fabric of this institutional mix, a number of achievements were chalked and continue to be made since implementation of the strategic programme, especially in relation to the KNP and the UCP based on the Castles and Fort. The formal creation of the KNP and the AARR, together, as the KCA has saved both prime and secondary forest resources, including trees, plants, other growth and a vast variety of wildlife. The two main forests also being the headwaters of major river basis and systems in the sub-regions means that the sources of water for domestic and commercial-industrial uses have been saved for over 300,000 people in the programme sub-region. Various environmental and physical developments have taken place in KNP, serving visitor interests as well as social, cultural and economic purposes. These include campsites, tree-platforms and tree-houses, trails, visitor lodges, restaurants and catering joints, gift shops and a photographic shop. Outside, the Park and into the local communities, there is a secondary impact on the development of micro and small enterprise development, notably the hotel industry. GHCT has also made a fairly wide array of social interventions for the WD staff and the local communities.

With respect to the urban conservation and preservation of the strategic programmes, Cape Coast Castle, St. George's Castle in Elmina and Fort St. Jago in Elmina were rehabilitated, conserved and preserved. This represents environmental and spatial-physical change within the historic districts of Cape Coast metropolis and Elmina. In terms of the socio-cultural, these developments have preserved the enacted and historic culture of the area, including the creation of a museum in each Castle. Both Castles and the Fort are UNESCO-designated World Heritage Sites. Additionally, all three serve as grounds or venues for various cultural performances and other adaptive uses. The LED impacts of these regenerative developments can be structured into two forms of spaces: (1) a string of shops and shop-lets, including art galleries and refreshment spots have developed within the internal spaces of both Castles; (2) a number of similar local commercial business and SMEs outside the walls and around the precincts of the two Castles. It is evident that the latter have developed as a result of the rehabilitation and regeneration of the Castles.

Nevertheless, these Castles and Fort conservation and preservation developments were isolated from and not linked to the regeneration of the wider district districts of both Cape Coast and Elmina. Nor was there an integrated approach to regenerating the wider historic parts in both settlements. Besides, both Castles and particularly the Fort are now in urgent need of much maintenance for their successive sustainability.

Under the focus of this paper, the successful sustainability and succession of the developments in the various strategic regional programmes would depend on the effectiveness and efficiency of the institutional context. First, as GHCT makes effort to maintain contact with the CRCC, so the latter should also keep direct interest in the interventions made. The CRCC should take initiative in monitoring and reviewing the state of the region's development and as part of successive evaluations of effective regional change. It would also promote the procedural effectiveness of the successive rounds of planned interventions and relevant institutional change.

Secondly, the relationship between GHCT and CEDECOM needs to be healthier and effective and for the latter to keep consistent interest in the strategic achievements and continuing assets. The relationship between GHCT and GTA also needs revamping. It would also promote the requisite relative and relational change if a special committee consisting of GHCT, CRCC, CEDECOM, GTA, GMMB and WD as well as representatives of the relevant MMDAs in the programme region were constituted to monitor and occasionally review developments in the specific sub-region, even in the post project era.

Thirdly, in relation to the MMDAs, in general and the TCs, CSOs, CBOs and other NGOs, there is need for GHCT to provide them with some technical guidance as to the schemes and projects it can fund. Apparently, the TCs are particularly weak in identifying their own project funding requests with GHCT. A clear and formal indication of such criteria and guidance would assist the various institutions in pre-determining projects for which they could request funding from GHCT. Related, GHCT could also concentrate on specific projects within any year for all its funding beneficiaries rather than spread its resources across board and on fractional or partial

basis. For GHCT on one hand and the MMDAs, TCs, CSO and CBOs, on the other, a clarified and validated project funding and selection criteria would promote proactive intervention and pre-project planning.

A fourth challenge relates to the critical issue of continuous funding. In the contemporary era, much depends on how much is available to GHCT from its Fund Manager and performance of the Endowment Fund in the US financial market. Apart from the need for more effective project planning and design information from GHCT, the Trust could also phase out funding for the various projects. For example, the burnt roof at Cape Coast Castle could be 50 per cent funded in one year and other half in the following or subsequent year.

Finally, it is absolutely essential for all stakeholder institutions and organisations to develop, improve and regularly practice an effective and efficient maintenance culture and facility management. This would ensure the successive sustainability of the achievements under the various strategic regional programmes as well as the successive expansion and replication of these. Useful lessons would have been learned for the narrative and reflective assessment of future regional development programmes in the Central Region as in the other regions of Ghana.

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### Notes

- Note 1. Of the 43 European fortifications built along the West African coast during the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, 32 are on the Ghanaian coast and 15 of these are along the coast of Central Region.  
 Note 2. 'Administrative relationship' is used to mean a less close, superficial and infrequent, fairly formal relationship rather than a relational involvement.

### Tables

Table 1 Institutions and Organisation Involved in CERIDEP, TODSCER and NRCHPP

<i>Level and Status of Institution</i>	<i>Specific Institutions and Organisations</i>
(1) Regional Institutions: Main delivering agencies and other public institutions	(a) Central Regional Co-ordinating Council (CRCC), formerly Central Regional Administration (CRA); (b) Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM), technical wing of CRCC; (c) Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB); (d) Ghana Tourism Authority; (e) Wildlife Division (WD) of the Forestry Commission; (f) Environmental Protection Agency (EPA); (g) Regional Town and Country Planning Department (RTCPD).
(2) National Institutions	(a) Government of Ghana (GoG): Office of the President; (b) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MFEP).
(3) Global Institutions	(a) United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
(4.1) United States Government International Institution	(a) United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
(4.2) US-based Private and Voluntary Organisations (PVOs) (Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs))	(a) Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA); (b) Conservation International (CI); (c) US Chapter of the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS); (d) University of Minnesota Tourism Centre (UMTC); (e) The Smithsonian Institution (SI).
(5) Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs)	(a) Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (CCMA); (b) Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipal Assembly (KEEAMA); (c) Assin North Municipal Assembly; (d) Assin South District Assembly; (e) Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly (AAKDA); (f) Twifo Hemang Lower Denkyira District Assembly (THLDDA).
(6) Traditional Council (TCs)	(a) Denkyira Traditional Council; (b) Oguaa Traditional Council; (c) Assin Attandanso Traditional Council; (d) Assin Apimanim Traditional Council; (e) Abura Traditional Council; (f) Twifo Hemang Traditional Council.
(7) Local Non-governmental Organisation (Local NGO)	(a) Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust (GHCT)
(8) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs)	(a) Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme (ECHMP); (b) CILTAD-AGORO Project (CAP); (c) Tour Guides Association of Ghana (TORGAG).
(9) Higher Educational and Research Institutions	(a) Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST); (b) University of Ghana; (c) University of Cape Coast.

Source: Compiled by the author, 2016.

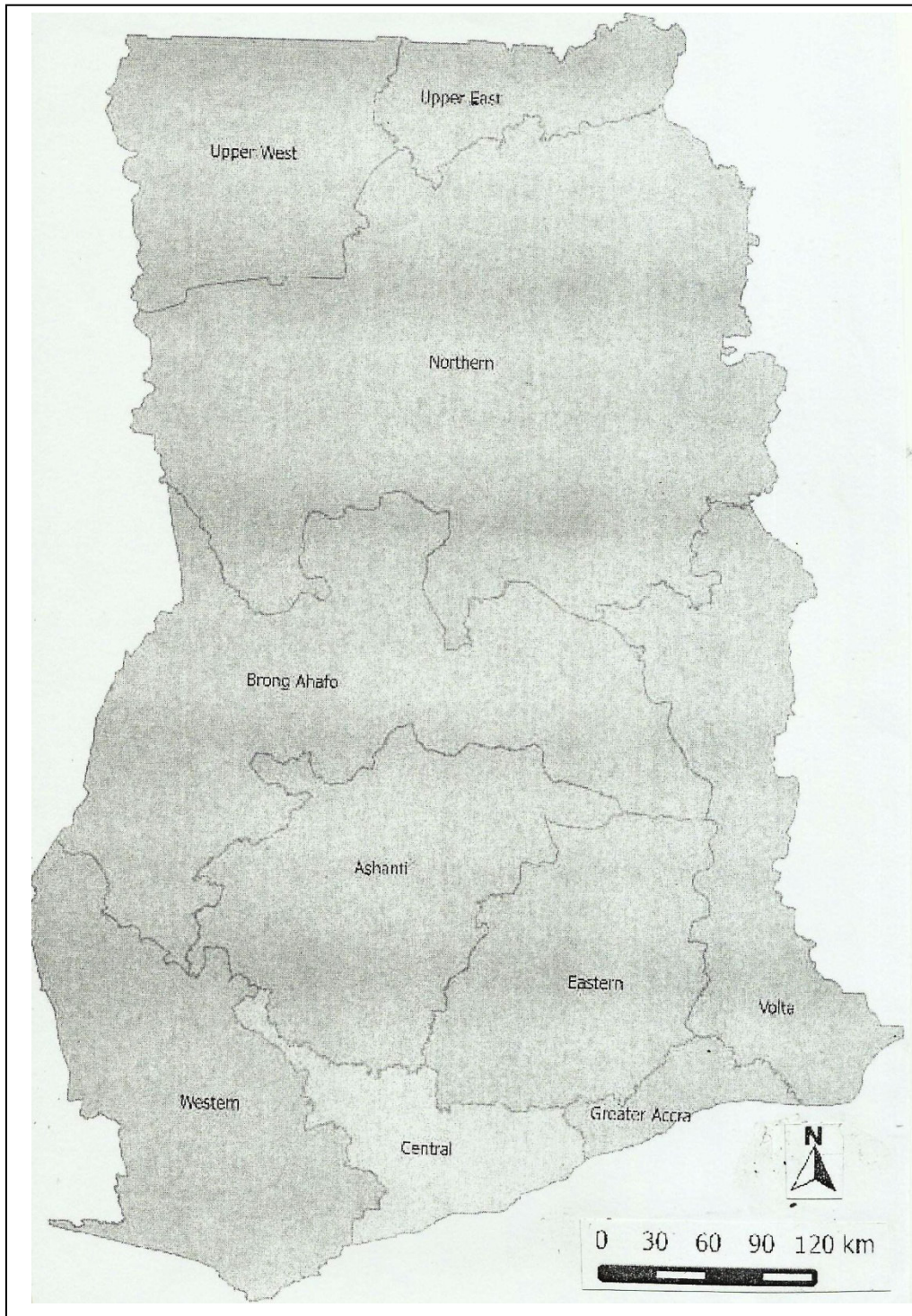


Figure 1 Map of Ghana showing the 10 political-administrative and planning regions  
Source: RPCU, CRCC, Cape Coast, 2016.

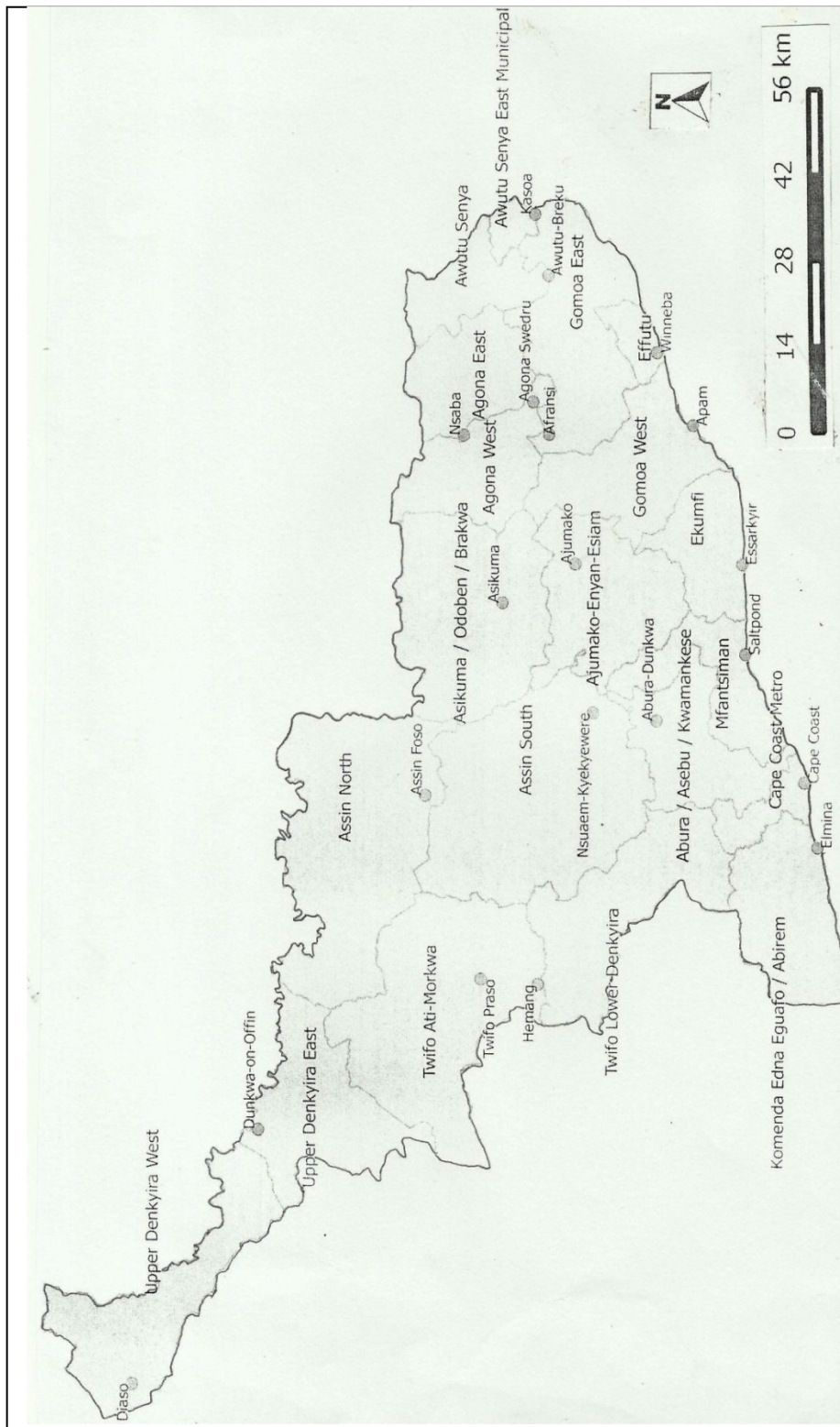


Figure 2 Map of the Central Region showing its 20 MMDA areas  
Source: RPCU, CRCC, Cape Coast, 2016.

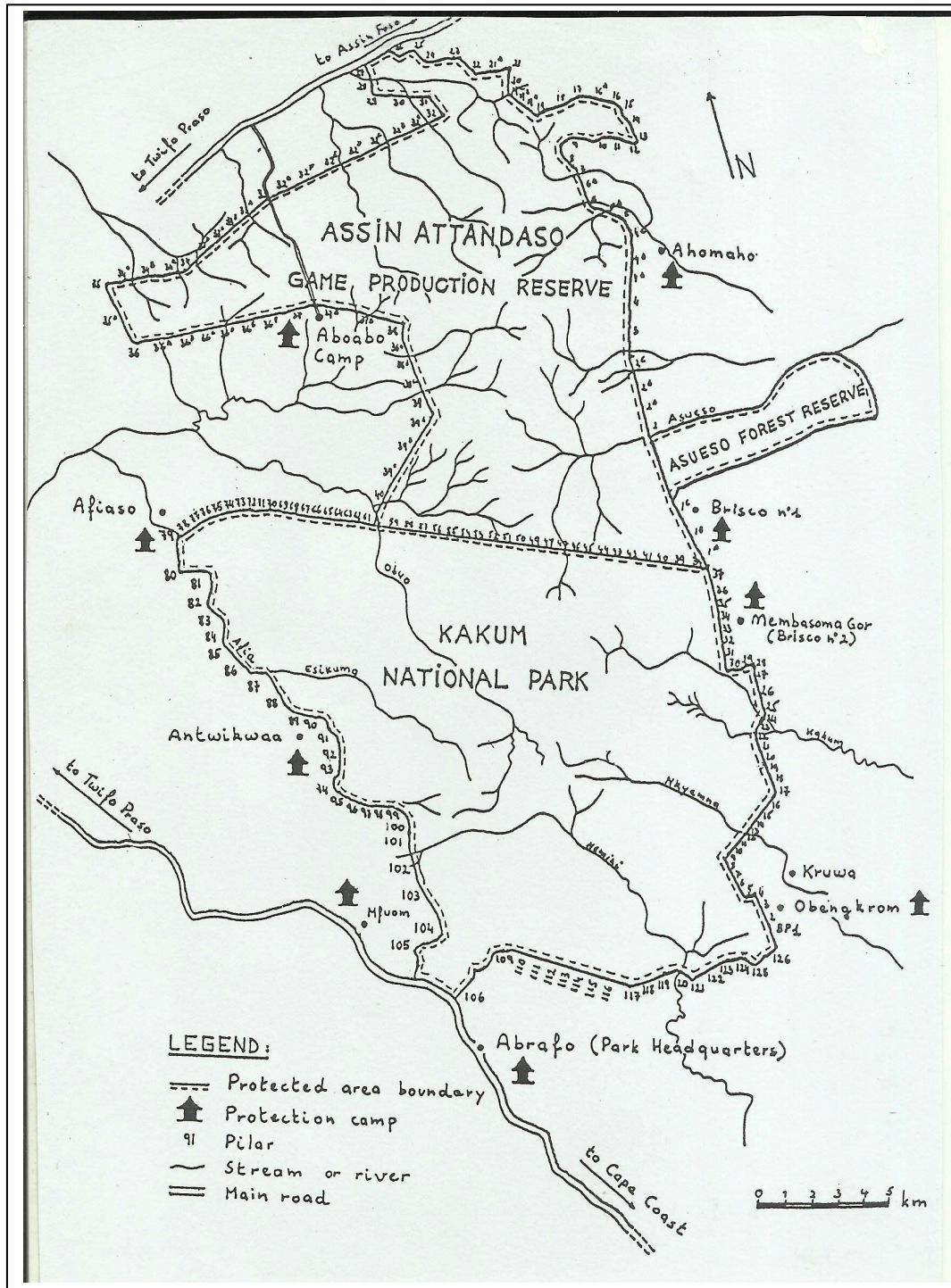


Figure 3 Map showing the Kakum Conservation Area (KCA): KNP and AARR.  
 Source: Conservation International and Ghana Wildlife Department (1997), p. 41.

**Acknowledgement**

I am deeply grateful to the following for providing the field data and information for this study, including the extensive personal interviews and interactions I had with them: Mr. Francis D. Cobbinah, Executive Director of GHCT, Cape Coast; Mr. Enoch Amasa Ashie, Head and Manager of WD at KNP, Kakum; Mrs Nicol Ama Abraham, Head of Integrated Tourism Development (ITD) Department at CEDECOM in Cape Coast; Mr. Nicholas Ivor, Regional Director of GMMB (Central and Western Regions), Cape Coast; and the Regional Director of GTA in Cape Coast.

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