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LEISURE TRAVEL AMONG AFFLUENT URBAN GHANAIANS: AN EXPLORATORY SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF INCIPIENT DOMESTIC TOURISM

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B.A. (HONS.), UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, 1984

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Sociological Study of Incipient Domestic Tourism

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines leisure travel behaviour and attitudes in Ghana, a country where domestic tourism is in a formative stage and confined to relatively affluent members of the urban population. As an exploratory study, it presents empirical data on a hitherto neglected subject, and tests the utility of certain theoretical ideas -- developed in research on international tourism -- in analysing domestic tourism in Ghana.

From an interview survey conducted with sixty business and higher professional persons in Accra, we derive data on travel preferences and expectations, as well as details of such persons' previous experiences as tourists. These data are analysed using a four-dimensional framework based upon, but extending the basis of, Cohen's typology of tourists' roles. It is seen that the respondents do not neatly fit any of Cohen's tourist types, though their preferences are inclined towards "familiarity", "autonomy", "relaxation" and "modernity".

In visits ranging from one day to three weeks, a number of popular tourist destinations are directly observed. The focus of enquiry here is the touristic encounter between hosts and guests, but attention is also given to the nature of social interaction within each of these groups. The analysis of behaviour and attitudes in tourist settings is informed principally by the 1976 UNESCO framework and by Turner's seminal work on the pilgrimage. It is found that intense interaction occurring between hotel/restaurant workers and Ghanaian guests is, to a large extent, characterized by hostility, while that occurring between local residents and guests is low and harmonious. Intra-host interaction is cooperative or competitive, depending largely upon the degree of commercialization of relationships. Intra-guest interaction is virtually non-existent.

The thesis also considers Jafari's positive estimation of the socio-cultural benefits of domestic tourism for developing countries and suggests that, in Ghana's case, these may be rather modest. Finally, some proposals are made for future research on the subject, the most important being the

influence of socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors on leisure travel behaviour and attitudes in Ghana, and socio-cultural impacts of domestic tourism in Ghanaian society.

DEDICATION

To Ernestina for her patience

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The aim of this thesis is to discover the nature and extent of leisure travel among relatively affluent Ghanaians; to identify the main factors which underlie their travel choices and decisions; to examine various forms of touristic encounters at the destination areas; and to attempt a preliminary assessment of the socio-cultural effects of the temporary presence of Ghanaian tourists in host communities. In Ghana, as in most developing countries, domestic or intranational tourism is not yet well-established. Leisure travel is an activity which is possible only for that small minority of the population which has sufficient disposable income and the requisite amount of discretionary or free time; and for those who have such means, this type of travel may remain merely a possibility unless they have come to attach a positive value to this kind of activity--a view which is by no means firmly held in a country like Ghana.

In Ghana, as elsewhere in the Third World, a more realistic evaluation (evidenced in the 1988 tourism policy proposals by the Ministry of Trade and Tourism) is being made of international tourism, one which increasingly recognizes the economic, social and cultural costs of this form of tourism. As a means of generating much needed foreign exchange, international tourism has often proved disappointing for developing countries who find their earnings reduced by leakages of various kinds: costs incurred through importation of building materials and equipment to provide sophisticated tourism facilities and services; food imports; repatriation of salaries of expatriate personnel and dividends of foreign tour operators; etc. The disappointment, however, may be due sometimes to poor planning and unrealistic expectations. As a means of promoting international understanding, international tourism has also produced mixed results: tourists initially being received with euphoria but relationships turning hostile over time; tourists,

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especially the mass type, unable to have any serious contacts with hosts; reinforcement of traditional prejudices and stereotypes on the part of both hosts and guests; etc. A sharpened awareness of these problems has led, not only to a re-evaluation of the place international tourism should occupy in national development plans, but also to a growth of interest in the potential benefits which might flow from the promotion of domestic tourism. While international tourism is a means of generating foreign exchange, domestic tourism may be a means of conserving it: if affluent Ghanaians took their holidays at home instead of overseas this would mean saving the foreign exchange expended on such trips; dependence on foreign capital could be reduced, since domestic tourism would require fewer imported inputs and less reliance on foreign personnel; etc. Domestic tourism is also viewed as potentially less harmful in its socio-cultural effects and less likely to produce situations of conflict or animosity between hosts and guests (Jafari 1986).

Since Ghana's domestic tourism is still in its infancy and we posses little reliable information on the activities of Ghanaians as leisure travellers, it is not known if the expected benefits are actually being realized and, if so, to what extent. This thesis, focusing as it does upon the kinds of people most likely to engage in leisure travel at present, should permit a preliminary assessment of the situation in this respect. Generally, the thesis aims to increase our understanding of domestic tourism preferences, expectations, and interactive behaviour in the Ghanaian context. While it stands in a "gap-filling" relationship to existing empirical works in the area, it also attempts an exploration of some of the theoretical ideas emerging in social science literature on tourism. Tourism has been defined in many tourist studies in terms of pleasure travelling. However, the official definition recommended by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) tends to play down the pleasure component. Central to tourism is the "tourist", and the IUOTO in search of a comprehensive definition of the concept has resorted to a more general term, the "visitor". A "visitor" is then defined as,

> ... any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited (The Statistical Commission of the IUOTO, 1968).

From IUOTO perspective, a "visitor" staying at the destination area for more than twenty four hours is a "tourist", while the one staying for less number of hours is an "excursionist". The applicability of this definition to the thesis is limited, since it is rather broad, virtually embracing all kinds of travel. Moreover, the definition does not cover a domestic tourist. It must be noted, however, that the IUOTO definition is basically meant to serve as a guideline for the collection of international tourism statistics by national tourism agencies throughout the world. The focus of the thesis is mainly on tourism for recreation, pleasure, enjoyment, etc., and is therefore closer to the popular, non-academic conceptions of tourism which portray tourism in terms of recreational travel, travel for pleasure during one's "free" or "leisure" time. However, there are difficulties involved here, since, as shown in the body of the thesis, a good deal of travelling among the respondents is of the "mixed purpose" kind and entails sightseeing, pleasure, etc. in conjunction with business meetings, family obligations, funerals, etc.

In examining the travel preferences and expectations of Ghanaian business and higher professional persons, we are concerned with questions of the following kinds: How extensive is travel among them? Which destinations are visited and why? How much of this type of travel is engaged in solely for leisure purposes and how much is "mixed-purpose" travel? What kinds of activities are engaged in during the visit? How long are the visits? Where does the visitor stay? Is the prestige dimension crucial in their choice of destination? Does it lead to any re-appraisal of their own communities? Does the travel lead to any form of re-appraisal of Ghanaian society and their place in it, that is, increased sense of belongingness, national awareness, etc. What do Ghanaian tourists regard as the principal benefits of leisure travel? What do they regard as the major drawbacks or disappointments of such travel? What do they feel would encourage them to engage in more leisure travel in Ghana rather than abroad? Does experience of foreign travel correlate in any ways with aspects of domestic travel behaviour and attitude? What degree of "destination loyalty", that is, regular visits to the same destination, exists among Ghanaian tourists? Do their socio-demographic characteristics help us predict their leisure travel

participation?

In our attempt to understand the nature of touristic encounters at destination areas, we explore questions of the following kinds: How are Ghanaian visitors perceived by their local hosts (hotel and restaurant staff, taxi/bus drivers, shopkeepers, souvenir sellers and others with whom they are temporarily in contact)? Do hosts distinguish between Ghanaian and overseas visitors (in terms of behaviour, expectations, etc.) or between different categories of Ghanaians in terms of ethnicity or region of origin? How do hosts conceive of the tourist role(s)? Do hosts operate with implicit or explicit 'typologies' of tourists and, if so, what seem to be the main bases upon which typologies are formed? Do encounters with domestic tourists alter hosts' views on the social group or community from which the tourists come?

What common or recurring behavioural patterns are evident in host-guest relations involving Ghanaians? To what extent can these relations be characterized in ways similar to that found in international tourism contexts? How evident are patterns of discrimination in the host-guest relationship? What typology of tourists is suggested by the data gathered for the thesis and how does this relate to other typologies found in the literature? To what extent do relationships established in domestic tourist settings continue outside this setting (friendships, business relationships, marriages, etc.)?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social science literature on tourism has grown rapidly during the last two decades or so. This perhaps reflects the growth of tourism as a major industry world-wide and the spread of international tourism to Third World destinations. Several characteristics of the literature may be noted: firstly, most of it has been produced by geographers and economists rather than sociologists and anthropologists; secondly, nearly all of it relates exclusively to international rather than domestic tourism (in many cases works purporting to deal with "tourism" turn out to have nothing

at all to say about domestic tourism); thirdly, the relatively few studies of domestic tourism are primarily concerned with this activity in Western industrial societies rather than developing countries; and fourthly, the field is poorly developed in terms of sociological theory, most studies being largely empirical in character. After reviewing most of the major works, one discovers what had been suspected from the beginning: that not only is Ghanaian domestic tourism uncharted research territory, but that existing social science literature on tourism contains comparatively little which has a direct bearing on the research problem. This indicates that we have to rely fairly heavily upon studies of international tourism for guidance on how to approach the research problem. The relatively few theoretical leads which seem worth following are all found in studies concerned with explaining aspects of international tourism.

In light of the above, we shall focus here on those empirical studies which deal with issues of relevance for the thesis research. Other works which contain theoretical ideas and formulations of potential value for the study are discussed separately in the next section of the chapter (Analytical Framework). The sequence of the works discussed in the present section is as follows: Tourism in the Third World; Domestic Tourism; and Tourism in Ghana. Literature on Third World tourism of relevance to the thesis deals with the economic, social and cultural consequences of international tourism for host-guest relationships and the communities in destination areas.

Athough Bryden (1973), Turner and Ash (1975), Esh and Rosenblum (1975) and O'Grady (1982) see tourism as a complex economic, social and cultural phenomenon, they portray it in rather pessimistic terms. The work of Bryden on tourism and development in the Commonwealth Caribbean is perhaps the first to call serious attention to economic and socio-cultural costs of tourism in the Third World. Among other things, Bryden indicates that international tourism in the Commonwealth Caribbean has produced some negative socio-cultural consequences: growth of hostility and animosity on the part of the hosts towards tourists; westernization of the tastes and consumption patterns of the local people; corrosion of the culture and value system of the indigenous population; and increased commercialization of social relationships. Due mainly to the

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above effects, Bryden is sceptical about the possibility that international tourism could lead to the widening of peoples' understanding and interests in world affairs.

Turner and Ash (1975) argue that the creation of tourist destinations (they term them "pleasure peripheries") to satisfy tourists, especially the mass type, has implications similar to the imperialist expansion of the nineteenth century: domination and exploitation. In the long run, they think, this can be far more devastating than direct colonization. They further argue that international tourism is like "King Midas in reverse"- a device for destroying unintentionally but inevitably all that is beautiful with which it comes in contact, not excluding the socio-cultural uniqueness of the developing countries. They discuss at length the adulteration, and in some cases, obliteration of local artifacts and traditional ceremonies due to the commoditization of these items.

Esh and Rosenblum (1975), studying the tourism industry in the Gambia, analyse the impacts of international tourism, primarily from the point of view of the local people. From an interview survey of persons from the newsmedia and government officials, they identified the following effects of tourism in the Gambia: the youth copy the tourists leading to serious conflicts between them and the elders at home; truancy in schools; alcoholism (the Gambia is a Muslim country); general moral deterioration; prostitution; etc. Despite these unfavourable impacts of international tourism, according to Esh and Rosenblum, most of the other individuals interviewed (especially workers in hotels) have positive attitudes towards tourists as individuals. They believe, however, that this may change into hostility because of the rapid development of mass tourism in the country. O'Grady (1982) offers a similar picture, citing illustrative examples from several Third World countries.

Dekadt (1979) and English (1986), on the other hand, argue that it is simplistic to see international tourism in the Third World as producing unfavourable effects only. They rather see the phenomenon as a mixed blessing, for it has both positive and negative effects on the

development process. Dekadt takes the view that tourism is but one of the several modernizing influences in the Third World and, as such, should not be singled out as a "unique devil". He argues that tourism certainly has some negative impacts (reinforcing socioeconomic differentiation, monopolization of high level jobs by expatriates, etc.), but it also produces positive effects. In particular, he mentions the weakening of traditional authority and consequent freedom for the young and women, regeneration of cultural forms leading to a sense of cultural identity and rediscovery, etc. According to Dekadt, where the socioeconomic differences between hosts and guests is marked, and where the frequency and intensity of contacts between them are high, there is usually increased hostility.

English (1986) also discusses the impact of North-South tourism on cultures of the South. Like Dekadt, he thinks tourism can have both positive and negative influences on the values, morals and arts of hosts, but it is hard to separate its effects from those of other agents of change --religion, education, politics, etc. English mentions effects like prostitution in all forms (conventional, male, homosexual), alcoholism (in Muslim countries), gambling, begging, organized crime, etc. On the other end of the scale are found impacts such as liberation of women from some traditional constraints, moderation of authoritarian relations between the old and the young, revival and preservation of traditional arts and cultures, etc. He also notes inequalities in the host-guest relationships, which to him is mainly the result of socioeconomic and cultural differences. He argues that while this situation may reinforce existing prejudices and stereotypes, available evidence suggests healthy relationships between hosts and guests.

The anthropological works on tourism in the Third World show how international tourism brings into direct contact hosts and guests with different cultures, and the varieties of positive and negative implications for hosts-guests interactions and the cultures of the destination communities. The classic work in this area is that of Smith (1977). Smith notes that tourism and its effects on hosts-guests relationship could range from highly positive to highly disruptive depending largely upon tourists' preferences and expectations, and the ability of the host community to meet these

demands. She thinks tourism does not have to be socio-culturally disruptive. However, hosts-guests relationships usually are strained basically because of: commoditization and subsequent trivialization of local cultures; differences between socio-economic status of hosts and guests; and guests' misunderstanding of the value systems of hosts. These conclusions of Smith are derived primarily from the empirical studies of Urbanowkz (1977) on Tonga, Mckean (1977) on Bali, and Stanton (1977) on Polynesia.

Van Den Berghe's (1984) "Tourism and Re-created Ethnicity" shows that tourism recreates ethnic distinctiveness. This view of Van Den Berghe is mainly a synthesis of the empirical studies of Nason (1984) on tourism and native arts in Micronesia (South Pacific), Esman (1984) on ethnic identity of Cajuns (Louisiana, USA), and Adams (1984) on the role of tourist agents in ethnic rejuvenation among Torajas of Sulawesi (Indonesia). He argues that while the natives display their cultural artifacts in "bastardized" forms for the satisfaction of the tourists, they reintegrate such versions into their way of life, transforming them into authentic cultural symbols and, by so doing, accentuate their ethnic identity. In the same way ethnic stereotypes created by tourism are reintegrated into the host culture as "markers of re-created ethnic identity". Van Den Berghe explains that although the resultant culture might not be the same as the original, it marks the hosts out as a distinct group of people rather than assimilating them into the tourists' home culture.

A special issue of Annals of Tourism Research edited by Graburn (1983) also discusses anthropological perspectives on tourism. In the discussions tourism is portrayed as a "modern ritual". According to Graburn a person travelling on holidays for purposes of recreation leaves the workaday life and enters an entirely different realm of life, where he experiences spiritual ascent similar to a pilgrim. Graburn, therefore, conceives tourism as a secular version of religious pilgrimage. We are particularly interested in his emphasis on the need for more studies of non-western tourism. Three chapters of this special issue deal with this form of tourism: Lett (1983) writes on Yacht Tourism in British Virgin Islands (Caribbean); Pfaffenberger (1983)

discusses tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka; and Ichaporia (1983) deals with tourism as an enigma in Khajuraho, India. Of these three, Lett's work has the most obvious bearing on the thesis. He shows how the yacht tourists perceive the British Virgin Islands' (BVI) local residents and how they in turn perceive the tourists. According to him the type of image formed by the tourists on the BVI is that of "sensual playground" where they can "bask loose" to any extent they wish. The hosts on the other hand, stereotype the tourists as "self-centred and frivolous". Lett discovers that the tourists' perception of the BVI as a "playground" often offends the hosts. However, the hosts seem to tolerate the tourists because of the few economic benefits they reap. In a sense, Lett sees tourism in the BVI as a mixed blessing, since the economic benefits are counterbalanced by costs in the socio-cultural spheres.

The literature on Third World tourism so far surveyed provides some interesting ideas on host-guest relationships and the possible effects of tourism on socio-cultural conditions in destination communities. Although it is concerned with international tourism, it may be relevant in the domestic tourism context. Domestic tourism covers dimensions largely similar to international tourism, the main differences between the two being that the participants of the latter cross international borders and are also to a large extent racially and culturally different from their hosts.

As mentioned earlier in this section of the thesis, literature on domestic tourism is scanty indeed. We shall treat it under two broad headings: Domestic Tourism in Western Industrial Societies and Domestic Tourism in Developing Countries. Archer(1973, 1980), McIntosh and Goeldner (1984), and Mill and Morison (1984) write on industrialized countries while Richter and Richter (1980), Jain (1980) and Nkambwe (1985) consider developing countries. The above works on domestic tourism are selected for review mainly because they deal with some aspects of domestic tourists' preferences and expectations, interactions between domestic tourists and their hosts, and impacts of domestic tourism on destination communities.

Archer's (1973) study of the impact of domestic tourism in the Anglesey region of Britain, though essentially economic, has two aspects which concern our thesis: the flow direction of domestic tourists and effects of crowds or congestion on host-guest relationships. Archer discovers that the flow of domestic tourists in the region he studied is from the urban and industrial centres to the rural areas and the coast. He also notes that the high density of tourists in the destination areas leads to increased local resentment towards tourists and tourism. Archer's (1980) work on the role of domestic tourism in national development, has more direct bearing on our thesis. In this study he makes direct reference to both favourable and unfavourable socio-cultural impacts of domestic tourism. Illustrative examples are taken mostly from Western industrialised societies. He believes that differences in cultural behaviour that exist between different regions of a country may be significant stimulants of the development of domestic tourism. However, these same differences when very great can lead to antipathy. And even when the cultures of the tourists are similar to that of the local residents, there can be some degree of hostility since their interests may not necessarily coincide. In his view, when wealth disparity between the hosts and guests is very marked, crime, prostitution, gambling, drug traffic, etc. may develop in the destination area. In conclusion, he suggests that tourism authorities in the Third World should take advantage of the mistakes and successes of their counterparts in the Advanced countries and create a domestic tourism system that will benefit both the visitors and residents.

McIntosh and Goeldner (1984) consider an aspect of domestic tourism (social tourism) in industrialized countries. Social tourism is subsidized and domestic, designed for low income groups who otherwise cannot afford leisure travel. Perhaps it is a reaction to the high-cost or elitist domestic tourism which tends to exclude people with low incomes. According to them this type of tourism is popular in Belgium, Switzerland, Netherlands, etc. It could be inferred from this work that developing elitist domestic tourism without providing for the leisure needs of the masses could generate socio-political discontent. The significance of this for our thesis is that it provides an insight into some of the unintended consequences of promoting domestic tourism among affluent

Ghanaians.

Mill and Morison (1984) briefly refer to domestic travel in the United States and Canada. They indicate that domestic trips, as compared with international ones, are more dominant among Americans and Canadians. According to them the major features of North American domestic tourism are: a) it is dominated by people between the ages 18-44 years; b) business and convention travel forms less than 20 per cent of all domestic vacation trips; c) those tourists who visit friends and relatives constitute the single largest trip purpose group in both the United States and Canada and; d) the people with the highest propensity to engage in domestic tourism are higher income families and better-educated persons.

Three specific studies of domestic tourism in developing countries, two by Richter and Richter (1980) and Jain (1980) on India, and the remaining one by Nkambwe (1985) on Nigeria, are especially relevant for our thesis. In their article on tourism policy in South Asia, Richter and Richter discuss, in a general manner, domestic tourism in India. They indicate that apart from conservation of foreign exchange, India emphasizes domestic tourism as a technique for increasing national integration. According to Richter and Richter, Indian domestic tourists develop a sense of the country's historical heritage, and a sense of national unity and pride through visiting ancient religious sites and other tourist destinations in the country. They show that domestic tourism in India is of two types: religious tourism and "escape" tourism. The latter type, according to the authors, has its origin in the colonial era and was begun by the English, princes, and the upper class of India generally. It is now spreading rapidly to cover the middle and lower income groups. This is analogous to the situation in Ghana where domestic tourist actvity has begun among the affluent. Jain (1980) identifies two categories of domestic tourists in India: the "traditional" type who visit religious shrines and the "modern" type who travel for reasons other than religious. He notes the rapid growth of the latter category, attributing this to the growth in India's economy during the last three decades. Jain suggests that the vanguard of the modern type are relatively affluent Indians with higher education. Knowledge, culture and the quest for enriching

experiences, according to Jain, seem to be the motivating factors underlying their leisure travel behaviour.

Basically, Nkambwe's (1985) study of intranational tourism is a social survey of how urban Nigerians use their leisure time. He concerns himself with the time budgets of respondents, what they do and think other Nigerians do with their leisure, the places in Nigeria the respondents see as tourist attractions which they have visited before, and factors limiting their leisure travel. The study shows that only a few of the respondents spend their leisure time travelling, and fewer still consider travelling purely for pleasure as sensible or sufficiently profitable. According to him his respondents, unlike foreign tourists, show a preference for artificial constructs like airports, bridges, dams, factories, shopping centres, etc. Nkambwe identifies financial problems, time constraints, ignorance about tourist attractions, and poor transport as the major constraints limiting domestic travel among Nigerians.

The works on domestic tourism so far discussed shed some light on three important areas of our thesis research: domestic tourism initiates and sustains interaction between visitors and local residents; domestic tourism, like its international counterpart, produces both positive and negative socio-cultural effects; domestic tourists' preferences and expectations are influenced by financial, temporal, educational and socio-cultural circumstances.

The uncharted nature of tourism in Ghana is evident in the amount and type of literature on it. So far, no published academic work has been identified. What we find here are a short article by Hakam (1967), an anecdotal article by Crowley (1970), a seminar paper by Gosh and Kotey (1973), three government-commissioned study reports (1972 - 1974) and a report by Addo *et al* (1975) on the impact of international tourism on social life in Ghana.

Hakam tries to draw some connection between international tourism and foreign investment. Providing evidence of how private foreign investment in some western European countries originated from international tourism, he asserts that as Ghana proves attractive to foreign

tourists, financing of further physical tourist structures---hotels and resorts---could come from foreign sources. Through this, according to him, tourism in Ghana would ultimately become self-financing.

Crowley thinks that the type of tourists Ghana is cultivating (those with sophisticated tastes) are not likely to be attracted to the country because of low standard tourist facilities. He argues that Ghana has many tourist attractions (excellent beaches, historical monuments, rich culture, etc.) which can be promoted to attract the type of international tourists who "like everything in the degree to which it is not like their home".

Like Hakam and Crowley, Gosh and Kotey are concerned with international tourism in Ghana. In their paper "Tourism and Foreign Exchange Earnings in Ghana" presented at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), Legon, Gosh and Kotey observe that a major problem facing the Ghana tourist industry is that illegal foreign exchange dealings are occurring to an extent which greatly reduces the benefits of the modest contribution tourism makes to the Ghanaian economy.

The three study reports on tourism development in Ghana are the Obuam Report (1972)--"Tourism in Ghana", USAID Report (1973)-"Developing the Tourist Industry in Ghana" and Hoff and Overgaard Consultants Report (1974)-- "Tourism in Ghana: Development Guide". They survey the touristic assets of Ghana and recommend improvements in existing infrastructural facilities as well as the construction of new ones. For example, they recommend the building of beach resorts, providing overnight/camping facilities in game reserves and mountain areas, sports and entertainment facilities, etc.

Addo *et al* (1975) were appointed by the Ghana Tourist Control Board (now Ghana Tourist Board) to investigate the impact of international tourism on the social life of Ghanaians. Among other things, the study throws light on some of the socio-demographic characteristics of tourists, their value systems, their expectation and biases, and their perception of Ghanaian life and social

values. It also touches on the problems of cultural contact, processes of interaction and some of the factors making or likely to make for healthy development and promotion of international tourism in Ghana. This study, however, seems to be quite different from all the others existing on Ghanaian tourism: though policy-oriented, it is of academic value, since it deals with social change resulting from culture contact.

The pervasive common characteristic of these studies on Ghana's tourism is that they are solely concerned with the development and promotion of international tourism in Ghana. This focus is hardly surprising in a Third World country like Ghana where a high premium is put on earning foreign exchange through international trade.

The literature discussed in this present section touches on three aspects which are of great importance to our thesis: the travel preferences and expectations of tourists; touristic interactions and relationships; and the socio-cultural ramifications of tourism in destination communities. This literature broadly shows that: a) tourists' preferences and expectations are influenced largely by socio-demographic factors, temporal constraints and socio-cultural circumstances; b) both international and domestic tourism bring visitors and hosts into contact, initiating and sustaining interaction processes which can be harmonious and/or hostile; and c) international as well as domestic tourism can produce both positive and negative impacts in the developing countries. Collectively, the various studies examined offer guidance and insight for our approach, in regard to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data on domestic tourism in Ghana.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Given the generally undeveloped state of research on domestic tourism, it is not surprising that it is also rather poorly developed in terms of theory. There is certainly no overarching

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theoretical scheme which might serve as a general perspective for the thesis. However, a number of studies do contain theoretical ideas and insights which can aid in interpreting and illuminating certain aspects of the research problem. Although these have been formulated within the context of international tourism, it seems worthwhile to consider their possible applicability to domestic tourism. Much of the theoretical literature in this particular area seems indebted to Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs" model and tends to ignore or underplay the significance of socio-cultural factors. Typifying this approach is the 'Escape Theory' proposed by Cohen and Taylor (1976), who suggest that a fundamental reason for leisure travel is the desire to escape temporarily from the routine and boredom of everyday life. This desire is held to be rooted in a physiological need which would be satisfied whenever external constraints (e.g. socio-cultural, financial, temporal) are removed or sufficiently weakened.

The "escape theme" is a recurrent one in tourism literature and is discussed in the work of Boorstin (1964), MacCannell (1976) and Graburn (1977). Boorstin claims that the tourist in his escape attempt is not interested in the "real" world, for he does not want to experience "reality". Rather, he seeks illusory "pseudo-events", that is, contrived attractions. MacCannell, however, thinks the contrary. According to him tourism involves an attempt to temporarily escape the inauthenticity of modern life, and therefore the tourist embodies the quest for authenticity. Graburn's formulation, which makes use of the classical Durkheimian distinction between the "sacred" and the "profane" worlds, postulates that tourists are people who are involved in a "profane spirit quest" which includes self-testing and the acquisition of prestige as they temporarily escape from their dull, routine existence. Concerning the direction of the touristic quest, that is, where the tourist wants to escape to, the qualitative traditions in the sociology of tourism --Boorstin's (1964) touristic pseudo-events, MacCannell's (1976) touristic authenticity and Turner's (1973) touristic "centre out there" --postulate that there is an escape to a "centre" and/or "other". Boorstin shows, albeit implicitly, that the tourist seeks recreation in the "other", that is, things totally different from what he is used to in everyday life, but does not engage in any serious

quest for a "centre out there" (a significantly new and different surroundings or environment) to experience the "other". MacCannell, on the other hand, sees the tourist's quest for a "centre out there" but not necessarily a single centre. According to MacCannell, there are dispersed centres of modernity in all tourist attractions, and therefore there is no single centre which would be the tourist's goal. Turner mediates between the two positions, for his "centre out there" is a combination of the qualities of both the "Centre" and the "Other". Unlike MacCannell, however, Turner conceives of a single "peripheral centre": a destination socially and physically different from the pilgrim's (tourist's) place of residence, where both "other" and "centre" are found at the same time. The "otherness" is found in the opportunity to invert everyday conduct in the peripheral centre, and the "centre" symbolizing a place where some central human concerns and values, repressed in everyday life, are realized.

While "escape" may well be a significant element in tourist motivation, complete escape from the tourist's familiar environment seems to be rare. Boorstin (1964) argues that the tourist seeks to enjoy the extravagantly strange from the security of his/her familiar surroundings. Cohen (1972) turns this general insight into a variable forming the basis for his formulation of a typology of tourist roles. Cohen thinks that the tourists' desire to escape is usually tempered to some extent by a need for familiarity, which can serve as a security base from which they can enjoy the experience of change and novelty. In his view, therefore, the tourist's experience combines a degree of novelty with a degree of familiarity. But the exact extent to which these two elements are combined on any particular tour depends upon the individual tastes and preferences of the tourist as well as upon the institutional setting of the trip. He feels that the continuum of possible combinations of novelty and familiarity is the principal underlying variable for the sociological analysis of modern tourism. This idea is utilized in his construction of a typology of tourist roles. Using the above scheme, he identifies four main categories of tourists:

The Organized Mass Tourist: This type tends to maximize familiarity and minimize novelty. Largely, this tourist remains confined to his "environmental bubble" (air-conditioned hotel room

and bus, familiar food, etc.) throughout the trip. He is almost entirely dependent on tourist organizer and guide, the itinerary being fixed in advance with all stops carefully prepared and guided.

Individual Mass Tourist: Although he seeks increased novelty, he still demands a high degree of familiarity. The tour is not exactly pre-planned, he has a certain amount of control over time and itinerary, and is not entirely bound to the group. He occasionally ventures out of the "environmental bubble", but usually into well-charted territory.

The Explorer: For the explorer type, novelty is the dominant element, but he is hesitant to immerse himself completely in the host community. While he arranges the trip alone and tries to go off the beaten track, he never overlooks comfortable accommodation and reliable transportation. To a large extent he tries to associate with the hosts in many spheres of life.

The Drifter: This type maximizes novelty and reduces familiarity to the very minimum level. There is no fixed itinerary and no well-defined goals of travel. He usually refuses to be described as a tourist, and generally shuns connection with the tourist establishment. Total immersion in the host culture is his goal.

In an attempt to understand the preferences and expectations of the Ghanaian tourists, we shall utilize an analytical framework which adopts a dimension from Cohen's work and adds three further derived mainly from the work of McIntosh and Goeldner (1984) and of MacCannell (1976). (The terminology "Dependence-Autonomy" reflects Cohens's distinction between "institutionalized" and "non-institutionalized" forms of tourism, but is taken from McIntosh and Goeldner.) Each of these dimensions represents a continuum, along which the preferences and expectations of individual tourists may be placed, namely:

1.   The Familiarity-Novelty Continuum.

2.   The Dependence-Autonomy Continuum.

3.   The Relaxation-Activity Continuum.

4.   The Tradition-Modernity Continuum.

Since we have already discussed Cohen's "Familiarity-Novelty" continuum, we may turn our attention to the remaining three, indicating what each implies for the conduct of our analysis:

The Dependency-Autonomy continuum reflects Cohen's distinction between "institutionalized" (organized and individual mass tourists) and "non-institutionalized" (explorer and drifter tourists) forms of tourism. The terminology we employ is borrowed from McIntosh and Goeldner, who without referring specifically to Cohen's scheme, speak of "extremes of preference" between "dependence" and "autonomy" and between "order" and "disorder". While dependence and order are presented by these authors as distinct areas of preference (as are autonomy and disorder), they overlap to such an extent that the distinction seems so small as to be insignificant. Together, they embrace all the elements Cohen mentions in contrasting "institutionalized and non-institutionalized" aspects of tourist roles, and in noting the differing degrees to which organized and individual mass tourists exercise autonomy in their travel activities. By "dependence", then, we have in mind the preferences and expectations regarding reliance upon others for planning and organizing tours and the routinized and predictable nature of holidays. On the other hand, by "autonomy" we mean preferences and expectations regarding the need for independent choice, personal control and freedom from institutionalized regulations and requirements. Believing that the tourist experience will usually combine a degree of dependence with a degree of autonomy, we shall be concerned with the continuum of possible combinations rather than with dependency and autonomy as mutually exclusive preference extremes.

The Relaxation-Activity Continuum is derived from another of McIntosh and Goeldner's "extremes of preference". These writers contrast a preference for holidays offering opportunities for "winding-down" (e.g. relaxation, recuperation, rest) with those offering opportunities to acquire or exercise activity skills (e.g. sailing, climbing, sport). The contrast drawn here is a fairly common one in the literature on leisure generally, and especially in works critical of the new "harried leisure class"(Linder 1970). "Leisurely leisure" is contrasted favourably with the assiduous pursuit of "work-like" forms of recreation.

The Tradition-Modernity Continuum represents yet another range of preferences and expectations. For our purposes "tradition" is the designation we give to those touristic preferences and expectations oriented toward long-standing cultural forms and practices (e.g. witnessing or participating in ethnic dance or musical performances, traditional festivals and ceremonies, visiting cultural centres and museums, etc.) or toward a society's history (e.g. visiting achaeological sites, historical buildings and monuments, battlefields, etc.). And by "modernity" we have in mind those preferences and expectations oriented toward contemporary cultural forms and practices (e.g. attending night clubs, discotheques, restaurants, video and movie theatres, sporting events, etc.) or of identifying with recent national developments and achievements (e.g. visiting dam sites, airports, bridges, harbours, factories, universities, etc.).

This continuum is loosely-based on the ideas of MacCannell and of Nkambwe. The former, inspired by the classical work of Veblen (1899), tried to develop a new theory of the leisure class depicting the tourists as the epitome of this class. MacCannell's formulations are deeply rooted in notions of tourism and tourists which seem appropriate mainly for international cross-cultural leisure travel. Nonetheless, his observations on "authenticity" and "staged authenticity" in touristic settings (informed by the ideas of Goffman, 1959) are very interesting, and indicate a dimension of probable importance in the shaping of tourist preferences and expectations. In the view of MacCannell, the international middle class, from which most modern tourists are drawn, live in societies where things which are "authentic", that is, real, genuine, natural, etc. are hard to find. The tourist, therefore, desires to escape from this situation and seek things he conceives as authentic, thus developing an interest in the real life of others. This contrasts sharply the notion of Boorstin (1964) that the modern tourist conspicuously disregards or is not interested in the "real" world around him, and therefore seeks pseudo-events, that is, contrived illusions.

In seeking the authentic (or what some "Adventure Travel" brochures like to call a "face-to-face, hands-on experience") the tourist does not always get what he seeks, nor is he always able to recognize it when he gets it. Temporal constraints and other features of the

touristic experience will often result in a staging of authenticity for the benefit of the tourist (again from the tourism brochure, "sit down and enjoy a traditional Ghanaian meal with an ordinary Ghanaian family" or "see the fishermen in their dugout canoes as their ancestors have done from time immemorial" -all this with no mention of the fact that the table is set with forks and knives in an Accra suburban home, or that the dugout canoes are propelled by Yamaha outboard motors rather than paddles). We do not necessarily believe that the modern tourist's search for authenticity is as compelling as MacCannell seems to imagine. However, this distinction between authenticity and staged authenticity becomes evident in Nkambwe's work which shows a contrast between the sightseeing preferences of local Nigerians and those of foreign visitors to that country. According to him while foreign tourists seem primarily interested in "natural" attractions such as wildlife, traditional arts and crafts, local markets, etc., Nigerians exhibit a marked preference for "artificial" constructs such as airports, bridges, dams, shopping centres, etc.

A second major aim of the proposed research is to conduct a micro-level analysis of domestic touristic encounters. In this area too the paucity of the theoretical literature is evident, and almost all of it relates to encounters between Western mass tourists and Third World hosts. In the absence of an existing analytical framework for examining the interaction in domestic tourism, we shall endeavour to discover the extent to which the emerging theoretical ideas on international touristic relations can be of use in the present study and what revisions of this thinking might be required when it is applied to domestic tourism. In doing so, we make an operational assumption that the differences between international and domestic touristic interaction will be mainly differences of degree rather than of kind. Our analysis here is informed by Turner's (1974) formulations on "liminality" and "communitas", and the UNESCO (1976) study on the effects of tourism on socio-cultural values. These works suggest a number of conditions which shape touristic interactions.

In Turnerian perspective, tourists, like pilgrims, temporarily experience physical and social separation from their ordinary places of residence. In other words, "The individual is taken to an

unfamiliar place, peripheral to his ordinary place of abode, and separated from his ordinary social group" (Cohen 1988: 37). Such separation, according to Turner, leads to liminality (suppression of ordered life or normal human and social values of everyday life) and communitas (an intensive and undifferentiated bond with the group undergoing the experience). Although Turner himself did not develop this thesis in an analysis of tourism, later researchers (Wagner 1977, Moore 1980, Lett 1983, Passariello 1983) have adopted his perspective in examining touristic behaviour. In ordinary life, economic, political and socio-cultural structures put constraints on the lives of people. However, in the touristic situation, as the tourists cross the threshold of an ordered world they are temporarily released from this structural context, and can therefore suspend their normal status and role obligations. What results are spontaneity, personal wholeness, and social togetherness which accounts for the prominence of playful, frivolous or "ludic" aspect of touristic behaviour in destination areas (Turner 1974).

Contrastingly, the UNESCO (1976) study suggests that the general impersonality and lack of spontaneity in host-guest relationships are the result of the transitoriness, temporal and spatial constraints characteristic of touristic situations.

1.	Transitoriness. The temporariness of the relationship is perceived differently by each of the interacting groups. While tourists may see the relationship as "fascinating" or "unique", hosts may see it as one of many superficial relationships experienced during the tourist season. Nash (in Smith 1977), discussing this phenomenon, regards the tourist as almost an ideal-typical example of what Simmel (1921) had in mind when he formulated his conception of "the stranger"- a temporary sojourner who does not share the essential qualities of the host group life. In the view of Nash this condition accounts for the fairly general and impersonal nature of interaction between the two groups.

2.	Temporal Constraints. The limited duration of the tourist's stay influences the duration and intensity of the host-guest relationship. This may result in extremes

of behaviour. The tourist may become very generous to hosts, over-rewarding for minor services or very irritable over minor delays or breaks in services. These constraints may encourage hosts to provide tourists with simplified or condensed experiences--"staged authenticity"- and they may also devise a dual price and services system-- one for tourists and another for locals.

3. Spatial Constraints. For various reasons tourist enclaves are created which tend to be isolated from other parts of the destination community. In such situations interactions between tourists and local residents are very limited and, where they do occur, may be infrequent and superficial.

4. Lack of Spontaneity. Tourism transforms many of the formerly informal and traditional relations, especially spontaneous acts of hospitality, into commercial transactions. Nash (in Smith, 1977) addressing the same issue suggests that "others must serve while the tourist plays, rests, cures, or mentally enriches himself". In this way, it is difficult for hosts and guests to establish relations of intimacy no matter how similar their cultures. The observations of MacCannell on "authenticity" and "staged authenticity", built on Goffman's (1959) idea of the structural division of social establishments into "front stage" and "back stage" areas, also bear directly upon this condition. To MacCannell the empirical action in tourist settings is "mainly confined to movements between areas decorated to look like back (authentic) regions, and back regions into which tourists are allowed to peek". Along the same lines, Nunez (in Smith, 1977) stresses the "rehearsed" nature of hosts' and guests' roles. He suggests that tourists and more often their hosts are usually "on stage" in their interactions and that they prepare for their performances "back stage". Here again the lack of spontaneity in the touristic transactions is suggested.

Finally, we shall attempt a general and preliminary assessment, essentially speculative, of the likely socio-cultural effects of domestic tourism on Ghanaian society. The tentative and provisional character of our assessment is due mainly to three basic circumstances: a.) the incipient nature of domestic tourism in Ghana at present makes it unlikely that its broader socio-cultural effects can be easily identified at this particular time; b.) Southern Ghana, the regional focus of the research, has been subject to integrative and acculturative forces of many kinds (e.g. economic, religious, political, linguistic, educational, etc.) over a long period of time, making it a very difficult task to distinctly isolate the more recent effects of domestic tourism from these others; c.) the fiscal and temporal constraints within which the research was conducted made a large-scale, longitudinal study of tourism's impacts unfeasible. The above problems, however, do not prevent us from venturing informed guesses as to the general socio-cultural consequences of domestic tourism in Ghana. In so doing, we shall concern ourselves mainly with making a provisional evaluation of Jafari's (1986) optimistic scenario for Third World domestic tourism. He suggests, for example, that through visiting and experiencing different parts of the country and becoming familiar with its past and present achievements, domestic tourists will come to appreciate the reality of their country and develop a stronger sense of national awareness and belongingness; social barriers will be eroded as people associate with others from different regions, ethnic groups, religions, etc. resulting in a more integrated national social structure. Jafari also argues that an acculturation process will be promoted as tourists move about the country exchanging ideas and practices --those brought by the tourists may become popular with their hosts, while those encountered at tourist destinations may be taken away and adopted at home, leading to a national process of cultural familiarization and adaptation.

This optimistic scenario of Jafari's can be viewed as the small-scale version of the large-scale scenario often projected for international tourism: the lowering of cultural barriers between nations; a growth in global understanding and mutual respect; etc. However, it is not certain that international tourism actually produces these beneficial results, since there is little supporting

evidence. Jafari himself concedes that these remain largely "desired outcomes" of international tourism. In fact, most studies of the socio-cultural effects of international tourism, especially those on developing countries (Bryden 1973, Turner and Ash 1975, Esh and Rosenblum 1975, O'Grady 1982), portray a pessimistic picture as noted above. From such studies we may derive an alternative "pessimistic scenario" for Ghanaian domestic tourism along the following lines: as wealthy, privileged Ghanaians move about the country, they will develop a stronger sense of their own social and economic superiority; social barriers, prejudices and stereotypes will be reinforced, resulting in a more divisive system marked by increasing arrogance among the affluent and increasing resentment among the mass of the population; as the wealthy urbanites move temporarily but repeatedly to local tourist destinations, an asymmetrical acculturation process will be promoted-- the values and practices of the affluent urbanites will dominate the cultures of the host communities; the result will be a national process of cultural homogenization, interrupted frequently by outbreaks of popular resentment against urban elite domination and the erosion of local cultural identities.

These opposing scenarios will serve as convenient, if somewhat overdrawn, sets of possibilities as far as the general socio-cultural consequences of domestic tourism in Ghana are concerned. We shall have these clearly in mind in our assessment of the socio-cultural ramifications of this kind of tourism in Ghana.

METHODOLOGY

As stated earlier, leisure travel behaviour in Ghana is a largely uncharted research area. This, together with the relatively limited (four months) period of time available for field research, means our enquiry is essentially exploratory in nature and our research procedure reflects this. In gathering the data for this thesis the following procedures were adopted: a.) An "experience

survey" involving informal interviews with key informants from within Ghana's tourist industry; b.) A formal interview survey of 60 members of the business and higher professional sub-groups indicated previously; c.) Direct and participant observations of on-site touristic situations, with informal interviews involving participating individuals in these situations.

a. The Experience Survey:

In this initial phase of the field research, we utilized the experience of selected informants whose intimate professional knowledge of the Ghanaian tourist industry provided us with interesting and useful information on the travel preferences and behaviour of Ghanaian tourists. Here, we focused on the travel agents and tour operators in particular and, using informal interview procedures, sought information on the following: 1) the extent to which relatively affluent Ghanaians make use of their services for domestic and foreign travel. 2) the preferred destinations of these Ghanaians; 3) the importance of individual versus group travel arrangments; 4) the agents/operators' views on travel behaviour and attitudes of affluent Ghanaians; and 5). their views on the short-term and long-term prospects for domestic tourism in Ghana. We conducted interviews with four of Accra's better-known agents/operators(Black Beauty Tours, Akuaba Tours, Speedway Travels and Rainbow Tours), the Executive Director of the Ghana Tourist Board, and the Deputy Chief Director of Tourism in the Ministry of Trade and Tourism. In these interviews we solicited general views on Ghana's domestic tourism and on official expectations regarding its future development.

b. Formal Interview Survey of Business and Higher Professional Persons:

An important aim of this part of the research was to examine the leisure travel preferences and expectations of a sample of business and higher professional persons in Accra to provide direction for that phase of the research involving site visits/observations of touristic situations. Although Ghanaians from many different walks of life engage in limited forms of leisure travel (day trips or excursions to the beach, zoo, or other attractions), we were interested primarily in

more elaborate forms of domestic tourism. Our focus on urban business and higher professional persons was designed to get us closer to these forms. These are the kind of people who possess more disposable income and/or discretionary time than most ordinary Ghanaians and who are in the position, should they so choose, to engage in leisure travel of a more extended and elaborate kind. These relatively affluent Ghanaians, in a sense, represent the vanguard of domestic tourists in Ghana at this particular time..

Our first sub-group, business persons, are the wealthiest of the three. This justifies their inclusion in a study of this kind. We expect that many of them will also have experienced extensive business travel both foreign and domestic, which has the potential to develop into multi-purpose travel behaviour (including leisure travel). Members of the legal profession constitute our second sub-group. While they may not be as rich as the first sub-group, they are among the highest paid and most prestigious professionals in Ghana. Like their business counterparts, they operate in a "hard-driving" work milieu, but one which seems to allow for considerable discretion in the way in which time is apportioned between "work" and "leisure" activities. This aspect of the profession also raises the possibility of leisure travel being engaged in as compensation for or relief from work pressures. The third and last sub-group, comprising senior faculty members of University of Ghana, represents the higher ranks of a profession with financial rewards and social esteem lower than those enjoyed by lawyers in Ghana, though far higher than those received by the general populace. We are interested in this sub-group primarily because of the large amount of discretionary time available to its members and also the curiosity about the world which is cultivated and encouraged within the academic profession. We shall want to find out if these characteristics of their work milieu or sub-culture encourage participation in leisure travel in ways which ovecome their relatively limited financial means (for example, by engaging in low cost vacations, by taking sight-seeing trips in conjunction with attendance at conferences, professional meetings, etc.). The study, focusing on groups of these kinds, obviously limits subsequent generalization about the leisure travel behaviour and attitudes of the Ghanaian urban

elite. However, it should enable us to identify some of the salient features of leisure travel in three of its important component groups.

A set of interview schedules prepared before-hand was used in this particular survey. However, it was modified in light of information and insight gained in the preceding Experience Survey and the first five interviews with the business respondents. For example, the first section of interview Schedule 'A' that made provision for twenty travel experiences in 1986-1987 was substituted with two new questions. The first question asked whether a respondent had ever taken domestic leisure trips or not, and the second asked about the date of the last trip. The interview schedules comprised the following:

Schedule 'A' - Covering travels excluding Domestic Excursions or Day-Trips.

Schedule 'B' - Dealing with Domestic Excursions.

Schedule 'C' - General, covering broad preferences and expectations in respect to leisure travel (structured around the four dimensions of the framework outlined earlier in pp. 17 - 20), views on effects of leisure travel experiences of respondents, views on present state and future prospects of domestic tourism in Ghana, and extent of respondents' foreign travel experience.

Schedule 'D' - Dealing with Socio-Demographic characteristics of respondents.

In an exploratory study of this kind, we could not interview samples large enough to be properly representative of the three sub-groups, each of which is internally differentiated along a number of lines. We rather conducted fairly comprehensive interviews each lasting between one and a half to two hours, with sixty respondents during the research period. We were interested in comparability in the sizes of the three sub-samples, regardless of the numerical strengths of the occupational groups from which they were drawn. Our respondents for this phase of the research were selected in the following manner:

Business persons: The President of the Accra Chamber of Commerce provided me a list of thirty of the city's leading business persons and the locations of their businesses. The first twenty names on the list were used as the main sample, and last ten as a supplementary list to be resorted to in

case of absence or non-cooperation of some of the respondents on the primary list;

Lawyers: In response to my application letter to the Ghana Bar Association requesting names and addresses of thirty leading lawyers in Accra, the Secretary provided me with thirty names and the locations of their business offices in the city. Out of these, twenty served as respondents.

Senior Faculty Members: After discussing my research with the Registrar of the University of Ghana, Legon, he gave me the names and departments of twenty of the most senior faculty members in the university, with a supplementary list of ten.

In order to minimize the risk of non-cooperation by selected respondents, letters of support for the research were collected from the Ghana Tourist Board and the executives of the business/professional associations to which our respondents belong.

c. Observation of Touristic Situations:

In the thesis proposal, a preliminary selection of tourist sites for participant observation was indicated. Two destinations, Akosombo and Sogakope, in particular were proposed as popular holiday centres with tourists of the kind our study focuses upon (based on the researcher's impression formed as a Ghanaian resident). However, after the "Experience Survey" and the "Formal Interview Survey" it was realised that Kumasi was more popular than Sogakope among the respondents. As a result Kumasi was substituted for Sogakope.

1) Akosombo at Lake Volta: This area, situated some 100 kilometres north-east of Accra, became popular after the construction of the dam and the consequent creation of the world's largest man-made lake. The focal point of tourist activity here is the Volta Hotel, situated on a hill overlooking Lake Volta, the gorge and the dam itself. Its attractions for visitors seem to be a combination of technological progress (the dam and hydro generating plant), scenic beauty (the lake and Akwapim-Togo Hills) and recreation (boat trips on the lake, water sports). The researcher observed touristic interaction and conducted informal interviews with selected actors while posing as a tourist/visitor initially and later working as a temporary employee in the various departments

of the hotel over a three-week period.

2)<u>Kumasi</u>: This historic city, the capital of Ashanti, is situated almost halfway between the southern and northern parts of Ghana. It acts as a nodal point for travellers from both the south and the north. With its rich culture and other touristic attractions, its numerous hotels, business opportunities and administrative facilities, Kumasi is very popular among business persons and professionals. The City Hotel, the largest in Kumasi, is situated reasonably close to downtown but in a serene environment. It is a popular choice of many visitors to the city. Here, too, the researcher observed tourist-host interaction and conducted interviews with selected actors while acting as a tourist/visitor initially and later working as a temporary employee of the hotel over a three-week period.

Apart from Akosombo and Kumasi, a number of other sites appeared to be popular as destinations for day trippers and for those wishing to spend a weekend away from Accra. In this category are: Aburi Botanical Gardens (41 kilometres north of Accra); Lakadi Pleasure Beach (Accra suburb); Sir Charles Tourist Centre, Winneba (64 kilometres west of Accra); Cape Coast Castle (144 kilometres west of Accra); Elmina Castle (157 kilometres west of Accra) and Atlantic Hotel, Takoradi (a major seaport some 256 kilometres west of Accra). The researcher visited all these sites (including Sogakope) for short periods (1-4 days) for field observation and interviews with tourists and hosts. The researcher's intention to join at least two parties of tourists engaged in local sight-seeing trips organized by the Tourist Board or a tour operator, however, did not materialize because no tours were organized during his 4-month stay. For these shorter visits the researcher adopted the role of tourist/researcher in conducting his inquiries.

SUMMARY

This thesis examines selected aspects of domestic tourism in Ghana, West Africa. Domestic tourism is in its early stages in the country and consequently, we have little reliable information on

its operation at the present time. In general, tourism research literature has dealt mainly with international tourism, and the small corpus of social science writing on domestic tourism relates largely to European and North American countries. For these reasons, therefore, the thesis is essentially exploratory, seeking to a). increase our understanding of the leisure travel preferences of selected Ghanaian domestic tourists; b). to increase our understanding of touristic encounters in local tourist settings; and c). to provisionally assess the likely socio-cultural consequences of domestic tourism development in Ghana.

General information pertinent to the problem area was gathered in a series of informal interviews with representatives of the Ghana tourism industry and officials of the Ghana Tourist Board and the Ministry of Trade and Tourism. Specific information on travel preferences and expectations was collected through formal interviews with business and higher professional persons in Accra, selected because they appear to possess the requisite disposable income, discretionary or free time and, perhaps, an appropriately positive view of travelling for pleasure. Observations of touristic interaction and relationships were made in a number of local centres which seem to be popular destinations for local leisure travellers.

While the thesis is primarily concerned with questions of an empirical nature, it is also informed by certain theoretical ideas emerging in the sociological and anthropological investigation of international tourism. Basically, the thesis uses the qualitative traditions of Boorstin and MacCannell embodied in an expanded version of Cohen's typology of tourist roles in analysing domestic tourists' travel preferences and expectations. In examining and interpreting the touristic encounters and interactions in local tourist settings, the perspective adopted is shaped by a number of influences, the principal ones being Turner's work and the UNESCO study of conditions determining the character of touristic interaction. In assessing the likely socio-cultural consequences of domestic tourism for Ghana, the thesis utilizes a set of alternative scenarios as broad yardsticks: the "Optimistic Scenario" derived from Jafari's work; and the "Pessimistic Scenario" constructed as logical alternative. The basic operative assumption in our approach is

that the difference between international and domestic tourism is of degree rather than of kind. Theoretical and methodological ideas and insights formulated on international tourism, therefore, may be relevant in the domestic tourism context.

CHAPTER II

TRAVEL AND TOURISM IN GHANA: AN OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a brief survey of the evolution and present state of travel and tourism in Ghana, so as to provide the necessary background for our analysis. While tourism is perceived by Ghana's tourism planners and producers as a "modern" phenomenon, its roots go back further than independence from Britain in 1957. Travel and the temporary presence of strangers are not new in Ghanaian society. Although tourism in modern Ghana has some added dimensions, there remains a traditional frame of reference which is applicable to this thesis. Ghanaians have long been in contact with foreigners and have travelled within the country before the official recognition of "tourism" in the 1960s. Since then, tourism development has been somewhat slow and intermittent. International tourism has been the only focus until recently. Today domestic tourism is dimly emerging on the horizon. To aid our understanding of perceptions and attitudes of modern Ghanaians to tourists and tourism, we examine, specifically, travel in pre-independence Ghana and tourism in modern Ghana. As a prelude we shall briefly present some basic information on Ghana.

Ghana is an English-speaking West African country which was named the Gold Coast by the Portuguese when they first visited it in the fifteenth century. This name persisted throughout British colonial rule. But on the attainment of political independence in 1957 it was named Ghana after the ancient Sudanic Ghana Empire. The country is sandwiched between three Francophone countries: Ivory Coast (La Cote d'Ivoire) on the west, Togo on the east and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) on the north. The south is a coastline washed by the Atlantic Ocean. Ghana is generally a low peneplain country interrupted occasionally by highlands not exceeding 1000 metres above sea level. About two-thirds of its 239,460 square kilometre land area is drained by the Volta river and

its tributaries. Dammed at Akosombo, the Volta forms one of the largest man-made lakes in the world. A tropical equatorial country, Ghana lies in-between latitudes 4 44" and 11 11" north of the equator. Temperatures are generally high with the average of between 26 C and 29 C. Ghana has two major seasons, dry and rainy. In the southern part there are two rainfall regimes from April to July and from September to November. In the northern section rain occurs between April and September, usually followed by a long dry period dominated by the harmattan (a dry, dusty cold wind blown from the Sahara desert).

The latest population census (1984) put the people residing in Ghana in the neighbourhood of 12.2 million. The major concentrations are found in the urban and cocoa growing areas of the south and in the intensively farmed north-eastern corner. The population has a rural component of about 69 per cent. The Akan, the Mole-Dagbani, the Ewe and the Ga-Adangbe constitute the dominant ethnic groupings. The extended family system is strong among all the groups. Even so, there appears to be some distinction between the southern groups and the northern ones due to differential experiences with modern European culture. The south, with the most direct and longest contact, has experienced modifications in its traditional culture as compared to the north. Agriculture is pivotal in the economy of Ghana, employing over 70 per cent of the working population. The bulk of the country's export and food crops are produced by small independent farmers using traditional implements. Apart from crops, timber and minerals feature prominently as export commodities. Many species of trees are exported in both log and sawn forms. Minerals exploited and exported are, in descending order of importance, gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. Manufacturing does not play any significant role in the economy. Almost all the existing industrial plants operate under capacity due mainly to shortages of imported raw materials.

The thirty one years of political independence have been plagued by instability. So far, nine governments have come to power, three of which were civilian regimes, interspersed by military rule. Presently the country is under a military government which came to power through a *coup d'etat* in December 1981. Perhaps such political instability has contributed to the falling standard

of living. The majority of the people are poor, and the gap between them and the rich is widening.

Internal transportation has seen major growth since independence, but the quality is still below international standards. There are 960 kilometres of railway forming a triangle between Accra-Tema, Takoradi and Kumasi. Over 32,000 kilometres of roads exist, providing a network connecting the important settlements in the country. Lake Volta offers a new dimension for internal travel. Recently a port has been constructed at Akosombo, with a small fleet of boats commissioned to ply the lake. There are airports at Accra, Takoradi, Kumasi, Sunyani and Tamale. Ghana Airways is the sole airline providing domestic services. The system, however, is expensive and unreliable. Road transport remains the most prevalent, with private passenger buses and "mammy trucks" (big wooden lorries) being the most popular. (See Appendix for a sketch map of Ghana).

PRE-INDEPENDENCE TRAVEL IN GHANA

Travel as an activity among the inhabitants of present-day Ghana is not an "importation" from the industrial countries, but existed long before contact with Europeans on the coast in the fifteenth century. Migration, warfare, and trade were the main factors inducing movement. However, because of increased trading activities engendered by this contact with Europeans, the incidence of travel increased considerably.

Migration seems to be the single major factor explaining the movement of people in the region now called Ghana before their contact with the western world. Many of the tribes presently living in the country are not the original inhabitants of the regions they occupy. According to tradition, which is supported by the early history of the West African kingdoms, the Akans were the first group of people to migrate to present-day Ghana, entering the region from the north and northeast (Bourret 1952). In the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, the two principal groups of the Akans, who were originally nomadic and pastoral, entered and settled in the

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forest region of the south, the Volta plains and some parts of the coast (Ward 1948, Bourret 1952). The Twi-Fante group occupied the forest area and the coast while the Twi-Guang segment settled on the Volta plains. The second group of people to migrate to the region were the Moshi who settled in the north. On the south-eastern coastal plains are found the Ga- and Ewe-speaking groups. Tradition holds that these tribes migrated from the east during the seventeenth and later centuries. All these groups, through conquest and peaceful penetration, established their supremacy over the original inhabitants of the region, and through a series of stages they moved to occupy their present localities. The distinguishing characteristic of these earlier forms of migration is that the migrants aimed at permanent settlement in their destination areas. In contrast, most migrants in modern Ghana maintain strong contacts with their hometowns/villages, and pay regular visits. Many hope to return to their original places of residence to settle eventually.

Another phenomenon which induced travelling among the people of pre-modern Ghana was trading. In their early years of settlement, a flourishing business transaction known as the Trans-Saharan trade developed between the people and North Africans. In this north-bound trade gold, ivory, pepper, and more importantly, kolanuts were exported (Ward 1948, Kimble 1963). Apart from the middlemen from within the local tribes who bought and sold commodities to North African traders at the major commercial centres in the north, there might also have been some petty traders among the tribes travelling within their localities for business transactions. The Trans-Saharan trade, however, dwindled and withered away with the arrival of Europeans on the coast. The Portuguese, arriving in 1471, are thought to be the first Europeans to begin trading on the coast. They were followed by the French, English, Dutch, Swedes and later the Danes. The European presence on the coast generated a great volume of trade with local inhabitants. Initially gold was the most important item, but later slaves came to be the leading commodity (1). Palm oil, cotton and other items were introduced after the abolition of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1807. These items were exchanged for beads, liquor, textiles, gun powder, firearms, etc. This system of trade increased the incidence of travel among the people, especially the middlemen. The

people from the hinterland travelled with commodities to the south and sold to the Europeans through the coastal tribes. Those tribes, on the other hand, sent imported items to the inland market towns like Fosu and Manso to sell to interior tribes (Adu Boahen 1975). Ward's (1948) observation on slave trading in the country further illustrates this point. According to him: "The supply of slaves was controlled by Accra or Fante middlemen, who sent their agents inland to buy slaves from the wholesale dealers. The Ashanti sent most of their slaves down to the great depot at Manso, some thirty miles from Cape Coast on the Kumasi road" (Ward 1948: 82). The rampant cheating of the interior tribes by the Fante middlemen in this south-bound trade frustrated those tribes, especially the Ashanti, leading to several wars with the Fantes in the eighteenth century (Adu Boahen 1975).

Warfare usually involved movement of the various tribes from their local areas, mostly temporarily. Apart from the wars aimed at gaining control over the lucrative coastal trade, there occurred many wars of expansion by the tribes, particularly the Ashanti. In the eighteenth century they fought and conquered all the tribal groups with the exception of the Fante Confederacy (Adu Boahen 1975). The northern tribes waged wars among themselves, likewise the coastal groups. The advent of the slave trade fuelled warfare among the inhabitants. Powerful tribes and settlements raided the weaker ones, overpowering them and selling them as slaves to the Europeans. The point we are trying to highlight is that such wars involved travelling, usually in a mass form, among the inhabitants outside their localities. After the official abolition of the slave trade (1807), the system of domestic slavery continued among the people. The rich travelled to slave markets like Salaga and Sampa to purchase slaves to marry and/or to help them in their domestic chores and farming activities.

The abolition of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the introduction of cash crops into the country in the early nineteenth century initiated another form of movement among the people. The cocoa boom led to many people, especially Ashantis, Brongs, Ewes and Akwapims, moving to other suitable areas for the cultivation of cocoa plantations after exhausting their own local plots.

Many Northerners also moved down to the forest regions to work as labourers in the plantations. The transportation of cocoa beans to the purchasing centres in the beginning required head portering, thus inducing extensive travel among many farmers. These forms of migration were, however, different from the earlier migrational pattern, in that purely economic factors were the motivation.

Lack of modern transport greatly limited and slowed down the rate of movement of people in pre-colonial Ghana. Until the turn of the twentieth century, except in the immediate vicinity of the largest coastal towns, there were no roads in the country, only foot-paths with high bush on either side, blocked by fallen tree trunks, interrupted by bridgeless rivers and often flooded in the rainy season. Railways were non-existent, and only crude water transport was found in a few favoured areas (Kimble 1963). The poor nature of the transportation system obviously placed a limitation on the movement of people during that period, but, as shown so far, never prevented it.

The imposition of colonial rule introduced some changes in the form of travel in the region. With the movements occasioned by warfare minimized or terminated, coupled with the discouragement of tribal migration (Colson 1960; Kuper 1965), mass movement of people no longer occurred in the country. Individual and nuclear family migration, especially to urban centres for socio-economic reasons, became the trend. Improved systems of transportation (rail and road) facilitated travelling considerably. According to Kimble (1963: 30): "The rapid growth in passenger traffic, and the reduction in transport time and costs, were equally remarkable. In 1904 over 91,000 passengers were carried". Four years earlier there was no rail transport, neither was there any significant road transport. From 1904 transportation in the country saw tremendous expansion resulting in a concommitant increase in the volume of passenger traffic.

The colonial era opened up opportunities for inhabitants to travel to foreign countries, especially Britain. Commerce and formal education were the main catalysts for this type of travel. Rich indigenous merchants like Hutton Mills, Pa Grant, etc. paid business visits to Britain on

several occasions. Also intellectuals such as Philip Quaque, Kwegir Aggrey, J.B. Danquah, to mention only a few, had the chance to study in Britain and the United States. Some prominent politicians like Kobina Sekyi, Caseley Hayford, etc., travelled to Britain to present petitions or to have political discussions with the colonial secretary. This shows that apart from the contact with the Western world through the presence of white traders, explorers, administrators and missionaries on their land, another form of contact was made when some local inhabitants visited the Western world for business, educational or political purposes.

Missionary evangelism was another potent force which stimulated travel and cultural contact in pre-independence Ghana. The white missionaries moved around, and their trained catechists from the coast and the Akwapim Ridge criss-crossed the country. Annual church conventions gave opportunity to some converted inhabitants to visit other parts of the country. Missionaries, both black and white, were among the earliest bearers of Western culture in pre-independence Ghana (Kimble 1963). They initially met a lot of resistance and hostility from the natives not because they were perceived as "strangers", but mainly because of the "gospel" they carried which contradicted most of the indigenous social structures.

In pre-independence Ghana, particularly the pre-colonial period, few individuals could and did move to localities outside their own, but normally they were marginalized or treated as inferiors in the host community. They were normally received cordially and accorded hospitality as "strangers" if they were not members of enemy tribes, but were never accorded the same socio-economic privileges as the natives. The following Akan proverb vividly captures this situation: "A stranger is like a child". Children are seen as inferior to adults, and "strangers" being perceived as children are treated as subordinates regardless of their social status in their own communities. In a sense, the social structures made no allowance for people with wealth and initiative to migrate or travel from their own communities to others and enjoy a status comparable to or better than what they held in their communities. According to Wallerstein (1965), it is probable that emigrants were recruited from among the higher stratum of the traditional

community, and therefore the subordinate position in the receiving community would mark a lowering of social status and political power for the prospective migrant. Another important characteristic of pre-independence travel in Ghana is how the "stranger" was catered to in terms of accommodation and feeding. Accommodation and catering services undertaken with commercial objectives were not in existence until late in the colonial era. Hotels, for instance, have a very short history in the country, the first ones dating no farther back than the 1930s (Guide to Ashanti Hotels and Restaurants, 1986). Therefore, people travelling to places outside their own communities had to rely solely on the hospitality or generosity of the hosts. Services provided were not calculated in economic terms and not paid for by "strangers". Hosts saw the performance of such services as part of their way of life and never expected any financial reward. This is the "traditional hospitality", that is, a warm and generous reception accorded guests, which still exists in some form in Ghana. Guests, however, had reciprocal responsibilities. Apart from small gifts to the children, wives or servants of host, the guest was not to engage in acts that would bring disgrace to the host. For example, the guest should not abuse the children or wives of the host.

This "traditional hospitality" seems to be a cultural system which tends to predispose Ghanaians to act in a friendly manner towards strangers. Put differently, it is a warm welcome extended to the "stranger" irrespective of his sex, age, race, ethnicity, education, religion, economic status, etc. Many Ghanaians feel it is an act of social responsibility to assist the stranger in their communities in any capacity they can afford. Such help may include showing directions, offering water and other drinks, providing food, and providing accommodation without any immediate expectation of material reward. However, the situation is changing in favour of commercialization: there are even instances of local residents demanding money for giving White tourists directions. It should also be noted that commercialization of hospitality is not limited to the touristic situation. It appears to be rather a reflection of changing norms about host-guest relationships in Ghana. Before the establishment of hotels and other formal catering services in the country, such

relationships were generally non-commercial: whether the guest was rich or poor he enjoyed the hosts' hospitality free of charge. The guest could give a present to the wife, child or servant of the host as a token of appreciation. However, gift giving, unlike courtesy, was obligatory for a "visitor" only. Catering to strangers was built into the social structure, and both hosts and Ghanaian guests were conscious of this practice. With the onset of formal catering services, now found everywhere in the country, the stranger, whether a tourist or an ordinary traveller, has to pay his way, especially with regard to food. However, in destinations where commercial accommodation facilities are unavailable, the stranger is sure of free board and lodgings. Presently, stranded travellers, especially men, who can afford the expense, first ask about commercial accommodation. Where there are neither such facilities nor friends/relatives, some travellers will resort to sleeping at local police stations.

In summation, pre-independence Ghanaians moved within and without their localities, and had contact with people from cultures other than their own. However, their travels and interactive situations were not touristic in the popular usage of the concept, for they moved around for motives other than recreation or pleasure seeking. Migration, warfare, business, politics, evangelism and education were the purposes of travel, though sightseeing in some of the travels may not be ruled out.

The foregoing discussion of travel in pre-independence Ghana illuminates some important perceptions and characteristics of travel which will aid our understanding of touristic encounters in modern Ghana: a) travel was viewed as an activity undertaken for serious purposes rather than for pleasure or recreation, therefore contemporary Ghanaians generally associate tourists and tourism with frivolity and wastefulness (2); b) travellers were catered to by a traditional, non-commercialized hospitality system (hotels and restaurants are recent developments). The traditional hospitality system minimized the cost of travel and also prevented isolation of travellers from hosts. Modern hospitality facilities, especially expensive hotels, are seen by some Ghanaians to serve as "hideouts" for patrons and are associated with "extravagance", "illicit" business and

sexual "immorality"; and c) travellers in pre-independence Ghana were perceived by hosts as "strangers" and, therefore, needed assistance in many forms to adjust to conditions in the host community. Tradition required that hosts be warm and generous to "strangers". This "traditional Ghanaian hospitality" is carried over to tourism situations in modern Ghana, and largely accounts for the generally warm reception and friendliness travellers/tourists enjoy from residents of destination areas. However, the generosity aspect is being eroded by increasing commercialization of relationships.

TOURISM IN MODERN GHANA

Travel in modern Ghana, unlike that in pre-independence Ghana, has an added dimension: leisure travel. Virtually unknown in the past, leisure travel is now an observable phenomenon on the travel scene. It is, however, at an incipient stage, and operates on a small scale. A number of foreigners, especially European and American vacationers, pay visits to the country. Until 1986 the proportion of holiday visitors far exceeded business and other visitors, but since that period the scale seems to have tilted in favour of business visitors. A few Ghanaians and expatriates residing in the country engage in domestic leisure travel. The majority of Ghanaians who participate in this conventional domestic tourism may be male urbanites who are in the high income group and/or are highly educated.

Like the other sectors of a country's socio-economic system, modern tourism requires official involvement in providing general policy and an organizational framework to enable the private sector to operate in concert with the state. Specifically, such involvement entails setting tourism objectives, introducing necessary organizational and legislative support, operational participation in the form of direct investment in tourism infrastructure, and monitoring tourism activities. Such governmental participation is crucial in a developing country like Ghana where the private sector often lacks the ability or willingness to bear that responsibility. The extent of govermental

involvement, however, may be determined largely by official views or perceptions on tourism itself. Where tourism is perceived by the government as a negative or insignificant contributor to the national development process, the result is usually passive involvement. On the other hand, where tourism is viewed as profitable there is active governmental participation. Governmental involvement in Ghana's tourism has varied over the years. From about 1960 to 1971 governments concerned themselves merely with changing the name and form of the body dealing with tourism issues. During the 1972 - 1975 period, however, there were frantic attempts at tourism planning. The industry seemed to become invisible from 1976 to about 1984. Since 1985 there have been efforts to revitalize the sector by encouraging greater private investment, both foreign and domestic. Throughout its history in Ghana, tourism has never had any comprehensive official policy. Only recently has a policy proposal been laid before the government for consideration.

Although international tourists had started trickling into Ghana sometime before independence, it was during 1960, when the country became a republic, that tourism received official recognition. Perhaps because of its small volume and insignificant contribution to the national economy, tourism never attained the status of a full ministry. Starting as an adjunct to the then Ministry of Parks and Gardens, it has since been shuffled around to various ministries: Trade, Industry, Information and Culture.

It was well over two years after the official recognition in 1960 that a Board to take charge of formulation and execution of tourism policies was finally established. It was named the State Hotels and Tourist Corporation. However, it gained a separate and autonomous identity in 1965 when it was detached from the State Hotels Corporation. It maintained this name and status (State Hotels and Tourist Corporation) until 1973 when it was divided into two, Ghana Tourist Control Board and Ghana Tourist Development Company Limited. The former (GTCB) was charged with the responsibilities of tourism policy formulation, tourism research and planning, and monitoring of tourism facilities and infrastructure in the country. The latter (GTDC) had in its

jurisdiction the direction of state participation in tourism investment. Reacting to this state of affairs, Addo *et al* (1975) remarked that the tourist industry in Ghana before 1972 existed only in name; while successive governments busied themselves with changes in the official designations of regulatory bodies, no rational planning of development projects was actually undertaken.

In light of the above, the then military government, the National Redemption Council, appointed a commission led by Obuam (1972) to study the tourism situation and make recommendations for its development. Based on the commission's report, the NRC subsequently launched a medium-term development plan in which there was a capital outlay of 20 million cedis for undertaking investment in tourism. Another commission was undertaken by Hoff and Overgaard Planning Consultants, who were appointed in 1974 to conduct studies in order to provide factual bases for embarking upon a long-term plan. In the main, the commission confined itself to touristic problems and the possibility of international tourism in Ghana, with special reference to the infrastructure. Based on the result of the study a fifteen-year tourism development plan (1975 - 1990) was drafted. In 1975 the Tourist Board appointed Addo *et al* to further study aspects of the problems, issues and impact of international tourism on Ghana and make recommendations for development and promotion.

Despite the grandiose tourism plans of the 1970s, tourism in Ghana still remained in the doldrums. Successive governments failed to make financial commitments necessary for systematic implementation. Tourism remained therefore, a low priority until 1985 when the present government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), designated it a priority area for development. Consequently, provision was made for tourism in the National Investment Code (1985), which culminated in the organization of the first ever International Tourism Fair in November 1986. However, it seems tourism once again received only rhetorical attention, for it has been completely neglected in the Economic Recovery Programme (1983 - 1990). To date, no substantial financial allocation has been made for the development and promotion of tourism. In effect, the governments have only initiated, to borrow the phrase of Jenkins and Henry (1982),

"supportive action" toward Ghana's tourist industry. In other words, the various governments have neither directly inhibited the development of tourism, nor have they actively encouraged it. This lukewarm attitude towards tourism in Ghana is exemplified by the government's unwillingness to accord it a full ministerial status, and directly invest in tourism infrastructure. Concommitantly, insignificant budgetary allocations have plagued the industry; it has been totally neglected in the current Economic Recovery Programme; ongoing tourism projects have been abandoned; and attempts have been made to sell or lease out the state hotels to expatriate entrepreneurs. It seems the governments have remained sceptical about the contributions international tourism can make in terms of foreign exchange earnings, employment creation, etc. It would seem that, until recently, governments have not taken much interest in domestic tourism because it does not directly bring in foreign exchange, and they doubt its viability given the generally low standard of living in the country.

Ghana's tourism officials recently have begun to recognize the strides that sister African countries like Kenya, the Gambia, Ivory Coast (La Cote d'Ivoire), etc., have made with international tourism, and have therefore become optimistic about its development in Ghana too. Given the substantial touristic resources (beautiful beaches, waterfalls, fauna and flora, castles and forts, picturesque traditional culture, etc.,) of the country and the growing international demand for new tourist destinations, they finally realize the tremendous potential of tourism (both international and domestic) in Ghana's socio-economic development. They therefore look forward to the time when tourism would be accorded the necessary support by the government. Tourism officials believe that the proper development of international tourism in the country has the potential to generate substantial foreign exchange, bolster Ghana's image in international circles and increase the level of understanding between Ghana and the tourist generating countries. With regard to domestic tourism, they are of the view that it may help Ghanaians to know their country better, promote national integration, create healthy recreation, and enhance productivity. Despite the optimisim of tourism officials, the government is still less than wholehearted in its support of

tourism development.

The optimistic vision of tourism officials has found expression in the recent "Tourism Policy Proposals" submitted to the government for consideration. After reviewing the history, problems and touristic assets of the industry, the proposals assert that tourism in Ghana could play a productive role in the Ghanaian socio-economic system if the needed resources are marshalled to pursue "International in-bound tourism", "Regional tourism", and "Domestic tourism". With international in-bound tourism, the aim is to attract sun-lust tourists from the temperate regions, tourists interested in exotic culture and monuments, sightseeing tourists, adventure tourists, business/conference/ convention tourists, and Black American "roots" tourists. Regarding regional tourism, the officials are interested in co-operating with other African countries, particularly those in the West Africa subregion through the sharing of touristic ideas and the costs of overseas tourism promotion. In the area of domestic tourism, the aims are to initiate both intensive and extensive publicity and public education programmes, form tourist clubs at workplaces, organize more out of town tours and "Meet-Me-There" programmes, and encourage informal tourism. A "Meet-Me-There" is a form of domestic excursion which has been practised in Ghana since 1977, and involves a variety of organized entertainment programmes at specific sites, especially the beaches and cultural centres.

Tourism officials, unlike many other Ghanaians, seem very optimistic about the prospects for domestic tourism development in Ghana. The basis of this optimism is that Ghanaians are by nature fun loving and will avail themselves of opportunities to enjoy themselves. Since the main aim of leisure travel is enjoyment, it is expected that Ghanaians will patronize it, if well organized. According to the officials interviewed, Ghanaians' favourable predisposition toward leisure travel is evidenced in the following: 1) success of "Meet-Me-There" programmes; 2) patronage of drinking bars and entertainment by most Ghanaians; 3) the fun many of them have during festivals and even at funerals; 4) the success of experimental excursions to "Dwarf Island" in Lake Volta and Boti Falls by the Ghana Tourist Board (in conjunction with Rainbow Tours); 5) incipient individual

and group tours to popular destination areas like Aburi Botanical Gardens, Akosombo, Lake Bosumtwi, Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, etc. during weekends and public holidays; and 6) the emergence of tourist clubs. However, officials contend that much of this potential has not been transformed into large scale "conventional" tourism mainly because of inhibiting factors such as poor tourism facilities, unreliable and costly transportation, expensive hotel accommodation, ignorance about the existence of tourist attractions, cultural attitudes as to the benefits of leisure travel, and low income levels. These obstacles are not viewed as unsurmountable. Generally the official belief is that through proper planning, organization and judicious utilization of available resources, the problems could be significantly minimized. Specifically they suggest strategies like grassroots involvement in planning, accessing existing local accommodations, use of company buses and cars, formation of tourist clubs, intensive public education on the benefits of leisure travel, aggressive promotion of tourist attractions, development of a "tourism culture" among school children, and travel subsidies by employers and government.

Tourism officials feel these objectives can be realized through the re-organization of the industry, by spreading the tentacles of the regulatory bodies to all parts of the country, and by the encouragment of increased private participation. So far tourism offices have been established in most of the regional capitals. The plan is to eventually set up offices in all the regional capitals, district centres and important towns in order to facilitate the coordination and promotion of touristic activities. The Tourist Board has initiated the formation of tourist clubs in workplaces under the aegis of the Ghana Association of Tourist Clubs (GATC). Developments in the private sector are also encouraging. Presently, approximately thirty travel agents and tour operators organize international travel and occasionally conduct domestic tours for international tourists to Ghana. Private hotels (including motels and resthouses) have sprung up in several areas of the country. Of the 421 hotels with a total room capacity of 8652, only 20 are state-owned. A private hoteliers' association (GHA) is already in operation. Privately-owned restaurants and night clubs, under the umbrella of the Restaurants and Night Clubs Association (RNCA), are found in all

important locations. There are also handicraft shops which have joined together under the Handicraft Dealers Association of Ghana (HDAG). Private car rental services exist in all the major hotels and airports in Accra and Kumasi. Another important ancillary development is the recent formation of the Ghana Association of Travel Writers (GATW).

In sum, it is the hope and dream of Ghana tourism officials to create

> a viable tourism industry from which to derive immense benefits particularly foreign exchange revenue, job openings for Ghanaians, stimulation of growth in other sectors of the economy as a result of the multiplier effect of the industry, provision of healthy entertainment and recreation for the youth and finally creating opportunities for the Ghanaian to travel around to learn and know his country better (Tourism Policy Proposals, 1987: 3).

International tourism has been the sole preoccupation of the Ghana tourist industry until quite recently. This is evidenced in the reports of the various commissions appointed to study tourism in the country. They usually review the touristic assets and problems and make recommendations using international tourism as the only frame of reference. Addo *et al* (1975: 27) reporting on the impact of tourism on social life in Ghana remarked: "To date, it is only international tourism which receives official attention." Officials' preoccupation with international tourism is mainly due to its potential to generate foreign exchange. Despite the official "attention" international tourism as an industry has received, it occupies an insignificant place in Ghana's industrial mosaic because of the lack of investment. Apart from hotels, which are mostly below international standards, investment in other tourism infrastructure such as catering, recreational and entertainment facilities has been neglected (Tourism Policy proposals, 1987). Consequently, the industry has experienced only minor increases in tourist inflow and revenue. The statistics below illustrate the point clearly.

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TABLE 1: TOURIST ARRIVAL AND REVENUE DATA

YEAR	ARRIVALS	REVENUE
1955	4,800	Not available
1960	13,500	Not available
1962	15,700	Not available
1964	27,900	Not available
1965	26,100	Not available
1970	34,500	Not available
1980	39,514	US$0.4m
1981	66,736	US$0.4m
1982	13,411	US$0.4m
1983	30,000	US$1.2m
1984	36,205	US$1.6m
1985	85,332	US$I.0m
1986	92,550	Not available

(Source: Ghana Tourist Board, 1987)

Although the number of tourists increased at an average rate of about 11 per cent per annum, during the period under consideration, in absolute terms this increase is quite insignificant when compared with tourist traffic to sister African countries like the Gambia, La Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, etc.

None of the various commissions on tourism in Ghana have seriously considered the possibility of developing domestic tourism. In 1976 Annancy, the then chairman of the board of directors of the Tourist Corporation, raised the idea of developing domestic leisure travel among

Ghanaian residents. He was fascinated by the existence of tremendous tourist attractions in Ghana which domestic tourists could enjoy. Specifically he was much attracted to a "stilted village" called Nzuleso near Beyin, about ninety kilometres west of Takoradi in the Western Region. Along with Tourist Board and Ministry of Trade and Tourism officials, he went on a sightseeing tour to the village. His intention was to whip up their interest in domestic pleasure tours and their development. However, his domestic tourism idea was stillborn, in that it never received any subsequent consideration until it was resurrected during the "Inter-Tourism '86" fair. Domestic tourism also has been accorded a significant recognition in the recent tourism policy proposals by the Tourist Board and the Ministry of Trade and Tourism. One of the cardinal objectives of the proposals is "to encourage Ghanaians to know their country better through the promotion of various types of domestic tourism" (Tourism Policy Proposals, 1987: 26). In spite of its official recognition, however, it took almost fourteen years for the governments to realize the importance and possibility of developing domestic tourism in Ghana. This time lapse is hardly surprising since the industry was set up with a basic agenda of earning foreign exchange.

Ghana's underdeveloped economy obviously imposes many constraints on the development of leisure travel among the people. The situation is further complicated by the perception held by many Ghanaians that tourism represents a luxurious or wasteful foreign culture. This negative perception can be attributed mainly to the extensive extended family claims on the individual's income because of the undeveloped nature of the State welfare system in Ghana. The economic and socio-cultural constraints restrict conventional tourism (tourism as known in the advanced countries) to: a) mainly that affluent minority who have developed a positive attitude towards leisure travel; b) the small number of workers and students who, though with a positive attitude to tourism, are still saddled with financial constraints. They are, therefore, compelled to engage in organized group excursions.

Nonetheless, a large group of Ghanaians are trying to circumvent the economic, temporal and socio-cultural constraints by engaging in multi-purpose, informal forms of tourism such as

"funeral tourism", "convention tourism", "sports tourism" and "festival tourism". Some also use extended family ties as avenues for leisure travel. However, it must be noted that many people in this category do not consider themselves tourists.

One prominent group of tourists on the Ghanaian domestic tourism scene, but outside our focus, are the expatriate residents: Whites, Orientals, Indians, Lebanese, Syrians, etc., who are usually diplomats, IMF/World Bank officials, American Peace Corps personnel, university teachers and business persons (3).

Group tours, as leisure travel, seem to dominate Ghana's domestic tourism scene, especially among student groups, church organizations, welfare societies, workers organizations, sports clubs, tribal associations and tourist clubs, taking mainly day trips to tourist destinations like Aburi; Akosombo, Tema, Accra, Kumasi, Lake Bosumtwi, the castles and museums. These kinds of tourists, generally, are attracted by artificial structures such as universities, harbours, airports, dams, bridges, factories, etc. Their sightseeing interests appear similar to Nkambwe's (1985) Nigerian respondents, who expressed much interest in artificial constructs.

Two factors seem to explain this category of Ghanaian tourists' preference for institutionalized or organized group tours: 1) they are mostly from the lower income group, and this kind of travel may help them reduce their cost of travel considerably and, 2). most of them are not familiar with the tourist destinations and therefore, may not want to step out completely from their "environmental bubble". By travelling with a familiar group, the novelty or strangeness of destination areas is minimized (Cohen 1972).

"Meet-Me-There" has been a popular form of domestic excursion in Ghana since 1977. Apart from those organised at Abonu (lakeside), a village about 27 kilometres south of Kumasi, all the other "Meet-Me-There" programmes, to date, take place in the cities. On such occasions, usually public holidays, a multitude of Ghanaians from all walks of life flock to such centres to participate in the planned activities. Since the programmes occur in their own city or locality,

transportation to the activities is not expensive; neither is there the problem of "strangeness" within the environment. Most people, therefore, attend these activities either individually or in small groups of friends/relatives, rather than in organized groups.

Funerals are used by Ghanaians of various socio-economic backgrounds as opportunities to travel outside their places of residence for sightseeing and/or relaxation. According to the proposed tourism policy (1987: 21): "What perhaps could be domestic tourism is the increasing popularity of welfare societies, professional associations and workers unions criss-crossing the country on Saturdays to attend funerals of colleagues and relations". For many such people, the mourning aspect of the funeral may not be very significant. My informal interviews with some university lecturers and workers who normally attend funerals of colleagues, with a group of workers from Accra who were attending a funeral at Bekwai near Kumasi, and with some business persons in Accra, conveyed this impression. The travel flow of such funeral tours is usually urban-rural. The rural people attend funerals outside their villages, but for them the pleasure component seems negligible since generally they are not exposed to leisure travel as a recreational activity.

Funeral tours take the form of both day and overnight(s) trips, depending upon the distance of the funeral destination from the participants' places of residence. However, the close relatives and friends of the deceased normally stay overnight or longer regardless of how short the travel distance may be. Different factors may account for the participation of different socio-economic groups in "funeral tourism" in Ghana. Many business persons and professionals face temporal constraints, perhaps because of the nature of their jobs and their conception of time. Attendance at the funerals of friends and relatives is obligatory in Ghana and compels members of this socio-economic group to take some time from their work. They use such "opportunities" to see other places and, at times, to relax, as my interviews with some prominent business men in Accra revealed. Workers, on the other hand, perhaps because of their precarious financial positions, face the problem of transportation, accommodation and food costs in their travels. Funeral attendance helps solve these problems by making available free transportation (offered by organisers of

funerals or management), and also free accommodation and food (provided by the bereaved families). Research on funerals in Ghana has shown that most funerals make available such facilities. In the words of Twumasi (1978: 111), "...expensive organizational arrangements are made to accommodate and find food and drinks to feed sympathizers and other out of town relatives".

Religious conventions are very popular in Ghana. Both Islamic and Christian groups organize annual conventions for their members. Within the Christian group the sects, especially the Pentecostals, form the majority in this kind of activity. During the Easter and Christmas holidays, several religious groups travel to various cities, towns and villages in the country for such meetings. The official motive is clearly religious, but perhaps many individual participants join these trips mainly for touristic reasons. Religious conventions in Ghana could be classified into two major types: the first involves groups which make day trips to places like Aburi Botanical Gardens, Akosombo, Buoho grotto, Lake Bosumtwi, the beaches along the coast, etc. for meditation, sometimes making room for sightseeing and relaxation; the second involves various branches of a religious movement congregating for "spiritual revival" and spending more than a day at the destination area. Such meetings allow ample opportunity for life-seeing, sightseeing and relaxation. The cost of transportation for this type of convention trip is usually borne by the church or members who make contributions to supplement it. Food costs are kept down by foodsharing among members and also the communal preparation of food. Accommodation is provided at no cost in both the homes of host groups and classrooms.

Sports tourism is found both in urban and rural Ghana. There are several football (soccer) teams and clubs throughout the country which, with a group of fans, travel to destinations outside their places of residence to play or watch the games. Apart from their interest in football itself, both players and fans use these travel opportunities to see places in the country; When the trip involves an overnight stay they enjoy taking some time off to relax. Sports travels in the rural areas are mainly day trips. However, those in the urban centres involving big football clubs take

the form of extended trips (minimum of six nights) or short trips (maximum five nights). Many fans make use of hotel accommodation when they travel to the big sports centres like Accra, Kumasi, Tamale, etc. This is evidenced in the sudden increase in demand for hotel facilities in those destinations when there are football matches between popular clubs.

Traditional festivals are celebrated in localities throughout Ghana at different periods of the year. The popular festivals include "Homowo" of the Gas, "Aboakyer" of Winneba, "Bakatue" of Elmina, "Hogbetsotso" of Keta, "Akwasidae" of Ashantis, "Ohum" of Akyims, "Odwira" of the Akwapims, "Munufie" of the Brongs and "Kwafie" of the Akwamus. During such occasions many Ghanaians, both natives and non-natives of the localities, flock to these festival areas to participate in the celebrations. Non-natives, apart from enjoying the activities, use such trips for sightseeing, relaxation and meeting people. The natives, on the other hand, take the opportunity to relax and have fun. The festivals provide opportunities to get away temporarily from the hustle and bustle of city life or the boredom of routine in their everyday lives. Apart from transportation costs, non-locals travelling with friends to attend the festivals do not normally shoulder any expenses; food and accommodation are provided by hosts.

Individual Ghanaians, particularly those living in the rural areas, pay occasional visits to uncles, aunts, cousins, in-laws, etc. staying outside their hometowns/villages. Such visits are temporary and usually do not have business or work motives. Rather they are vacations to many of the visitors, who seize the opportunity to visit interesting spots in the destination areas, relax and meet new people. Food and accommodation are the responsibility of the hosts, and even in some instances, the hosts bear all or part of the transportation cost. Because of the general deterioration in the country's economy since the late 1970s, however, this type of travel may be on the decline.

Tourism is an aspect of a foreign holiday culture which is being cultivated in Ghana through its contact with the advanced industrial countries. The majority of Ghanaians are not exposed to

the benefits of tourism, and therefore are yet to develop a positive attitude towards it. This socio-cultural factor coupled with the generally low income levels in the country, limit conventional forms of tourism to a very small percentage of the population. However, it seems the idea of domestic tourism in Ghana is gradually spreading among Ghanaians.

In the past the above-mentioned activities which are now being shaped as tourist attractions, had little or no commercial and touristic significance. They are now so glamourized that their attendance has become almost irresistible to natives and non-natives alike. Even funerals, meant for mourning, have come to acquire this extra dimension. Many people now attend funerals, festivals, sports events (especially football), etc., mainly to conduct their business transactions, and for pleasure. The residents of those communities undertaking such events also take advantage of the situations and increase the scale of their catering and other businesses. Wyllie (1968) noted the congregation of several spectators in a holiday mood at Winneba during "Aboakyer" festival, which stimulated varied and diverse business activities. Restaurants and hotels experience increased business during these occasions. For example, in Kumasi during important football matches and funerals many of the hotels reach their full capacity, and hotels in Winneba are always overbooked during the weekend of the annual "Aboakyer" festival. The effective manner in which the mass media publicize these events also seems to add to their magnetic influence. Of late, the Tourist Board organizes trips to such "action spots", using its luxurious coaches. The State Transport Corporation also increases its fleet of buses to places like Winneba, Cape Coast, Keta, etc., during annual festivals, and to Kumasi during important football matches. These trips are elaborately advertised in the national newspapers (dailies and weeklies), on the radio and television to attract both natives and spectators.

Non-conventional or "informal" tourism utilizing these activities seems to be widespread in Ghana. Many Ghanaians circumvent the economic, temporal and socio-cultural constraints militating against their participation in leisure travel by utilizing funerals, religious conventions, sports, festivals and extended family ties as touristic avenues. They use such opportunities to

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travel to get away temporarily from the routine of life in their places of residence, to see new places and things, to meet different pec, e and, at times, to relax. Many people in this category of travellers, however, do not see themselves as tourists, for they perceive tourists as foreigners, particularly whites, visiting Ghana for holidays. Leisure travellers seeing themselves as "travellers" instead as "tourists" is not peculiar to Ghanaian domestic tourists. The general tendency is to see "other people" as tourists and oneself as something more elevated ("traveller"). The reason is that the term "tourist", in its popular usage, is still associated with "frivolous" or non-edifying travel.

The dominant official view today is that the informal type of tourism in Ghana could form a strong foundation for the development of a viable domestic tourism; this may be one of the factors accounting for the high hopes of tourism officials on the prospects of domestic tourism. There is the need, however, to conduct detailed research into these forms of domestic tourism in Ghana so as to ascertain their nature, extent and dynamics, and how best they could be nurtured into an effective leisure and socio-economic venture. Our thesis, dealing with the "conventional" aspect involving relatively affluent Ghanaians, is a step in this direction. This chapter of the thesis, among other things, serves to help us understand: 1) Ghanaian tourists' preference for multi-purpose travel; 2) the association of tourism with frivolity and wastefulness; 3) association of hotels with extravagance and illicit activities; and 4) the virtual absence of hostility in local residents - tourists encounters.

CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC TOURISM: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

Having presented the general background of travel and tourism in Ghana in the previous chapter, we in this chapter examine the nature and extent of domestic leisure travel among a sample of business and higher professional Ghanaians resident in Accra, and to identify the main factors underlying their travel behaviour. Specifically, it is the aim of this chapter to present the results of an interview survey of 60 respondents and to analyze these results using the framework outlined in chapter one. It should be noted, however, that our respondents are not randomly selected, and therefore our findings, interpretations and conclusions should be viewed only as a possible source of hypotheses which could be tested with a larger, random sample. As indicated in chapter one, an important purpose of this interview survey was to examine the leisure travel preferences and expectations of such business and professional persons so as to provide directions for that phase of the research involving site visits/observations of touristic situations.

The analysis in the chapter deals with both day trips and "extended/short" forms of leisure travel among a sample of business and higher professional Ghanaians in Accra. "Extended/short" trips will be designated "vacation travel" throughout the analysis. Day-tripping or excursionism is the type of leisure travel involving visiting a destination outside the usual place of residence and returning within twenty four hours. There is no overnight stay. It must be noted here that day tripping is usually a precursor of vacation travel. For example, Thomas Cook's tours in mid-nineteenth century England first started with excursions and later developed to more extended forms of leisure travel.

Vacation travel, on the other hand, involves travelling outside one's normal place of residence for one or more nights, with pleasure seeking as the major component or sole objective of the trip. Vacation travel in Ghana involving the use of hotel facilities is very expensive. For example, during the time of my fieldwork (September - December 1987) the rate was 3,500 cedis

per night for a double room in Class A State hotels and 5,500 cedis per night in Class A Private hotels. Lunch and supper cost about 2,000 cedis. On the average it cost between 6,500 and 7,500 a night to stay in a class A Ghanaian hotel. This amount was roughly equivalent to one month's full income for an average Ghanaian.

THE RESPONDENTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The 60 respondents forming the sample for the formal interview survey were selected equally from three occupational groups: 20 business persons, 20 lawyers, and 20 university lecturers. The sample comprised 51 males and 9 females. This male bias is a reflection of the general underrepresentation·of women in the higher socio-economic sector of Ghanaian society. The respondents fell within the age range 30 - 77 years, with the majority (29) in the range 42 - 53. The breakdown of the age distribution is as follows: 14 came within the range 30 - 53; 16 were found in 54 - 65 range; and only 1 respondent was in the range 66 - 77. It is not surprising that the majority of the respondents were 40 years and above, for it takes long periods of schooling and work experience to gain prominence in the higher professions (law and university teaching); even a business, which normally needs mainly capital and flair to start, also benefits from long experience.

With regard to marital status, 56 of the 60 respondents were married. Only three were single, and only one divorced. All but three respondents had one or more children. The average number of children ranged from 1 to 11. Of the respondents without children, one was a male above 60 years, while the other two were women below 35 years of age. The distribution of respondents' level of educational attainment was as follows: 11 had education below university level; two were diploma holders; and 47 held university degrees ranging from bachelor's to doctorate. There was no illiterate. This pattern of educational attainment reflects the fact that it requires at least a bachelor's degree to be a lawyer or a university lecturer. One interesting

feature of respondents' educational backgrounds is that 37 out of the 60 had some overseas education.

All the 60 respondents belonged to one or more professional associations, and 42 were members of one or more social clubs. Eighteen of them did not belong to any social club. Apart from four respondents who were non-Christians, the rest belonged to a wide range of Christian denominations: Presbyterian 15, Methodists 13, Catholic 11, Anglican 10, Ridge Church four, Pentecostal two, and Baptist one. There were no Seventh-Day Adventists or Jehovah Witnesses. Of the three non-Christian respondents, one was a Hindu, another was a Moslem, and one was an Atheist.

All the bigger Ghanaian ethnic groups were represented in our sample. Akans (Ashantis, Fantes, Akuapims, Akyims, Kwawus and Brongs), 35, formed the majority. Twelve were Ewes, 11 were Ga/Adangbes, and two were of Northern Ghana extraction. Compared with average Ghanaians all our respondents are affluent, but for analytical purposes we group them into "more affluent" and "less affluent" based on property ownership. Those respondents who owned their own houses and means of transport are classified as "more affluent", while those without such properties are classified "less affluent" (see Table 25 in Appendix 1). It needs to be remarked here that in Ghana ownership of houses and vehicles are the most important yardsticks of wealth.

Foreign travel seems to be an interesting feature of our respondents' travel pattern. All of them have visited one or more foreign countries, but Western industrialized countries are the most popular destinations for the respondents (see Table 29 in the Appendix 1). With regard to the number of foreign countries visited, it can be seen from Table 2. that 13.4% of the respondents have travelled to 1-3 countries; 31.6% have visited 4-6; 23.4% have been to 7-9 countries; and 31.6% have travelled to as many as 10-12 foreign countries. They visit foreign countries for the purposes of education, business, conference participation, religious convention, visiting friends/ relatives and pleasure. Few of their foreign travels are purely for pleasure. Many of them,

however, take some time off for sightseeing and relaxation during their business, conference and other travels. The preference for foreign travel destinations becomes more evident when we consider the foreign travel experiences of the respondents vis-a-vis their domestic travels. Whereas all the respondents have travelled to a foreign country before, 51 and 47 have, respectively, got day trip and vacation travel experiences within Ghana. By probing further in my formal interviews with the selected business persons and higher professionals in Accra, it became manifest that they prefer foreign, especially overseas, travel destinations to those of Ghana. The reasons for this preference include: 1) existence of developed and efficient tourism infrastructure in those countries; 2) bearing of foreign travel costs (transport, accommodation, food, etc.) of many of the professionals by the government or their companies; moreover, such travellers get the opportunity to do their personal shopping and do their individual business transactions; and 3) the prestige attached to foreign travel by the Ghanaian public. Ghanaians generally esteem highly people who have travelled overseas, popularly called "Been-tos" or of late "Burgers", because such people are perceived as rich and sophisticated.(see Appendix 1 for tables on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents).

TABLE 2: FOREIGN TRAVEL EXPERIENCE OF ALL RESPONDENTS

Number of countries	N	%
None	0	0.0
1-3	8	13.4
4-6	19	31.6
7-9	14	23.4
10-12	19	31.6
TOTAL	60	100

DOMESTIC LEISURE TRAVEL PATTERNS

a. General Features

Many of the Ghanaian business and higher professionals travel within the country spending some time at their destination area(s), but what we still do not know much about are the patterns and purposes of such travels. Where do they travel to? How do they get to their destinations? What are the purposes of those trips? Who do they travel with? Where and how do they spend their time during such trips? What are their main benefits and/or disappointments from such travels? What is the nature of interaction that develops between them and the various people they meet at their destinations? etc. These are the main issues we shall consider in this section of the chapter.

Table 3 shows the duration type or the number of nights respondents spent at their main destinations during their latest trips. It reveals that trips lasting six nights or more are not at all popular among our respondents, for only 19.2% of them stayed at their main destinations for such extended periods. Trips of less than six nights duration are rather common: more than 80% spent one to five nights. Of the respondents who participated in trips of longer duration, lecturers (7) constituted the largest category. Only one each of the business persons and the lawyers had that experience. The reason for this may be the premium they place on accummulation of wealth rather than financial problems, since the lecturers are disadvantaged in terms of income as compared with the two other occupational categories. If we are to go by income level, the business persons and the lawyers would be seen more in trips extending beyond five nights than the lecturers. They are self-employed and could therefore decide to take any number of days off for leisure without any official queries, but they hesitate to do that perhaps because they conceive of the number of days spent without working as money lost to them. This reason is strengthened by the multi-purpose nature of their travels. Most of them usually combine pleasure with business/work.

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF NIGHTS SPENT BY RESPONDENTS AT DESTINATION AREAS IN
THEIR VACATION TRAVEL

Nights	No.	%
1	8	17.0
2	9	19.2
3	12	25.5
4	5	10.6
5	4	8.5
6+	9	19.2
TOTAL	47	100

Unlike day trips which ought to be solely for pleasure, vacation travel may be taken for many reasons. Here we shall consider the "main" and "other" purposes of vacation travel taken by respondents. Table 4 shows that the majority (70.2%) of them indicated that pleasure was the main purpose of their trips. Concerning other purpose(s) of trips, the importance of pleasure becomes clear: 38.3% indicated they had no other purpose apart from pleasure-seeking, and an additional 29.8% indicated pleasure as a secondary purpose of their trips. The multi-purpose nature of the respondents' travels is also manifest: the majority of the sample either travelled for pleasure and did other things in addition or travelled for business, work or funeral and took some time off for pleasure. In terms of the purposes of trips, there is some similarity between our respondents and the North American respondents of Mill and Morrison's (1984) study. They discovered that purely business and convention trips formed less than 20% of domestic vacation

travel of their respondents. However, unlike what is found in India (Jain 1980, Richter and Richter 1985), religious tourism is not popular among our respondents.

Table 4 depicts the purposes of trips of our respondents.

TABLE 4: PURPOSES OF RESPONDENTS' VACATION TRAVEL

Purpose(s)	Main Purpose		Other Purpose(s)	
	No.	%	%	
Pleasure	33	70.2	14	29.8
Business	4	8.5	4	8.5
Work	5	10.6	0	0.0
Funeral	4	8.5	3	6.4
None	0	0.0	18	38.3
Other	1	2.1	8	17.0
TOTAL	47	100	47	100

An interesting feature of the travel patterns of our respondents is visiting other destinations apart from the main one, known in tourism literature as "circuit" tourism (Pearce, 1987). Circuit tourism involves tourists visiting more than one destination on a single holiday trip, usually not returning to the original destination before leaving for the place of residence. Intra-destination travel, on the other hand, is a practice whereby the tourists, once they arrive at the main destination, make some trips to adjoining localities but return to the main destination before finally leaving for their places of residence (Pearce, 1987). These trends are known to exist in international tourism, but little attempt has been made to explore their existence in domestic tourism.

Our data clearly suggest that both "circuit tourism" and "intra-destination travel" were practised by our respondents, for 50% of them spent some part of their time away from the main destinations. What does not come out clearly in our data, however, is whether the respondents returned to their main destinations or not before finally departing to their usual places of residence. We are, therefore, not quite sure about the ratio of circuit tourism to intra-destination travel. Future research on domestic tourism may throw more light on these phenomena. Table 5 shows respondents' visits to other destinations.

TABLE 5: VISITS TO OTHER DESTINATIONS FROM MAIN DESTINATION

Response	No.	%
Yes	24	51.1
No	23	48.9
TOTAL	47	100

The travel period of our respondents spans from the 1960s to 1987 with various frequencies of visits. The majority of them engaged in some form of leisure travel, with day trips being more popular among the respondents. Since the 1960s 51 (85%) of them have engaged in day trips within Ghana, while the corresponding figure for vacation travel is 47 (78.4%). Up to 1979 only 10 (16.7%) of the respondents had made day trips, and the period 1980 - 1985 saw 9 (15%) of them participating in that kind of leisure activity. The figure shot up to 32 (53.3%) in 1986-87. The corresponding figures for vacation travel are: up to 1979: 14 (23.4%) ; 1980-1985: 7 (11.7%); and 1986-1987: 26 (43.3%). This distribution may be an indication of how participation in domestic leisure travel increases as the individual goes through the life cycle, increasing importance of

domestic leisure travel among the sample or a clearer memory of recent travels. The third factor, however, may not be a strong one, since leisure travel is so special to our respondents that they may not easily forget whether they travelled in a particular year or not. What may be easily forgotten are the details of trips taken long ago. For example, after four unsuccessful attempts to meet a female professor of University of Ghana for an interview, I left her a copy of my interview schedule for her to get acquainted with the nature of the questions. Two days later I received a writen note from her stating:

> I was away on leave from September last year, and returned only four weeks ago. I can therefore complete the questionnaire for 1985/86, but I'm not sure I can remember clearly enough the trips I made and how long I stayed in any given place, so I'm afraid my responses will not be reliable.

Whereas only 15% of respondents had no day trip experience, as many as 21.6% of them had never engaged in vacation travel (see Table 6a.). The main reasons they cited for not taking this kind of trip are financial, temporal, the undeveloped nature of Ghana's tourism infrastructure and lack of personal interest. What did not come out clearly was the socio-cultural reason. When there are funerals or other social functions like festivals, "outdoorings"(4), etc., Ghanaians generally do not use lack of time and money as excuses because they are perceived as "obligations" or "important things". Perhaps many Ghanaians give excuses for not engaging in leisure travel because that activity, as expressed by a professor at the University of Ghana, "is not part of the Ghanaian culture". There is no obligation whatsoever to participate in leisure travel, and refusal or failure to take such trips attracts no social disapproval. Tables 6a. and 6b. respectively show the travel trend and travel frequency of respondents.

TABLE 6a: TRAVEL TREND OF ALL RESPONDENTS

	Day Trip		Vacation Travel	
year	N	%	N	%
1986/1987	32	53.3	26	43.3
1980-1985	9	15.0	7	11.7
1975-1979	6	10.0	9	15.0
1968-1974	3	5.0	4	6.7
1962-1967	0	0.0	0	0.0
Before 1962	1	1.7	1	1.7
No Experience	9	15.0	13	21.6
TOTAL	60	100	60	100

TABLE 6b: TRAVEL FREQUENCY OF ALL RESPONDENTS

Frequency	Day Trip		Vacation Travel	
	N	%	N	%
Nil	9	15.0	13	21.6
Once	4	6.7	13	21.6
Twice	5	8.3	4	6.7
Three times	8	13.3	4	6.7
Four times	4	6.7	3	5.0
Five times or more	30'	50.0	23	38.4
TOTAL	60	100	60	100

b. Familiarity and Novelty

Generally, tourism offers social and spatial change for participants, but tourists may differ in the degree of change they want to experience. Using destination and accommodation preferences of our respondents we shall examine the degree of familiarity and novelty they prefer. In other words, at what point on the "Familiarity-Novelty" continuum can they be placed?

Destination areas are very crucial in leisure travel, for they are the places where touristic activities really occur --sightseeing, sports/games events, hospitality services, relaxation, encountering other people, etc. Georgulas (1970: 442) emphasizes this point by asserting that "Tourism as an industry occurs at 'destination areas' - areas with different natural and/or man-made features, which attract non-local visitors (or tourists) for a variety of activities".

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Perhaps it is the existence of natural and man-made "pull factors" of tourism in Ghanaian tourist destinations like Kumasi, Akosombo and Aburi Botanical Gardens which account for their popularity among our respondents. As shown by table 7, Kumasi was visited by 20% of the vacation travellers (all other destinations received less than 12%). Of the day-trippers Akosombo attracted 31% and Aburi 23.5%. No other day trip destination was visited by more than 6% of the respondents who participated in day trips. Kumasi is attractive as a historical and business/commercial centre. The many relatively good quality hotels also constitute important attractions. The main qualities of Akosombo are the dam and the port which are surrrounded by beautiful natural physical features - the winding, sparkling lake lying in the bosom of the Akwapim-Togo hills. The Volta hotel situated on a hill overlooking the dam and the lake is an added attraction. Aburi Botanical Gardens on a ridge with a cool climate, beautifully cultivated plants and flowers, and good restaurants provides both natural and man-made attractions.

With regard to vacation travel, our data (Table 7) show that Kumasi was the most popular among the main destinations. Over 20% of our respondents visited there as against 11.7% visiting Takoradi, the next most popular destination. Following Takoradi in popularity is Northern Ghana which is noted for its natural scenic attractions. Only 8.5% of our respondents, however, visited there. This is probably because of its long distance from Accra and the poor nature of the road which make it very expensive and difficult to visit. Aburi was visited by none of our respondents who engaged in either extended or short vacation trips. Perhaps due to its closeness to Accra (41 kilometres) it is more attractive to day trippers. As many as 34% of our respondents visited other destinations. These are mainly the hometowns/villages of those visitors, and they normally visit for funerals, festivals, family meetings, and also to work on farms or other projects. Some of them, however, visit their hometowns/villages during Christmas and Easter holiday basically for pleasure.

Kumasi and Takoradi, which are so popular among respondents who stay overnight or longer, are among the least popular destinations for the excursionists. Perhaps this is due mainly

to their long driving distances from Accra (Kumasi 5-6 hours drive and Takoradi 4-5 hours).

On the whole, urban destinations were more attractive to our respondents than rural destinations in their leisure travels. The domestic tourist flow among our respondents, therefore, may be described as urban-to-urban. This appears to support Nkambwe's (1985) observation on the flow direction of Nigerian domestic tourists. According to him the urbanites were in the majority of domestic leisure travellers, and they usually visited other urban centres in the country. These observations could be contrasted with the situation in the industrialized countries, especially Britain, where the domestic tourist flow is mainly urban-to-rural (Archer 1973, 1978). However, given the relative "anonymity" of domestic tourists and also fewer opportunities to record their movements as international travellers, the identification of domestic tourism flows is a matter which should be treated with caution. Table 7 presents the main tourist destinations visited by our respondents.

TABLE 7: MAIN TOURIST DESTINATIONS VISITED BY RESPONDENTS

Destination	Day Trip		Vacation Travel	
	No.	%	No.	%
Aburi	12	23.5	0	0.0
Ada	1	2.0	0	0.0
Aflao	2	3.9	0	0.0
Akosombo	16	31.4	1	2.1
Akuse	1	2.0	0	0.0
Cape Coast	2	3.9	2	3.3
Elmina	1	2.0	1	2.1
Ho	1	2.0	0	0.0
Koforidua	3	5.9	2	4.3
Kpong	1	2.0	0	0.0
Kumasi	1	2.0	12	25.5
Northern	0	0.0	4	8.5
Prampram	1	2.0	0	0.0
Sogakope	1	2.0	2	4.3
Takoradi	3	5.9	7	14.9
Tema	3	5.9	0	0.0
Wli Falls	1	2.0	0	0.0
Other	4	7.5	16	34.0*
TOTAL	51	100	47	100

*This constitutes eleven different settlements (hometowns/villages of respondents rather than

popular tourist destinations).

The respondents' preference for popular, urban tourist destinations in Ghana is an indication of their preference for "familiarity". Their usual places of residence are urban and their leisure travel destinations are mostly urban: both places exhibit urban characteristics such as largeness, congestion, noise, and modern amenities. However, it must be remarked here that, although tourist destinations like Akosombo and Aburi have the quietness of a rural area, they have modern urban amenities such as electricity and pipe-borne water. Respondents visiting such destinations, therefore, do so not because of the novelty or strangeness they offer, but mainly because of opportunities they offer for relaxation. In short, although respondents' travels to new places outside their places of residence entail experiencing some degree of "novelty", choosing destinations and environments similar to their usual places of residence tends to minimize the "strangeness" involved.

Corroborating respondents' preference for familiarity is their loyalty to particular destinations. Destination loyalty, that is, repeat visits to tourist destinations and the desire to keep on visiting, is found among many international tourists (Murphy 1985). It is not known whether or not such destination loyalty exists in domestic tourism. Our data on the previous visits of our respondents to their destinations reveal that destination loyalty is widespread among them. Table 8 shows that, of those who engaged in vacation travel, 93.6% had visited their main destinations twice or more, 40.4% seven times or more. Destination loyalty seems to be evident among domestic tourists. Since our respondents keep on visiting particular tourist destinations in Ghana, those environments would be fairly familiar to them. Novelty in destination areas cannot therefore be a strong "pull factor" for those tourists.

TABLE 8: PREVIOUS VISITS TO MAIN DESTINATIONS BY VACATION TRAVELLERS

Number of times	No.	%
Nil	9	19.2
1 - 3	10	21.2
4 - 6	9	19.2
7 - 9	19	40.4
TOTAL	47	100

Accommodation is a vital facility in vacation travel, and tourist accommodation ranges from luxurious chain hotels, through motels and resthouses to youth hostels and caravans. In Ghana there is only one transnational chain hotel, and there are no youth hostels or caravans. However, various categories (A, B, and C types -Tourist Board grading) of travel accommodation, based on the standard of facilities and services, do exist. For economic, socio-cultural and other reasons many vacation travellers utilize private homes. Table 9 shows the types of accommodation used during respondents' vacation travel.

TABLE 9: ACCOMMODATION PREFERENCES OF VACATION TRAVELLERS

	Business	Lawyers	Lecturers		
Preference	No.	No.	No.	TOTAL	%
Relative's house	5	2	4	11	23.4
Friend's house	3	4	3	10	21.3
Private hotel/Resthouse	3	5	1	9	.19.1
State hotel	3	4	1	8	17.0
University Guesthouse	0	0	4	4	8.5
Government Resthouse	0	0	3	3	6.4
Own house	1	1	0	2	4.3
TOTAL	15	16	16	47	100

Our data (Table 9) show that 49% of respondents stayed in private homes, 42.5% stayed in hotels/resthouses, and 8.5% (all lecturers) housed themselves in University guesthouses. Of the 42.5% who stayed in hotels/resthouses, 17% preferred State hotels/ resthouses. The corresponding figure for those showing preference for private hotels is 19.1%. Generally more lecturers than business persons and lawyers stayed in cheaper accommodation. The reason may be basically financial. This becomes evident when we consider the reasons our respondents gave for choosing the type of accommodation they lodged in (see Table 30 in Appendix 1). While a majority of the business persons (11) and many lawyers (9) indicated "convenience" and "obligation" as the main reasons for their choices, 11 out of the 16 lecturers emphasized "financial" reasons. With respect to hotel/resthouse accommodation, on the whole, our respondents attach more importance to high

standard facilities and services.

The proportion of our respondents staying at private homes during their vacation travel is substantial (49%). The explanation for this occurrence, especially with the business persons and the lawyers, may not be financial. They stayed in private homes not because they could not afford hotel expenses, but rather because they appeared to be compelled by traditional socio-cultural norms to stay with friends and relatives at the destination areas. According to some of the respondents their friends/relatives in the destinations they visited would be very angry or sad if they were to learn that they (those respondents) stayed in hotels/resthouses during such visits, because they may interpret that behaviour to mean either that they (respondents) bear them some grudge or they were being "anti-extended family" or "unGhanaian". Asked why respondents chose their type of accommodation during their vacation trips, 13 out the 23 who stayed in private homes indicated "obligation/convenience". The rest cited "facilities" (4), services (2), and "privacy/security" (4) as their reasons (see Table 31 in Appendix 1). It must be remarked here that "obligation" is relative, for the affluent Ghanaian tourist would not feel obliged to lodge with a friend or relative who does not have accommodation with basic facilities that will ensure him minimum comfort and privacy. Where the friend's or relative's accommodation does not measure up to the expectation of the guest he would rather opt for an hotel/resthouse. Moreover, the host without "decent" accommodation would not be keen on inviting a friend or relative on vacation to stay with him. The point being emphasized here is that respondents who stayed with friends or relatives during their vacation travel might have stayed with those of similar socio-economic backgrounds.

Although the socio-cultural explanation given by respondents is important, we are interested in the extent to which their choice of private, non-commercial accommodation reflects their preference for "familiarity" as against "novelty". Tourists staying with friends or relatives of similar socio-economic backgrounds as theirs, or staying in their own houses at the destination area are likely to maximize familiarity. Apart from the "newness" of the destination area which may

present some "strangeness", all other things may be familiar: familiar people; familiar accommodation facilities; familiar food; familiar language (5), etc. In effect, such tourists stay in their "environmental bubble" which serves as a security base from which they enjoy the experience of change offered by the destination area (Boorstin 1964, Cohen 1972). Generally respondents' accommodation preferences tend to incline towards "familiarity", for they choose facilities and services similar to what they are used to in their usual places of residence, and that which will give them maximum comfort. A clear distinction is made between State and private hotels/resthouses. The good private ones are usually more expensive than the State ones, but those who have the means normally patronize the private ones. (During the period of my fieldwork the rates for a double room of class A State and private hotels per night were 3,500 and 5,500 cedis respectively.) However, the trend seems to be changing gradually. With some improvements in the facilities of the State hotels/resthouses and advantages of better security and services coupled with lower rates, they are now attracting a number of Ghanaians. This is evident in the proportion of our respondents who stayed in that type of accommodation. While 19.1% stayed at private hotels/ resthouses, 23.4% lodged in state ones.

Accommodation preferences of our respondents show that they demand high standards. It was discovered during my participant observation in some Ghanaian hotels that many of the guests do not readily accept rooms which are not air-conditioned, and some also immediately check out if the rooms are not well-furnished. Asked if they deem "high standards and comfort" as important in their leisure travels, a majority (65%) of our respondents indicated that they see this as "extremely important" (see Table 27 in Appendix 1). The preference for high standard facilities and services is another indication of the respondents' quest for "familiarity". The bedrooms and offices of most of the respondents are air conditioned, their rooms are well furnished, they own their televisions, VCRs, refrigerators, etc. These are the very things they want to have or expect in hotel rooms. In effect, the respondents change from staying in their own rooms to staying in hotel rooms, but there is not much change in room environments, thus minimizing the strangeness

of the new place. This suggests that "familiarity" has several dimensions: familiar surroundings, familiar comforts, familiar people, etc.

The generally low interaction between our respondents and their hosts also suggests their familiarity with the destination areas. Further discussion with respondents showed that they did not interact much with their hosts because they were familiar with the destination community, and therefore there was not much to talk about. The low interaction is reflected in their responses to the question: "What activities were suggested to you by hosts?" While 40.4% of the respondents showed that their hosts suggested some activities to them, 56.6% indicated that nothing at all was suggested to them by their hosts (see Table 32 in Appendix 1). Of this latter category of respondents some showed that little or virtually no verbal interaction took place between them and their hosts. However, the majority of respondents who stayed in private homes (60%) had increased interaction with their hosts. Perhaps the increased interaction was mainly because the interacting parties knew each other very well prior to their meeting. It should be noted here that staying in private homes may be a better way of knowing a new destination area than staying in an hotel/resthouse, since it would provide opportunities to discuss the new environment with friends and relatives. However, our respondents' mention of socio-cultural "obligations" as a reason for choosing private homes, the importance they attach to comfort and convenience, coupled with their indication of familiarity with destinations they visit, seem to show that interest in "novelty" was not a major consideration in their travel accommodation choices.

c. *Dependence and Autonomy*

Tourists may combine varying degrees of "dependence" and "autonomy" in their travel, depending primarily on their tastes, the nature of tourist destinations visited, and the availability of institutionalized tours. The "dependence-autonomy" preferences are usually reflected in tourists' travel choice processes with respect to destination, trip organization, etc. The importance our respondents attach to personal choice of destination shows their interest in "autonomy" during

leisure travel. From Table 10a the majority (66.6%) of respondents who engaged in vacation travel chose their destination solely by themselves. Of those who made the choice with others, 12.8% made the decision with their wives or husbands, 10% with friends and 6.4% with relatives. Five per cent of the respondents, made up of business persons and lawyers, indicated that the choice was made for them by the Tourist Board. This pattern of destination choices suggests our respondents' general lack of interest in charter or organised tours in which destinations visited are pre-fixed by tour operators.

TABLE 10a: VACATION TRAVELLERS' CHOICE OF DESTINATIONS

Choice	No.	%
Solely by informant	31	66.0
With wife/husband	6	12.8
With friend(s)	5	10.6
With relative(s)	3	6.4
Tourist Board	2	4.2
TOTAL	47	100

Travel agents, tour operators, newspaper/magazine and television advertisements have virtually no influence on our respondents' choice of travel destinations. Table 10b shows none of the respondents utilized information from a travel agent, tour operator or television advertisement, and only 4.3% of them made choices based on newspaper or magazine advertisements. Personal knowledge and information from friends/family/relatives seem to be very important sources to the respondents. The overall picture points to the virtual lack of formal publicity about tourist destinations in Ghana. It may be that many Ghanaians do not travel for pleasure partly because of their unawareness of that kind of travel and the existence of places of touristic interests. Nkambwe (1985) noted a similar situation in Nigeria. According to him many of his respondents were unaware of most of the tourist attractions outside their own localities.

TABLE 10b. DESTINATION INFORMATION: SOURCE USED BY VACATION TRAVELLERS

Source	No.	%
Own knowledge	26	51.3
Friend/Family/Relative	14	29.8
Newspaper/Magazine	2	4.3
Business/professional associate	1	2.1
Television	0	0.0
Travel Agent/Tour Operator	0	0.0
Other	4	8.5
TOTAL	47	100

As shown in Table 11a. the responses of our respondents are skewed positively towards preference for individual as against institutional organization of leisure trips. A clear majority of them (82.4%) indicated that their day trips were organised solely by themselves. The picture is not different when it comes to vacation travel. Over 93% of the respondents made their own transport arrangements. The remaining 6.4% relied on friends and relatives (see Table 12b.).

Tables 11a and 11b highlight our respondents' general preference for individually organized trips. For day trips, those who indicated they liked "Everything" being organised by themselves were in the majority (72.6%). A further 7.8% preferred "Most things" organised by themselves. Only 19.6% liked their trips "Organised by someone else", but even among this category of respondents 5.9% of the total did not like "Everything" being organised by someone else. None of the respondents had ever joined any trip organised by a travel agent/tour operator. The unpopularity of institutionalized tours among our respondents is, therefore, made manifest.

TABLE 11a: TRIP ORGANIZATION OF DAY TRIPPERS

Organized by:	No.	%
Own Self	42	82.4
Friend(s)	4	7.8
Business/Social club	4	7.8
Tourist Club	1	2.0
Tour operator	0	0.0
TOTAL	51	100

TABLE 11b: DAY TRIPPERS' PREFERENCES IN TRIP ORGANIZATION

Preference	No.	%
Everything organized by you	37	72.6
Everything organized by someone else	7	13.7
Most things organized by you	4	7.8
Most things organized by someone else	3	5.9
TOTAL	51	100

The mode of transport used by our respondents in domestic leisure travel also reflects their preference for individual organization. In a Third World country like Ghana where rail and air transportation are not well developed and the public transportation system is poor, it may not be surprising that vacationers travelling would use road transport as the main mode, and those who

have their own cars will use them. Our data show support for this. The majority (91.5%) of the respondents travelled by road (own car, S.T.C. Bus, Friend's/ relative's car, Tourist Board coach), whereas only 6.4% travelled by air. Use of own cars was the most popular (72.4%) choice. However, this observation is not surprising since the majority (41 out of 60) of the sample selected for the study are affluent enough to possess their own cars.

TABLE 12a: MODE OF TRANSPORTATION USED BY VACATION TRAVELLERS

Mode	No	%
Own car	34	72.4
S.T.C. Bus	7	14.9
Aeroplane	3	6.4
Friend's/Relative's car	1	2.1
Boat	1	2.1
Tourist Board coach	1	2.1
Rented car	0	0.0
Taxi	0	0.0
TOTAL	47	100

Reasons for the use of own cars appear to be the high prestige involved in travelling with your own car in Ghana and lack of reliable and efficient public transportation system. None of the respondents used a rented car or taxi, perhaps because such means of transport are unusually expensive in Ghana. A proportion (14.9%) of the respondents used State Transport Corporation buses. The reason may be the poor condition of many roads and frequent lorry/car accidents.

Thus they found it profitable to use S.T.C. buses, considering the repairs one has to make after long trips with a car, and also the relative safety enjoyed by travelling with such buses.

TABLE 12b: VACATION TRAVELLERS' TRANSPORTATION ARRANGEMENTS

Arrangement	No.	%
Without Assistance	44	93.6
With Assistance	3	6.4
TOTAL	47	100

On transport arrangements, it is clear in Table 12b that most (93.6%) of the respondents made arrangements without any assistance. Only 6.4% sought some sort of assistance, and even here the assistance was from friends and relatives, and not travel agents/tour operators or Tourist Board. However, the picture is different when it comes to international travels. According to travel agents/tour operators interviewed in Accra, many Ghanaians make use of their services for air tickets and at times for hotel accommodation in their international travels. The explanation may be that the respondents think they are sufficiently familiar with conditions in Ghana to dispense with the services of travel agent/tour operator in their domestic travels. Another reason is that most travel agents/tour operators in Ghana are themselves not interested in organizing domestic trips for Ghanaians because they are not profitable, according to them. This seems to support what Becker (1987: 521) noted in West Germany's domestic tourism. In his words, "....travel agencies can profit more from selling a trip abroad than a domestic trip so the services and brochures at the travel agencies favour foreign destination areas". So far only one tour

operator (Rainbow Tours) has shown interest in domestic tours involving Ghanaians, but the patronage is not encouraging. Its day trips scheduled to take place during the "Child Fair '87' (December 2 - 14) proved a fiasco because not enough people registered for them.

This general lack of interest of our respondents in formally organized trips is further indicated by their response to the question as to whether they see "Letting others worry about making arrangements" as "Extremely important", "Moderately important" or "Of no importance at all". As many as 76.7% of them indicated this was "of no importance at all" to them (see 27 in Appendix 1). Some of them remarked that they do not think formally organised tours could cater to their individual interests. They choose to be "autonomous" instead of being "dependent" on any formal tourist institutional arrangement (McIntosh and Goeldner 1984).

d. Relaxation and Activity

In tourism literature, a distinction is sometimes drawn between tourists who prefer "relaxation" and those who prefer "activity". We are here interested in discovering the importance our respondents attach to different forms of recreation in their leisure travel. This can be done by examining their choice of travel companions and their preferred activities at destination areas. Tables 13a., 13b and 13c. show respondents' travel companions, and Table 15 shows their activities at destination areas.

TABLE 13a: PARTICIPANTS IN DAY TRIPS OF RESPONDENTS

	Spouse	Children	Parents	Friend	Other Rel.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Always	12	10	0	5	0
Usually	6	5	0	4	1
Sometimes	17	16	1	13	6
Never	16	20	50	29	44
TOTAL	51	51	51	51	51

TABLE 13b: PARTICIPANTS IN VACATION TRAVEL OF MALE RESPONDENTS

	No.	%
Unaccompanied	14	35.0
Friend(s)	6	15.0
Girlfriend	6	15.0
Relative(s)	4	10.0
Family	4	10.0
Wife only	4	10.0
Children only	2	5.0
TOTAL	40	100

Table 13b. above shows the extent to which male respondents were accompanied by others in their leisure trips. On the whole 35.0% of the respondents who travelled said they were not accompanied by other people in their trips. It should be remarked here that it is probable that some of these respondents might be camouflaging on this question, since my observation at local tourist destinations revealed that very few guests come unaccompanied. The majority (65.0%) of the respondents, however, said they were accompanied, and of these 15.0% travelled with friends, 15.0% with "girlfriends", 10.0% each with relative(s), family and wife. Only 5.0% travelled with children. In proportion to the married male travellers who were accompanied, the percentage of respondents who travelled with girlfriends is 25.0% (see table 13c). From the data it may seem only a small proportion of the respondents travel with girlfriends. However, in reality the proportion of married affluent Ghanaian males who travel with their girlfriends may be substantial (6). The reasons for the disparity may be that: 1) the majority (93.2%) of the respondents indicated they were Christians (see Table 24 in Appendix 1). Since the Christian religion forbids extra-marital sex, married respondents who claim to be pious Christians but travelling with girlfriends may want to hide such behaviour from the outsider; 2) many Ghanaian males have the tendency to introduce their girlfriends as "wives" to the outsider and even to friends; and 3) some Ghanaians, both males and females, simply use "friend" to represent "girlfriend" or "boyfriend".

The male respondents' lack of interest in taking vacation trips with wives is manifest in the proportion of married female respondents (five out of seven) who did not travel with husbands. (It is likely that those female respondents have husbands who are prominent businessmen or higher professionals since Ghanaian women tend to marry from their own socio-economic status group or from a higher one). Of the seven married female respondents only two travelled with their husbands, the rest were accompanied either by female friends, business/professional associates, relatives or children. None travelled alone. This tends to confirm the notion that Ghanaian women do not like travelling for pleasure unaccompanied mainly because they fear to be labelled prostitutes. Also none of the female respondents indicated that they travelled with "boyfriends".

This can be explained culturally. Although some married Ghanaian women engage in extra-marital sex, they try to hide it because society disapproves of it. While Ghanaian men usually divorce their wives for committing adultery, it is unusual for women to seek divorce on the same grounds. Another point at issue here is that Ghanaian males (both educated and uneducated) and educated females view marriage and family from different perspectives. Many an educated woman desires a more companionate marriage and family life, but men usually prefer a type of marriage relationship that would give them room to manoeuvre, especially in the area of sexuality (Omari 1960, Little 1977, Dinan 1983).

What comes out distinctly in our analysis is our respondents' tendency to travel for pleasure without their families, wives or children. Rather, many of them tended to travel unaccompanied or with their girlfriends (concubines). Table 13c shows married male respondents' reported travel companions.

TABLE 13c: PARTICIPANTS IN VACATION TRAVEL OF ACCOMPANIED MARRIED MALE RESPONDENTS

Participants	No.	%
Girlfriend	6	25.0
Friend(s)	5	20.8
Relative(s)	4	16.7
Wife only	4	16.7
Family	3	12.5
Children only	2	8.3
TOTAL	24	100

The reasons given by respondents for this behaviour show the high priority they give to relaxation in their leisure travel. According to those who travelled unaccompanied, they want to have maximum relaxation in their travel and therefore going with the family, wife or children would not help them achieve that goal. Respondents travelling with girlfriends indicated that their basic aim of leisure travel is to have a "good time" with girlfriends (concubines), and therefore the wife and children are not welcome. Dinan's study of white collar single women in Accra echoes this point. According to her, "Weekends spent outside Accra with boyfriends were also quite common --'going for "time"', as they termed it. This 'time' was usually spent staying in luxury state hotels in either the coastal towns of Cape Coast or Sekondi/Takoradi, or inland at Akosombo on the Volta Dam" (Dinan 1983: 361). Other respondents had different reasons for not travelling with family or children. Some of them believed it is too expensive to travel with family or children when the cost of accommodation, food, etc. is considered, while others indicated that their children are grown ups and on their own. What needs further illumination, however, is respondents'

tendency to travel with girlfriends more than anybody else, and the general impression that would be formed by the Ghanaian public about domestic tourism because of this practice.

From the informal interviews I conducted with a number of Ghanaians in Accra and at tourist destinations like Akosombo, Kumasi, Abonu (Lakeside), Aburi, Takoradi and Sogakope some explanations came out. The male vacation travellers themselves see the phenomenon as an expression of their need for change from boring workaday things. One of the interviewees posed this question, "If you want a real change for that short period you are away from home, why should you transfer old things in the home (including wife) to the new environment?" In effect what he is implying is that he engages in vacation travel mainly because he feels bored about his home and work place, so why should he travel with someone (here the wife) who seems to contribute to the boredom. Another group of males whose view may not be very different from the above, emphasized their desire for "variety in life", including sex. According to them it is not nice to eat "palmnut soup" always, there is the need to alternate it with "light soup". What they mean precisely is that being with one woman all the time is boring, and whenever there is opportunity another woman should be substituted. They see vacation travel as such an opportunity, since they could "enjoy" with other women and still hide it from their wives. This "variety argument" is usually used by some Ghanaians to rationalize "polycoity". It must be remarked here that although "polycoity" is a generally acceptable practice for men in Ghana, many young educated married women seem to prefer "monocoity", and try as much as possible to prevent their husbands from having sexual relations with other women (Asante-Darko and Der Geest 1983, Dinan 1983). The above reasons given by Ghanaian tourists for their preference for travelling with girlfriends instead of wives or children, suggest that although our respondents are generally more interested in "familiarity," they do not entirely shun "novelty". Generally the respondents want many things in their leisure travel to be familiar, but these often do not include familiar people such as wives and children.

Another group of men hold the opinion that some men take their girlfriends instead of their wives on vacation trips in order to maintain their marriages. In their view, first, your wife becomes "fresh" to you after you have been with another woman for some time. Second, if you make it a habit to travel with your wife and you are unable to continue after some time due to financial problems she would nag, creating stress in the marriage relations. "You can easily dispose of your girlfriend if she exhibits such a behaviour", said an interviewee. Apart from these reasons, there may be a social structural explanation for this behaviour. Since "polycoity" is a culturally acceptable sexual norm for Ghanaian males, married men having extra-marital relations with other women (girlfriends) is not seen as socially strange, and would not be considered an infringement on the rights of wives, at least by non-Christians and non-feminists. Extra-marital sex on the part of the men may, therefore, go on uninhibited even if they do not engage in domestic tourism.

The women I interviewed on the issue were very aware that most Ghanaian men are fond of "enjoying" with their girlfriends instead of their wives most of the time. It was therefore not surprising to them that they also travel on vacations with their girlfriends. Some even cited examples where some of the men send their girlfriends abroad on holidays. Dinan also noted this practice. In her words, "A number of the women had also travelled to Europe on holidays usually sponsored by boyfriends" (Dinan 1983: 361). Some of the women I interviewed think this behaviour of Ghanaian men should be culturally explained. According to one woman, "The prestige of the Ghanaian male is to have affairs with many women. His success in society seems to be indicated by the number and quality of women he can attract apart from his wife or wives". "Those women also follow the married men because they need money, and also because it is not socially frowned upon", she added.

Regarding the implications of this behaviour for domestic tourism in Ghana, the interviewees were divided. One group, mainly educated women and Christians, is of the view that married men travelling with girlfriends would make many Ghanaians, especially women, develop negative

attitudes towards domestic tourism. According to this group, since domestic tourism may provide many avenues for the men to engage in "illicit" sexual relations with other women away from their town/village of residence, many men would be absent from their homes during vacations, leaving the wife and children lonesome. In this sense it would create problems for family or marital relations, they believe. Studies in the Caribbean give support to this view: tourism creates opportunities for Caribbean men to have sexual relations with white female visitors, producing anger and frustration among Caribbean women (Parris 1984). In the view of our group (educated women and Christians) since domestic tourism may increase the incidence of "sexual immorality", "good Christians" and moralists will hate it. Another group of interviewees, who were not much concerned with the "morality" issue, thought domestic tourism, by providing hide-outs for people interested in extra-marital sex, may enhance marital relations, since wives would be saved the agony of being aware of their husbands' sexual relations with other women in the same town/village. In their opinion women would develop a positive attitude towards domestic tourism since it provides an avenue for unmarried women to "enjoy" with married men while minimizing the pain it may cause to wives.

What is suggested in the opinions of the above two groups is that the attitudes people develop towards domestic tourism depend on their perceptions of its likely effects on their lives. Those who anticipate reward from it would develop positive attitudes to it, and those who perceive it as causing sufferings or discomfort to them would react negatively towards it. In other words, in a situation where there is struggle and contestation on norms of sexual behaviour, each side may evaluate and perceive domestic tourism from very different perspectives. Reaction to or attitudes towards domestic tourism and tourists will therefore vary from one group to another. In the Ghanaian situation, Christians and moralists who perceive the phenomenon in moral terms, and also educated women who view extra-marital sex and polygyny as "uncivilized" and destructive to companionate marriage may develop negative attitudes towards domestic tourism. On the other hand, those Ghanaians who have not imbibed Christian principles, and others who cherish

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"traditional" social norms on sexual relationships may not perceive domestic tourism negatively, from a moral standpoint.

Turning to the activities our respondents engaged in during their leisure trips, it is observed that visiting friends/relatives, visiting scenic beauty spots (sightseeing), relaxation and having fun are popular among them. We shall consider these in detail in terms of day trips and vacation travel.

For the day trippers it seems "sightseeing" takes precedence over all other actvities. Asked to give reasons for enjoying day trips (Table 14a), 31.4% said it was because they saw interesting things. Only 9.8% of the respondents enjoyed the trips because they "met friends". Those who cited "very relaxing" as the main reason represented only 7.8%. Their proportion is the same as those who enjoyed "great change of environment", and those who became happy because their wives/children were excited about the experiences obtained from the trips. Reasons given for not enjoying day trips go to confirm the importance of sightseeing. "Nothing unusual seen" (15.7%) was second in importance only to "poor facilities/ services" (29.4%). Since sightseeing may take the mind and thought from situations that generate mental stress and emotional disturbances, it may provide a respite from everyday worries. Day trips in this sense may be opportunites for participants to "wind down" more at the mental and emotional levels. And since these are forms of relaxation they show "relaxation" or "taking it easy" as a very important travel motivation for our respondents. Tables 14a and 14b show reasons for enjoying and not enjoying day trips.

TABLE 14a: REASONS FOR ENJOYING DAY TRIP

Reason	No.	%
Interesting things seen	16	31.4
Met friend(s)	5	9.8
Met relative(s)	4	7.8
Very relaxing	4	7.8
Great change of environment	4	7.8
Wife/children excited	4	7.8
Good facilities/services	2	3.9
Nice food/drinks/entertainment	2	3.9
Adventure	2	3.9
Good organization	1	2.0
Other	1	2.0
Cannot decide	6	11.8
TOTAL	51	100

TABLE 14b: REASONS FOR NOT ENJOYING DAY TRIP

Reason	N	%
Poor facilities/services	15	29.4
Enjoyed all trips	12	23.5
Nothing unusual seen	8	15.7
Less time for relaxation	5	9.8
Other	7	13.7
Cannot decide	4	7.9
TOTAL	51	100

For the respondents who engaged in vacation travel, table 15 shows "visiting friends and relatives" (18.4%) was the most popular activity. This was followed by "visiting scenic beauty spot" (13.2%), "eating out at restaurant" (10.5%) and "relaxation" (8.9%). This distribution is further supported by the responses to things they see as important in their leisure travel (see Table 27 in Appendix 1). Seventy five per cent consider "Opportunities to see or experience something unusual /different" as "extremely important"; 86% see "Opportunities to relax and take it easy" as "extremely important"; and "Opportunities to meet old friends and relatives" are deemed "Extremely important" to 56.7% of the respondents.

What may be inferred from the distribution of activities engaged in by respondents during their leisure travel is that relaxation-oriented experiences were preferred to active forms of recreation. This is also suggested when we consider the activities they claimed to have spent most of their time on during vacation. "Relaxation" was chosen by 25.5% of them while relaxation-related activities like sightseeing (23.4%), visiting friends/relatives (12.8%), drinking

and chatting (8.5%), and entertainment (2.1%) featured prominently in their choices of activities they have enjoyed most or hope to enjoy in their future travels. Taken together, 71.3% of the respondents preferred relaxation-oriented experiences (see Table 34 in Appendix 1). On the other hand, only 5.8% of the respondents preferred active forms of recreation such as participation in sports, hunting and visits to farm/plantation. Perhaps this is why when asked if "Opportunities to engaged in sports or games" is important to them , the majority (61.6%) responded that it was "Of no importance at all" (see Table 27 in Appendix 1). Table 15 shows the leisure travel activity preferences of respondents who participated in vacation travel. (Multiple responses were allowed. While all respondents indicated they engaged in at least one of the activities, none showed they participated in all.)

TABLE 15: LEISURE TRAVEL ACTIVITY PREFERENCES OF VACATION TRAVELLERS

Activity	Times cited	%
Visit friends/relatives	35	18.4
Visit night club/disco	8	4.2
Visit Museum/Art exhibition	1	0.5
Visit historical/archaeological site	4	2.1
Visit craft village	1	0.05
Visit zoo/game and wildlife park	7	3.7
Visit Scenic beauty spots	25	13.2
Visit dam site/habour/factory/airport	8	4.1
Visit plantation/farm/hunting	7	3.7
Attend cultural/traditional event	14	7.4
Participate in/attend sport event	7	3.7
Eat out at restaurant	20	10.5
Relaxation/chatting/drinking	32	16.9
Meditation	2	1.1
Funeral	4	2.1
Lovemaking	1	0.5
Photography	1	0.5
TOTAL	190	100

The importance respondents attach to relaxation also becomes evident when we consider guest-guest interactions. To maximize their recuperation and rest they had to be alone most of the

time, hence the low interaction among them. Some of the respondents, however, told me that they did not interact with other guests because they were total strangers to each other, and therefore there were no common bases for interaction. The low interaction is evidenced in their responses to a question asking about the impressions they formed about fellow guests. Although 51% of the respondents indicated that they formed some impressions about their fellow visitors, further discussion revealed that these were casual observations because their interaction with them was mainly non-verbal. As many as 44.7% of the respondents could not form any impression at all, for according to them virtually no interaction took place. Some 4.3% of them did not meet any Ghanaian visitors. Table 16 below depicts the picture vividly. The low level of interaction among tourists has also been observed at international tourist destinations (Murphy 1985). Tourists in such situations are described as "being alone together"(Edgerton 1979).

TABLE 16: IMPRESSIONS VACATION TRAVELLERS FORMED ABOUT FELLOW GHANAIAN VISITORS/TOURISTS

Impression	No.	%
No impression formed	21	44.7
Happy-looking/Friendly	20	42.5
Inward-looking	4	8.5
Met only foreigners	2	4.3
TOTAL	47	100

e. Tradition and Modernity

The sightseeing preferences of our respondents seem to be a reflection of their interest in "modernity" more than "tradition". Our data suggest that our respondents are more like the Nigerian domestic tourists than the foreign travellers referred to by Nkambwe (1985) in his study. As evident in Table 15, our respondents prefer visiting night clubs, discos (4.2%), zoos (2.6%), and restaurants (10.5%) to visiting museums, art exhibitions, historical/archaeological sites, craft villages (3.1%) and attending cultural/traditional events (7.1%). A further support for their interest in modernity is given by their general preference for urban destinations.

AFFLUENT GHANAIANS AND DOMESTIC TOURISM

In the industrialized western societies tourism was a leisure activity mainly for the affluent until after the Second World War. Likewise leisure travel in Ghana has started with some sections of the affluent urban population. Domestic tourism is at present miniscule in Ghana. Many of these Ghanaians generally seem to prefer travelling abroad on holidays to engaging in the same activity in Ghana. (Perhaps this is because of the prestige the society attaches to this kind of travel). However, a few are gradually developing the taste for leisure travel within Ghana. For financial and temporal reasons, more people engage in day trips than elaborate forms of tourism, and perhaps for the same reasons those interested in the latter type prefer "short" to "extended" trips.

Travelling solely for pleasure is not well-developed among the sample of business and higher professional persons selected for the study. Many of them tend to combine business/work with pleasure, and even most of the small minority who travel purely for pleasure disguise it for socio-cultural reasons. The most popular tourist destinations for them are Kumasi, Takoradi, Akosombo and Aburi, reflecting their preference for familiarity. These are the places where they seem to have maximum relaxation and experience "modernity". Because their interests lie very

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much in relaxation-related recreation, they spent most of their time at main destinations and opt for accommodation with high standard facilities and security. Thus luxurious private hotels and well-maintained state hotels are their usual preferences, though very expensive. Some, however, stay in their own homes (when they visit their towns of origin) or homes of friends and relatives (when they visit other destinations). Not discounting the "convenience" and socio-cultural reasons given by respondents for choosing such accommodation (private homes), it must be noted that this type of accommodation tends to minimize the strangeness of destination areas and maximize the comfort enjoyed. Trips of respondents are usually organized by themselves, and are made with their own cars, a reflection of their preference for "autonomy". Some interesting features of the respondents' travel pattern are married male respondents' tendency to travel with "girlfriends" (concubines) instead of wives and children, and female respondents' "fear" of travelling unaccompanied. In these and other areas the importance of socio-cultural conditions in shaping the travel style of respondents is clearly revealed. Generally, their preferences and expectations lie closer to the "familiarity", "autonomy", "relaxation", and "modernity" ends of our four continuums. Authenticity-seeking seems unimportant to our respondents. Rather their touristic interests appear to focus mainly on recreation and "escape", and the tour is regarded as a form of leisure activity through which they recuperate from the strains and tensions of their everyday lives, or temporarily escape from the boredom and routine of everyday existence.

Socio-demographic factors have been identified in tourism literature (McIntosh and Goeldner 1984, Mill and Morison 1984, Pearce 1985) to exert influence on the travel patterns and behaviour of international tourists and also domestic tourists in the industrialized countries. We therefore, attempted to find out the extent to which socio-demographic factors such as sex, educational level, marital status, number of children, and income levels of our respondents help to predict their domestic leisure travel participation. In addition we considered the possible associations between factors like overseas travel experience, social club membership, and ethnicity on one hand, and respondents' leisure travel participation on the other. Chi-square tests for possible association

between the socio-demographic characteristics of our respondents and their leisure travel participation yielded no significant results; the frequencies are too small and tables tend to have many zero cells. The data, however, is included in Appendix 1 (see Tables 17 to 26). Further research based on a larger, random sample will throw more light on the issue.

CHAPTER IV

DOMESTIC TOURISM: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

In the preceding chapter, we dealt with a situation where we discussed what our respondents say, in response to a formal survey, are their experiences and preferences with regard to domestic leisure travel in Ghana. Although this approach is useful, it gives only a partial view of the picture. Therefore, in order to gain a fuller and more comprehensive view of the touristic behaviour of relatively affluent Ghanaians and the reactions it generates at the destinations they visit, we present in this chapter some observations on actual touristic situations at the destination areas. Here, we seek to examine the structure and dynamics of relationships and interactions that develop in these areas. The specific foci of our analysis are: host - guest encounters; the role of intermediaries in such encounters; and intra-host and intra-guest interactions. However, we shall explore the possibility of such relationships bolstering the interacting parties' knowledge and understanding of Ghanaian society, as well as elevating the image of tourism in destination areas. In examining these networks of relationships and interactions in domestic tourism situations, our interest will be in discovering the degree to which they are similar to or different from what occur in the international tourism context.

Encounters between Ghanaians and temporary guests or "strangers" (both natives and foreigners), as suggested in our earlier discussion of pre-modern travel in the country, are not something new. In pre-independence Ghana, the inhabitants travelled to communities outside their own where they assumed the status of "strangers". However, such sojourners were the "serious", non-frivolous type. These travel antecedents in Ghana are crucial in our analysis since they set the socio-cultural background against which touristic interactions in the destination areas are developed. Unlike the travellers of the past, the modern guests we are dealing with are not

only "strangers" but are also at leisure and therefore may be "liminoid" in Turnerian terms. Interactions developing in such a context, and also the nature of hospitality, are likely to be different from those occurring in the pre-touristic situation.

The encounters in the touristic situation involve two broad categories of people with somewhat conflicting interests. While the guests are resting, the hosts must work in order for them to enjoy their relaxation. In the words of Nash (1977), "If the tourist is to pursue peculiarly tourist goals, others must perform utilitarian functions. ...others must serve while the tourist plays, rests, cures, or mentally enriches himself" (Nash 1977: 41). In a conflicting situation of this nature there is the tendency on the part of the hosts to develop animosity towards the guests. If they (the hosts) do not exhibit hostility it may be an indication that their perceived or realized benefits counterbalance the inconveniences they experience (Nash 1977, Farrel 1979, Murphy 1985). Here the guest (tourist) demands certain services or facilities as a matter of right since he pays for them. Hosts' hospitality is therefore seen by guests as obligatory or contractual. The hosts, on the other hand, perceive the situation mainly in commercial terms.

Hospitality, in this perspective, is formalized and commercialized. This is what makes the situation quite different from what is found in traditional host-guest relationships. In the traditional milieu the guest or visitor does not demand hospitality as a right, for he is aware that the host is not under any formal obligation to do so. The host, for his part, shows hospitality not for any immediate material reward. It is part and parcel of his normal life. In this way the prevalent relationships are largely spontaneous and informal, unlike that in the touristic situation which tend to occur on a more general, impersonal level. The Ghanaian touristic situation is a blend of traditional and modern milieus, for the hosts appear to combine traditional attitudes of hospitality with commercial self-interest. On the other hand, the guests treat the situation in mainly commercial terms, especially in their encounters with hotel and restaurant workers.

The information presented in this chapter was obtained through direct and participant observations at some popular tourist destinations in southern Ghana. I spent three weeks at each of two hotels which are popular with Ghanaian tourists: the Volta hotel at Akosombo and the City hotel at Kumasi. In addition to this, nine other tourist centres, namely, Aburi Botanical Gardens, Abonu (lakeside), Kumasi cultural centre, Labadi and Botianor pleasure beaches in Accra, Sir Charles Tourist Centre at Winneba, Cape Coast castle, Elmina castle, Hotel Cisneros (Sogakope) and Atlantic hotel, Takoradi were visited for short periods (1 to 4 days). For the first week I spent in the two hotels, I assumed the role of a tourist; during the last two weeks I acted as a hotel employee. I visited the other destinations initially as a tourist and later I was introduced as a researcher. The objective was to observe touristic interaction in a natural setting and also to probe for more information from selected informants. The interaction between hosts, guests and myself changed dramatically with my changes in identity. As a tourist at the hotels, the hosts first dealt with me superficially and formally; later, interaction became more intimate and spontaneous as I worked with them. There was virtually no interaction between fellow guests and myself while I posed as a guest; when I worked at the reception desk, the bars, restaurants and rooms, my interaction with guests increased. Some of them offered me tips, conversed with me and freely commented on the hotel services and facilities in my presence. Similar interactional changes occurred when I altered my identity at the other tourist centres.

My status as an insider researcher was a great asset in many ways. On the whole, many informants felt comfortable in releasing important information to me, especially those informants who had graduated from the same university as I did or were members of my ethnic group. For example, in one of the hotels the manager was a graduate from the University of Ghana where I received my bachelor's degree. In another hotel the assistant manager, the housekeeper and the only female receptionist were all members of my ethnic group. Through such people I gained access to other experienced individuals in the tourism industry and acquired vital information which an outsider might not have obtained. Knowledge of the Akan language, which is the most

prevalent in all the tourist destinations I visited, was another asset. This language, which is my mother tongue, made my informants and I feel very much at home during our informal discussions and interviews. I could also easily gather information from overheard conversations of both hosts and guests. Tourism officials were very willing to supply me with all the information I asked for because they had the conviction that, as a native Ghanaian, I would use it responsibly.

There were some disadvantages as an insider, however. There were some questions I asked informants which brought a response like, "But as a Ghanaian you should know this?". Also a few of the workers in the hotels, restaurant operators and local residents at the tourist destinations suspected I was spying on their activities. This resulted in their hesitation in responding to questions asked them. A big problem I faced initially at the hotels was how to gain access to the hotels' business guests. (I later discovered the business guests were not sure whether I was really a researcher or a spy for the government). This problem, however, was minimized as a result of the intervention of some of the hotel staff. I asked them to introduce me to the guests I had selected to interview if they were acquainted with them. This strategy worked well. Another ever present problem was how to combine involvement and detachment, that is, the tendency to become a non-observing participant and gloss over information which might attract the attention of an outsider researcher. I tried to reduce this danger to a minimum by constantly referring back to my research proposal.

On the whole, the information I obtained in the touristic situations within that limited period of time (about ten weeks) might have taken an outsider several months to accummulate. I was able to achieve this mainly because: I was perceived as non-threatening by many informants, faced no communication problem and, above all, had a wide understanding of the socio-cultural intricacies of Ghanaian society.

SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION AND BEHAVIOURAL IMPLICATIONS

The reactions of people to social situations are, in a large measure, defined by how they categorize and perceive such situations. Research on the relationships between residents and international tourists at tourist destinations has shown how perceptions of both parties, based on their categorization of the touristic situation, shape the type and level of interaction that develop between them (Doxey 1976, Pearce 1978, Murphy 1985). In most cases the hosts perceive the international tourists as affluent, with excess money they can spend lavishly. With such a perception the hosts try to be nice to encourage the guests to spend more -- buying more food, drinks, souvenirs, etc., and to give them tips. In some contexts, however, tourism and tourists are perceived by locals as impoverishing them both economically and socio-culturally. Generally, the former perception may produce cordial relationships because the hosts would tolerate the tourist. The latter, however, may generate conflict or hostility. Many international tourists tend to categorize their Third World hosts as poor and inferior. The tourists therefore demand servility instead of service from the hosts. What follows concerns the perceptions Ghanaian hosts and domestic tourists have of each other, and how these may influence their interactions.

Sojourners in Ghanaian society are classified generally as "strangers", a social category which embraces non-natives staying temporarily or permanently in the visited community. They may be Ghanaians or foreigners. The vernacular equivalent is "ahoho" in Akan, "gbefameshie" in Ga and "amemanye" in Ewe. "Strangers" are sub-divided into "travellers" and "visitors". Generally, in Ghana, people moving from their places of residence to an outside destination for economic, social and political reasons are designated "travellers". The vernacular version of the concept is "akwantufo" in Akan, "gbefalo" in Ga and "mozola" in Ewe. The "travellers" never intend to stay at their first destinations permanently. Rather they are ever ready to move to other destinations if the chosen ones do not meet their expectations. Also, they pay occasional visits to their original places of residence and, whenever they think they have accumulated enough money

or material possessions, they return to their original homes permanently. The "travellers" are rarely integrated completely into the host community, though they may participate in community activities. Regardless of their financial status and the contributions they make to the community's development, they enjoy a social status lower than that of the natives. Many travellers, realizing this, hesitate to immerse themselves totally in the community. "Visitors", on the other hand, are a type of "strangers" who are mostly invitees of the host community or its member. The destination community or a member thereof knows of such visits beforehand, and, therefore, consciously and systematically prepare for the "visit". The hosts put their homes in order specially for the "visitors". As a result such strangers are made to assume a "kingly or queenly" status for the period of visit; they are given the best of facilities and services. As discussed in Chapter Two, "visitors" are usually not considered as forming part of the destination community, though they are not excluded from the "moral community": they are to give due respect to the host community's norms and rules. Unlike "travellers", "visitors" do not experience reduced social status since their backgrounds are well known to their hosts. They essentially do not engage in any economic venture for income during the period of stay. The vernacular equivalent is "asraafo" in Akan, "mokpong" in Ga and "amedzro" in Ewe.

"Tourists" seem to be a new category of "strangers" in the Ghanaian society, for they are perceived neither as "travellers" nor "visitors". My informal interviews with a cross section of people at Akosombo, Kumasi, Abonu (Lakeside), Sogakope, Winneba, Aburi and Takoradi show that tourists are seen as persons (usually Whites) who travel from their home country to another primarily for sightseeing. Blacks, and for that matter Ghanaians, visiting these destinations for similar purposes are perceived as "travellers" or "visitors" by the local residents, and are responded to as such, that is, as "strangers" in the traditional context. Local residents offer ready help to those who ask without expecting or demanding any immediate material reward. The hotel and restaurant workers, on the other hand, categorize the Ghanaian guests as "visitors". They give them "kingly or queenly" treatment, but unlike in the traditional milieu, they respond to these

guests in commercial terms; the guests pay for the facilities and services they enjoy.

The conception of a tourist as a foreign visitor to Ghana is not limited to the local residents and workers in the hospitality industry. When I asked some of the guests in the hotels 1 visited whether they see themselves as tourists or not, they generally responded in the negative; they think they are not tourists because in their view a tourist is a person who travels from his country to another for holidays. In this sense they refer only to the foreign visitors to Ghana, especially Whites, as tourists. Ghanaians seen travelling for sightseeing, usually in groups, are perceived as "excursionists" rather than as tourists, regardless of the length of their stay at their destinations. Excursionism is basically associated with student groups, religious and tribal associations, workers clubs, etc., and not individuals travelling for the same purpose. These individual travellers are rather categorised "travellers" or "visitors". Group excursions are not frowned upon, for they are not viewed as leisure travel, but rather as educational travel. Since excursions are usually associated with lower socio-economic categories of Ghanaians, they do not attract the "luxury" and "waste" labels which are associated with tourism.

Perhaps the distinct association of tourism with White foreigners is directly related to the newness and the small scale nature of the phenomenon in Ghanaian society. Many people interviewed at the tourist destinations had never even heard of the concept of "tourist" before. So far, no equivalent word for "tourist" has been identified in any of the Ghanaian languages. When Ghanaians are referring to a "tourist" or an "excursionist" the same English concepts are employed. There is no attempt to translate or transliterate them into the vernacular. The view expressed by the paramount chief of the Akwamu traditional area during an interview with him summarises the situation. According to him, " 'Tourist' is a foreign concept which does not have any exact equivalent in the Ghanaian languages. The local concepts which roughly approximate it are 'stranger', 'traveller' and 'visitor' ". These concepts, however, give the impression of a person engaged in movement from his place of residence to an outside destination for purposes other than pleasure. People who are familiar with the "tourist" as a concept may therefore be those who have

encountered it in their readings, learnt about it at school, have themselves travelled overseas, or have had direct contact with foreign visitors who introduce themselves as tourists.

Some of the local teachers, students and educated workers I had informal interviews with seemed to know and understand the concept of "tourist". They see a tourist as anybody (foreigner or Ghanaian) travelling to see places. However, it seems many of them perceive tourists in negativistic terms. Tourists are characterised as very rich people who "waste" money on travelling "just to see places or for pleasure". Some are of the view that such money could be better utilized on "useful things". They also deplore the habit of visiting hotels just for relaxation or enjoyment. This perception about the "tourist" seems to be closer to the "popular" view of tourists and the conception that associates tourists with liminoidity, that is "non-seriousness" and "frivolousness" (Wagner 1977, Lett 1983, Passariello 1983). People with such negative images about tourists may be expected to exhibit some resentment in their interaction with tourists. However, traditional Ghanaian norms of hospitality, coupled with the practice of hosts dealing with guests on the basis of their individual behaviour, may mitigate overt hostility.

Many Ghanaians consider tourism as a symbol of "luxury" and "wastefulness". Discussions and interviews with a cross-section of Ghanaians during my fieldwork revealed that tourism is perceived mainly as a recreational activity of people who are rich and could therefore afford the expense and time involved. Many were of the view that since leisure travel does not bring any direct material reward to the individual, it is a "waste of money and time", and those who engage in it could not be "serious". They contend that considering the widespread poverty in Ghana, it would be sheer callousness to spend money on leisure travel. Such money could be better utilized in helping extended family members and friends who are in genuine need of financial help. It must be noted here that many Ghanaians hold the view that rich members of society have the moral obligation to give financial assistance to family members and friends who are not so privileged. The rich therefore seem to lose their respect and esteem, especially from their extended families, if they fail to satisfy this social expectation.

Some of my interviewees, however, took the view that there is nothing wrong in spending money on leisure travel. According to them we should not lose sight of the important non-material benefits of tourism, like good health and the widening of horizons, which can possibly contribute to the general enhancement of the material aspect of one's life. People in this category, mainly higher professionals, workers in the hospitality industry, and a few local residents of destination areas, expressed a desire to travel for pleasure, if only they had the means to do so.

In effect, it is likely that those hosts who label tourism as wastefulness may not respect the domestic leisure travellers if they come to identify them as "tourists"; and may develop resentful attitudes or indifference towards them. The affluence associated with tourists, on the other hand, may lead to price discrimination against them, but contrastingly those with positive views on tourism may have harmonious interaction with individual tourists.

Many of the residents at the destination areas interviewed seemed to have formed negative images about hotels in Ghana. A hotel is viewed as a symbol of "luxury" and "moral laxity", thus people who patronize hotels for pleasure are perceived as wasteful people lacking in moral principles. The affluence associated with hotel guests seems to influence taxi drivers, car renting service operators, and people providing hospitality services. Guests are most likely to be overcharged for items and services. For example, taxi drivers in Accra and Kumasi often overcharge those who board their cabs to hotels. I experienced this myself. Any time I took a taxi to a hotel I was made to pay more than the normal fare. During my stay at Kumasi City Hotel, whenever I took a taxi from the City Council offices to the hotel I was charged 100 cedis, but when I took a taxi from the same point but got off at the hotel junction, about two hundred metres away from the hotel, I paid 20 cedis. Shops in the hotel and food sellers around the hotel also charge higher prices.

The majority of interviewees, especially those who never stay in hotels, associate hotel guests with illicit sex and/or dubious business. If the guests are married men they are suspected of

having sexual relations with girlfriends or married women. If they are women they are labelled as prostitutes. Others are considered to be engaged in dubious business such as selling smuggled commodities, drug pushing, etc. I encountered these negative perceptions in my stay at Akosombo Volta hotel, Kumasi City hotel and in my short visit to Sir Charles Tourist centre at Winneba. At Akosombo, I sent for a young woman staying at a nearby village to come and collect a parcel a friend had sent through me. This woman came for the parcel with her brother. Through conversation with her I came to realize that she entertained some fear that her husband would accuse her of illicit sex if she had visited the hotel unaccompanied. At Kumasi, my female friends and relatives hesitated to visit me at my hotel. They later explained to me that they did not feel comfortable coming to the hotel because of its association with immorality, especially prostitution. My visit to Winneba revealed that the women dislike being associated with hotels because hotels are stigmatized as citadels of immorality. They would therefore not befriend men lodging at hotels.

These are not isolated cases. Girls working in boutiques and shops at City Hotel intimated that many people in Kumasi doubt their sexual integrity because they work in the hotel premises. Chambermaids told me that their husbands or boyfriends are not happy about their working in a hotel, because friends of the latter usually tease them that other men would be having sex with their wives or girlfriends. The doubts have some substance since there are instances of sexual intimacies between guests and women working in the hotel. Interviews with some of the local residents of Abonu (Lakeside), a village about 27 kilometres from Kumasi, showed that they also have negative perceptions about hotels. They see the hotel in the village as a "place where bad things go on". According to the Manager of Hotel Cisneros at Sogakope, several inhabitants of the town conceive of the hotel as "a place of immorality". As a result they do not normally visit there, and when they see visitors going to the hotel they think such people are the "spoilt" ones. They therefore do not want to have any close contact with them.

Tourists' perceptions of hosts is a poorly researched area in the sociology of tourism. However, the small number of studies available indicate that many tourists form clear images about their hosts (Pearce 1982). Ghanaian domestic tourists seem to have some perception about hosts in the destination areas which may affect their attitude and reaction towards them. Although the Ghanaian domestic tourists' perceptions may be coloured by ethnic stereotypes, generally they categorize the local residents of destination areas as friendly and hospitable. On the other hand they perceive the hotel and restaurant workers as poor, lazy and morally lax (especially the female workers). Perhaps these deeply rooted perceptions may partly account for the generally harmonious relations in the local resident-guest contact situations and the animosity in the hotel worker-guest relationships.

THE QUALITY OF TOURISTIC ENCOUNTERS: HOSTS, GUESTS AND INTERMEDIARIES

In the analysis of host-guest relationships the tendency in tourism literature is to lump all categories of hosts together. Our analysis of such relationships is a departure from this tradition, for we are of the view that various types of hosts react differently to guests(tourists). In this case, in our attempt to examine Ghanaian host - domestic tourist interaction we shall be moving from "front-line" hosts (hotel/restaurant workers) to "back-line" hosts (residents of destination communities). Most of the intermediaries such as "tourist guides" and "professional friends" (7) in these encounters would be treated as variants of hosts, though special kinds, because of their mediatorial role. They are hosts because they are residents of the local destination areas: immediate hosts to people who visit their premises (castles, museums, cultural centres, dams, hotels, etc.). Moreover, they are not "intergroup specialists" or "culture brokers" in Nash's terms, for they do not directly mediate between tourists and the local residents. However, some of the intermediaries, such as "professional friends" at hotels, do mediate much between guests and local

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residents.

Forms of tourism involving overnight stay(s) at destination areas mostly find tourists seeking accommodation at hotels or resthouses. For example, a fair proportion of the business and higher professional persons interviewed who travelled purely for pleasure or combined business/ work with pleasure lodged at hotels (including resthouses). Even day trippers and those who stay at private homes sometimes visit hotels for drinks and/or entertainment. Here the interaction occurs mainly in the first of DeKadt's (1979) three tourist - host encounter contexts ---the guests buy some good or service from hosts and through that interaction develops. In such a situation the physical contact is transformed into social contact between the guests and the hotel workers, especially receptionists, bar tenders and waiters/ waitresses. Consequently, a web of interaction may develop. In examining the extent and nature of this interaction we shall attempt a microcosmic analysis of the social interactions between the parties within the general analytical frameworks (outlined in chapter one) dealing with conditions which shape host-guest interactions. In addition we shall consider Nash's (1977) observation on the role of intermediaries in such interactional processes.

The transitory nature of the relationship between hosts and guests has different implications for the interacting parties. Many of the guests interviewed perceived the relationship as a "special experience" to them, since it is occasional and quite different from their normal, everyday lives --pampering by hotel workers. On the contrary, most of the workers interviewed said that there is nothing special about such a relationship, since they interact with guests all the time. For example, at City Hotel, Kumasi, I perceived my relations with the workers as unique (since I was not used to hotel life). However, they saw it as commonplace. I could deduce this from the conversations I had with some of them. They talked of the interactions they had had with individual guests in the past. Now, however, they do not view relations with particular guests as anything unique: "You are just like one of those guests we meet in our routine assignments", remarked the housekeeper. This seems to support the UNESCO study's suggestion that hotel

workers see their contact with any guest "as one of many superficial relationships experienced during the tourist season" (1976: 83). Most of the workers are cautious about investing much time in their relationships with guests, for they think it would not be all that rewarding because of the relationship's temporariness. However, a few of them are serious in such relationships, and at times obtain big tips or gifts from those guests (mainly Whites) with whom they have closer relationships.

Temporal constraints in Ghanaian host-guest relationships are critical. The formal interviews with the business and higher professional persons, who form the majority of hotel guests in Ghana, revealed that most of them do not spend more than two nights at the hotels. This observation was supported by my examination of the "check-in cards" of the various hotels I visited, which showed that about 95% of the guests stayed only one or two nights. This situation appears to prevent intense interaction between hosts and guests. The interacting parties in a sense meet as total strangers. Neither party is sure about the identity of the other or of his identity in the eyes of the other. Their first task then is to transform this "unawareness" context to facilitate interaction between them. Because of the brief length of the guests' stay, this transformation hardly takes place. Most of the guests, therefore, leave the hotel premises without any intense interaction with the workers. My personal experience in three popular state hotels in Ghana supports this observation. Usually the first three days I spent in those hotels saw little or virtually no interaction between myself and the hosts. It was only later, when I was introduced to them by the managers, that interaction began on any significant scale. The relaxational motive of most of the guests further reduces opportunities for interaction since they may prefer to be alone most of the time.

Due to temporal constraints, intimate relationships rarely develop between the hotel workers and their guests. Both parties, therefore, do not have enough opportunities to see more of each other's private life. The same constraints seem to partly prevent workers from being spontaneous and natural in their relationships with guests. However, unlike the postulation of UNESCO's

(1976) study, time constraints do not cause many of the guests to be generous or over-rewarding to hosts. My observations at some of Ghanaian hotels and interviews with some of the workers there suggest that Ghanaian guests who do not stay for long or repeat their visits rarely give tips. If they give at all it is usually their small balance left over after paying for services.

If the time constraint is removed or minimized, more intense and intimate interaction may develop between the workers and the guests. This came to light in my observations and interviews at the hotels where some of the workers develop intimate relations with guests who stay for long or repeat their visits, despite management's disapproval. Some workers and guests enter into sufficiently personal relationships that they discuss their private lives, eat together, etc. In some instances hosts supply scarce items like drinks and cigarettes to guests, pay them visits in their rooms, etc. Guests have been known to give valuable items and money as gifts to host friends. Some of the hosts and their guest friends have been known to engage in sex. I was told of instances at the City Hotel and Atlantic Hotel in which some male guests married chambermaids or had children by them. My own experience in two Ghanaian hotels supports the suggestion that prolonged stays at hotels help forge intimate relationships between hosts and guests. In one of the hotels, a female worker became so close to me that on two occasions she prepared "fufu" (pounded plantain and cassava served with soup) for me. Moreover, she used to visit me in my hotel room any time she came to work in the morning. In the other hotel a female senior staff member once invited me to her house for supper. Also a male worker developed a close relationship with me: suppling scarce items like "tatamalt" drink, storing my perishable food items, sending meals to my room, eating with me sometimes, recording local songs for me, etc.

The conclusion we may draw from the above is that the interaction between hotel workers and Ghanaian guests who do not stay for long, or are first visitors, is generally formal and impersonal. Workers do, however, develop rapport with those guests who stay longer or visit more than once. This can lead to closer relationships.

These formal, impersonal, unspontaneous relationships are brought about primarily by the ritualised formality of hosts. Hotel workers receive specific instructions to behave in a patterned manner towards all guests, suppressing emotions or personal feelings. Ideally, all guests, irrespective of their race, colour, creed, ethnic background, socio-economic status, etc., should receive equal service. "Universalism" rather than "Particularism" is the watchword. Also workers are not supposed to show any sign of annoyance, no matter how intense the irritation or provocation. In general, they are to remain congenial but not familiar with guests. According to some chambermaids, because of these official requirements they are always conscious of how to render good services to guests without developing closer relationships. This is reinforced by management's occasional reiteration of the need for workers to maintain business-related relationships with guests. Their interactions with guests are, therefore, hardly spontaneous.

The suppression of feelings on the part of the workers was apparent in my observations of their interactions with guests. In their daily rounds they encounter guests who address them as social inferiors ("ordinary workers"), describe their services as "below standard", make negative comments on their appearance, especially shoes, etc. Mostly they remain peaceful and cheerful to guests despite these provocations. They narrate such experiences to their fellow workers when guests are not around, and console themselves with their usual statement, "For the sake of daily bread...". This is interpreted to mean, if they are to retain their jobs they have to suppress their irritation and engage in activities acceptable to their guests. Thus they are encouraged to remain or pretend to be congenial. This behaviour of the hotel workers seems to fit Goffman's description of stage actors as people "who night after night seek to create acceptable illusion" (Goffman 1959: 107). Hosts treat guests respectfully "frontstage", but when "backstage" they ridicule, caricuture, criticize and gossip about guests (Mars and Nicod 1984). This is a clear example of "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1976), a situation where "the tourist establishment stages the scene for tourist, but the tourist is not aware of the staging and therefore accepts it as real" (Cohen 1972: 27). The workers are aware that their polite, considerate, and respectful behaviour is being

staged, but it appears that guests rarely see through their facade.

It is common in the literature on international tourism for people on holidays to be portrayed as acting without inhibitions. They want to "bask loose" in all things (Turner and Ash 1975, O'Grady 1982, Lett 1983). This point is directly related to Turner's concept of liminoidity. According to him, pilgrims travelling outside their places of residence enter into a situation where they are "out of time and place", and exhibit "liminal" behaviour. In other words, their normal role and status obligations are suspended and they therefore seem to have a license for permissive and "ludic" behaviour. Unlike pilgrims, however, tourists exhibit "liminoidity" instead of "liminality". Liminality connotes involuntariness and sacredness. Liminoidity, on the other hand, implies non-obligation and secularity, making it more appropriate in describing touristic behaviour. The Ghanaian domestic tourists observed at the tourist destinations appeared to act naturally and spontaneously to the hosts, and also sometimes exhibited anti-structural behaviour in their relations with hosts. For example, guests I interviewed at the hotels expressed the view that since they have to pay for facilities and services enjoyed at the hotels they do not see the point in suppressing their feelings. They cannot pretend to be nice to the staff if facilities and services are low standard. My observations on how they freely expressed their irritation about poor facilities and services at the state hotels, at times in violation of etiquette, point to liminoidity (8). But here, unlike Turner's postulation, the liminoidity seems to be due more to commercialization of relations than the guests being just away from their usual places of residence.

Unlike in the hotel/restaurant workers-guests relationships, local residents-guests interaction is more limited in Ghanaian domestic tourism situations. In international tourism, tourist reception facilities and services are often isolated from the society of the destination areas. The result is that tourists and local residents rarely find themselves side by side to generate any intense interaction. In Ghana, the limited tourist facilities that exist have been enclaved and isolated from the residential areas of those communities in which they are located. However, it needs to be pointed out here that the local residents do not seem to feel their access to space has

been restricted by the establishment of touristic centres near their places of residence. Volta Hotel (Akosombo), City Hotel (Kumasi), Atlantic Hotel (Takoradi) and Aburi Botanical Gardens are all separated from the main communities. Some recent private hotels and tourist resorts appear to follow a similar pattern. Hotel Cisneros (Sogakope), Oyster Bay Motel (Elmina), Yeenuah Hotel (Winneba), Sir Charles Tourist Centre (Winneba) and Georgia Hotel (Kumasi) are all isolated from the main communities. The result of the existence of such "tourist enclaves" is that most of the visitors are not encouraged to visit local communities and interact with the residents, thereby severely restricting social interaction.

My participant observation at Akosombo, Aburi, Kumasi, Winneba and Takoradi provided examples of how the separation affects social interactions between hosts and guests. Most of the visitors to Akosombo that I interviewed indicated that they never stopped over in the township. My own observations confirmed this practice of guests. They just drove past it. The situation was similar at the other destinations. The relaxation orientation of most of the guests also contributes to this lack of intense resident - visitor interaction. Those who visit mainly for business, work, funerals, etc., are compelled to commute between the hotels and the main communities, thus encouraging interaction.

Another explanation of the low level of interaction between residents and visitors is that the latter are not usually interested in "life-seeing" or the activities of residents. Asked why they fail to visit the communities, many of the guests stressed that they travel for relaxation and to see attractive scenery or things which are unusual instead of people in the destination areas. Since the guests are Ghanaians the cultures and social life in the destination areas seem not "unusual" enough to attract them. Asked if they are interested in interacting with local people, most guests intimated that they do not have much to ask about or much to see. Guests believe they are already familiar with Ghanaian society. It is one of the cardinal aims of the Ghana tourist industry to develop and promote domestic tourism so as to help Ghanaians to know their country better, and thus increase their national awareness and sense of belonging. According to Jafari

(1986) increased domestic tourism can bridge internal ethnic, religious, communicative, etc., differences, thus contributing to more integrated national networks. These could be realised only when there are intense interactions in the touristic setting. The low level of interaction in the local tourist destinations may, therefore, limit the opportunities for Ghanaian domestic tourists to know their country better, and generate greater understanding between them and their hosts.

Turning to how guests irritate hotel/restaurant workers, it can be noted that there are many instances where the Ghanaian guests, through sarcastic remarks on facilities and services, and at times through direct confrontation, provoke hotel and restaurant workers. Remarks made by guests which are considered uncourteous and sarcastic by the workers are exemplified by the following: "So a hotel like this has no soda, what are you then doing here?" "You people here are not serious, go to Kenya and see how well the waiters serve". "Your food does not merit the description in the menu, it is far below standard". "Where did your chef learn his profession? He isn't better than a small girl learning how to cook". "Your bedsheets are like they are a century old". "Do you ever wash your blankets?" Despite such remarks workers are not expected to react, but remain calm if they wish to retain their jobs. In one incident I observed at a hotel, three women came in and ordered drinks and sandwiches. After they emptied some of the bottles the waiter on duty failed to pick them promptly. One of them remarked, "Even in the small country, Gambia, you won't find this. The waitresses would smilingly come and pick bottles immediately they are empty". "Look at what they call sandwiches, just bread with a thin piece of cheese inside. This will only cause constipation", another woman said. She added, "And their hotel rooms are full of cockroaches". However, throughout the incident the waiter feigned a smile. The host in this example did not react negatively as would be expected in ordinary interactional situation because of his commercial interest.

However, workers do not always remain calm. Occasionally some lose their tempers, leading to open confrontations. For example, in Kumasi City Hotel, I was at the counter of the reception when a guest came there angrily saying: "You people are very corrupt. You told me all

air-conditioned rooms are occupied, why is it that a person who checked in at a later time was given an air conditioned room?". The receptionist retorted that the guest was "uncourteous". This increased the conflict, and eventually the guest checked out. He did not report the incident to management. Interviews with workers of this hotel and the Volta Hotel showed that occasionally such open conflicts do occur. According to management of the hotels when such cases are reported to them, they apologise to the guests and reprimand those workers in the presence of guests. They also assure the guests that appropriate punishment would be given to the workers. Workers involved in such cases are usually simply warned by management, and it is only in repeated cases that they are either suspended or fired. Behaviour of guests in some instances may become more violent. According to the chambermaids interviewed, there are situations where guests become violent to them. This usually happens when they suspect them of stealing items or money. Chambermaids claimed that there have been instances when Ghanaian guests have slapped fellow workers for suspected thefts. They also said that during their daily work in the hotel rooms they experience various forms of sexual harassment from guests. Guests propose outright love, pat their buttocks, touch and eye them with sexual overtones, bait them with money, etc. Rapes have also occurred. Harassment has, however, been reduced considerably due to the AIDS threat, according to some chambermaids. Because of the strains and stresses the workers perceive in their work, one waiter remarked, "It takes great patience to work in a hotel or a restaurant".

To sum up, the hotel workers - Ghanaian guests relationships are characterized by tension, occasionally erupting into overt hostility. The guests, due mainly to the large amount of money spent on their holiday, are easily irritated by what they perceive as low standard facilities and services of the hotels. In such situations the guests vent their irritation on the workers they come in contact with most frequently: receptionists, waiters/waitresses and chambermaids. Perhaps other explanations for guests behaviour in such situations are the short time spent at the hotels and the premium placed on relaxation. Inconveniences such as malfunctioning air conditioners, unavailability of warm water, and delays in services frustrate guests. The hotel workers are

generally dissatisfied with guests' hostility. However, they normally do not react negatively. Indeed they tend to suppress their feeling of anger, though there are instances where some lose their tempers with guests, resulting in open clashes.

Hostility between local residents and tourists is virtually non-existent in the destinations visited. During my fieldwork travels I encountered many different types of people in the tourist destination areas, but there were no occasions where I experienced hostility in any form from the local residents. They were consistently friendly and helpful when approached. At Akosombo I did not know how to find my way to the Volta Hotel from the lorry station. When I disembarked from the bus I was travelling on, a co-passenger offered to help. She was so willing to assist me that she stayed with me at the lorry station until I got a bus going to the hotel area. During my stay I visited the market place a couple of times, roamed in the town and watched movies at the community centre. During these activities I sensed no sign of hostility from the residents, though they clearly knew that I was a stranger (the first time outsiders visit the town residents easily identify them as strangers, since they know each other very well). My visits to Winneba, Kumasi and Abonu (lakeside) also revealed a similar pattern. At Winneba , a fellow passenger voluntarily walked with me to the Flamingo Motel (where I lodged during my three days stay), a distance of about one mile. I later visited different parts of the town, sought assistance from local people, ate in "chop bars" (Ghanaian traditional restaurants), but never sensed any hostility towards me. At Kumasi I walked in the busiest parts, visited residential areas, markets and shops, ate from chop bars and used the services of taxi cabs, but again never felt any resentment. Whenever I asked for directions to places in the city or asked for any help, those residents I approached were willing and nthusiastic in offering assistance. My day trip to Abonu, a small village on Lake Bosumtwi near Kumasi where the Tourist Board at times organises "Meet-Me-There" programmes, showed how hospitable residents were. I was offered food and water free of charge, and some residents were e
prepared to give me a place to lodge if I wanted to spend the night there.

Interviews I had with a cross-section of guests and local residents at the tourist destinations showed harmonious host - guest relationships. Guests constantly talked of the general hospitality of the residents. Many residents were of the view that the "tourist" destinations are for all Ghanaians and, therefore, felt that local people would not be hostile to visitors just because they are strangers to the place. According to them the congestion the visits may create would not engender any hostility, but that if there would be hostility at all, it would be directed only at visitors who misbehave: those who steal, show sexual interest in residents' wives, show gross disrespect to the people, etc. There seemed to be a general consensus that if many people visited their communities it would make those communities popular in Ghana, hence the general desire to receive more visitors. This seems to be similar to what is found with the residents of Malta and other international tourist destinations. The people feel proud that the tourists chose their destinations over others (Boissevain 1972, English 1986)

Tourism sociologists might interpret this general absence of hostility in the resident - visitor relations in terms of the recentness of and/or undeveloped nature of tourism in Ghana, the small visitor-resident ratio, and the overall similarities in the cultures of hosts and guests. Advocates of this type of interpretation, typified by Doxey (1976) with his "Irridex Model", hold the view that tourism is initially met by residents with enthusiasm or euphoria, and as it develops they become indifferent to it and at the final stage they become hostile or xenophobic. It is very difficult to falsify or verify the assertion because of the limited interactions that occur and the embryonic stage of Ghana's tourism development. However, the general opinion of tourism officials, guests and local residents interviewed is that because of traditional Ghanaian norms of hospitality, it is not likely that resident - visitor relationships would reach the xenophobic stage. In their view though, occasional hostility is not ruled out.

It is clear, from the discussion, that the interaction between residents of tourist destination communities and Ghanaian visitors is very limited. However, the little interaction that takes place is largely devoid of hostility. The occasional overt hostility that may occur would not be the result

of resentment the hosts have for strangers generally, but rather the irritating behaviour of individual strangers.

Price discrimination against foreign guests is present in the Ghanaian touristic situation. Even at the official level foreigners are discriminated against in terms of hotel charges. They pay higher rates and are required to use foreign currency. For example, at the Volta Hotel Ghanaian guests were charged 1,680 cedis per night for a double room, foreign visitors were made to pay US $15, which at the existing exchange rate was equivalent to 2,610 cedis.

My observations and interviews at the tourist destinations showed that Whites are usually charged higher prices for items purchased from traders. At Akosombo Port I observed that three tubers of yam sold at 300 cedis to Ghanaians were sold to a White visitor for 500 cedis. My interview with other yam sellers at the Port indicated that they usually sell the yams to Whites at a higher price. Some "gari" (cassava powder) sellers also told me that they sell an American tin (about four litres) at 300 cedis to Whites instead of the usual price of 200 cedis. A girl at Akosombo market intimated that she normally sells an orange at 20 cedis to the Whites and 10 cedis to Ghanaians. The situation in Kumasi is analogous. During my research in the city, I once visited the store of a friend at the central market. While I was there she sold an earthenware (ceramic pot) to a White couple at 1000 cedis instead of 200 cedis, the prevailing price. According to some traders at the central market, who are my personal acquaintances it is "normal" to sell items to the White visitors at higher prices. Two Dutch tourists whom I happened to meet at the Volta hotel told me that when they got to the Kumasi main lorry station and wanted a taxi to the City hotel, the driver first charged them 1200 cedis. But since they knew from some Ghanaian friends that the charge was normally 200 cedis they bargained the fare down to 300 cedis. According to some local residents I interviewed, the reasons they practise price discrimination against foreign visitors are: 1). They see the White visitors as very rich and able to pay more for the items they buy; and 2). Whites are ignorant of price levels within the country and, therefore would not notice they are paying more. The possibility of price discrimination against Ghanaian

guests/tourists by their hosts therefore exists, and whenever conditions are "favourable" for the hosts, overcharging may result. For example, traders in the urban centres usually let customers, mostly the rural folk, pay higher prices for goods because of the latter's ignorance of prevailing prices. This suggests that Ghanaian guests are not charged higher rates for things they purchase from traders because the hosts believe the buyers are aware of prevailing price levels. This attitude of local traders towards guests who are ignorant of price levels suggests that commercial interest has the potential to push traditional Ghanaian norms of hospitality into the background, especially in modern touristic situations.

Another feature of host-guest interaction involving Ghanaians is its conspicuous asymmetry. In this respect, interactions do not differ from host-guest relationships in the international tourism context where asymmetry is also pervasive. My observations and interviews at the hotels show guests' disrespect for workers (9). According to the workers many of the guests exhibit attitudes of superiority in their ordering of items or services. They usually use the sound "s-s-s" to call the workers. This sound is commonly used in Ghana to call people who are below you or who have intimate relations with you. It is disrespectful to use it to call an older person or your superior. Using this sound to call the workers, therefore, is an indication that the guests look down upon them. Many of the waiters /waitresses expressed digust about this. A waiter told me that some of the guests address them as "Frafra". The Frafra are an ethnic group in Ghana who are known to perform "demeaning" jobs like cleaning, pounding "fufu" (local Ghanaian dish) at "chop bars", etc. My observations and interviews with workers showed that some of the guests also usually make remarks like "You are just an ordinary worker", "I can pay you and even your manager". "After all how much do you take in a month?" "If you have any good work to do you would not be in this occupation". These are a reflection of economic rather than ethnic superiority on the part of the guests. This behaviour of guests, according to some of those I interviewed on the issue, is a reaction to "arrogance" shown to them by workers. However, my own observation shows that this happens when workers lose their tempers and reply to remarks made by guests. For example, at

the Volta hotel, a guest ordered eight bottles of beer but gave the bar tender an amount covering six of them. When the bar tender called his attention to it he became angry, saying the bar tender wanted to cheat him. In reply the bar tender said: "If you don't have enough money to spend don't come to a hotel". This irritated the guest and he retorted, "I can even pay you for a whole year. After all how much do you take in a month?"

Although tipping can be an expression of appreciation for services rendered, it can also be viewed as an important part of superordinate-subordinate relationships. Tip giving can be seen as a demonstration of guests' superiority and tips receiving as a *defacto* acceptance of inferiority on the part of hosts. According to Mars and Nicod (1984), over-tipping may have the effect of reinforcing the guests' position of socio-economic superiority. The history of tipping clearly suggests the flow of gratuity from the superior to the inferior. For example, in Tudor England visitors were required to give money to the house servant (Saunders 1981). According to Sundstrom (1974), one of the main functions of gift giving in archaic and pre-modern societies was to establish superordination over others. The same is true in social exchange in modern societies (Blau 1963, 1964); the same exists in the Ghanaian society. Visitors are expected to give gifts to children or wives of hosts. In the Ghanaian host-guest contact situations there are guests who give gifts (tips) for "better services" rendered by hosts, and to induce same quality services in future. There are other guests who feel obliged to tip or see it as customary to give "something" to hosts at the end of a visit. In both contexts tipping may be a conscious or unconscious effort to establish and/or maintain social status and power. What is not clear is whether the Ghanaian hosts experience a "feeling of inferiority" when they receive tips from guests. Another evidence of superordinate - subordinate relationships between hotel/restaurant workers and guests is, to borrow the words of Mars and Nicod (1984: 85), "...the use of politely formal terms such as 'Sir', 'Madam', 'Mr X' and 'Mrs X' whenever addressing guests directly". In all the Ghanaian hotels and restaurants I visited, these terms were widely used by waiters and waitresses. Obviously to address a person in such terms implies acknowledging his superiority to you or making him feel

superior.

The asymmetrical relationship between workers and the guests is institutionalized. Two examples give support to this: 1) The idea that "the guest is always right". This may contribute to an inferiority complex on the part of hotel and restaurant workers, and 2) the practice of not allowing male workers to grow beards and moustaches. Asked why the practice existed, the managers interviewed explained that it was for hygienic reasons, especially in the kitchen, restaurant and bars, where hair can easily fall into food or drinks. Being clean shaven also improves workers appearance, adding value to their services. However, apart from the hygienic function, some of the managers believe the practice has a socio-psychological function. One of them said, *"Asem suro bodwese"*, an Akan proverb literally meaning, "people fear bearded men", and are therefore careful in their interactions with them. The point those managers are trying to make is that beardless male workers look like children in the eyes of guests, and so they (guests) feel comfortable and confident in giving instructions for service. Since the relationship between a child and an adult is generally that of inferior - superior, at least in the Ghanaian society, the relationship between the hotel worker and guest is also supposed to be one of inferiority - superiority. Waiters not being allowed to grow beards and moustaches in order to look inferior in the eyes of guests is observed by Nicod in some hotels in England (Mars and Nicod 1984). While working (participant observer) as a low rank staff member of a hotel in England Nicod was made to shave off his beard and moustache, and get a haircut. Given that chefs and cooks are permitted to wear beards and moustaches, the "hygienic" explanation of Ghanaian hotel managers of not allowing workers to wear them seems unconvincing. There seems also to be a cultural explanation for the unequal relationship. In traditional Ghanaian society it is the socially inferior who serves others. Hence children, women, house maids/boys (contemporary equivalent of domestic slaves) serve adults and men in many Ghanaian homes, even in funeral celebrations and other public functions. This notion seems to be carried over by the guests to the hotels and restaurants. Since the workers serve them they are looked upon as social inferiors, and are treated as such.

The unequal relationships between hosts and guests in the Ghanaian touristic situation appear to serve a commercial purpose. By utilizing the traditional institutional mechanisms discussed above to strengthen guests' superiority complexes and hosts' inferiority complexes, the hotel hopes to attract more guests, induce them to repeat their visits and spend more money. This, ultimately, is to satisfy the profit motive of the hospitality industry.

Stereotyping is widespread in the international tourist-local residents relationship. Usually it is the hosts who form solidified images of guests, though there are instances of the reverse (Pearce 1982, Pi-Sunyar 1978). According to Pi-Sunyar, the Catalan host community in Spain classifies all French people as pushy and bad-mannered, all Germans as stingy, and all Italians as untrustworthy. Our Ghanaian hotel hosts also seem to stereotype their guests' behaviour on the bases of race, ethnicity, geographical location of guest's ethnic group, socio-economic status, and foreign travel experience.

Almost all the hotel workers interviewed were of the view that White guests are less troublesome than Ghanaian guests. Whenever there are problems with facilities and services the Whites usually accept explanations and cope with the situation. Conversely, their Ghanaian counterparts are very difficult to persuade. According to workers of Kumasi City Hotel that I interviewed, there are instances where some guests check out prematurely if there is malfunctioning of the air conditioner or water system. With regard to ethnicity it became apparent from my interviews that workers see the guests from the coastal ethnic groups like Ewe, Ga/Adangbe, and Fante to be more troublesome than the people from the hinterland groups like Ashantis, Brongs and the Northern groups. One waiter remarked, "Although Ashantis are generally proud, they easily accept explanations when there are problems". This contradicts the general notion in Ghana that Ashantis are proud or ethnocentric due to their past political and economic superiority in the country. My observations in popular restaurants in Accra and Kumasi, and also in the hotels I visited showed that members of the coastal ethnic groups were those who complained most often about food, services and facilities.

Hotel and restaurant workers also stereotype guests according to occupation or socio-economic status and travel experience. According to the hosts the professionals are more sensitive to irritations and react more violently than do their business counterparts. The possible explanation of this behaviour may be that, because of their higher education and economic status they demand pampering. The guests who have had overseas travel experience, popularly called "Burgers" (Hamburgers) are also reputed to be troublesome. They throw their weight around perhaps because they know "proper" service and want to let others know that they do.

Hotel and restaurant workers contrast the tipping behaviour of White guests and their Ghanaian counterparts. According to them, on the whole, the Whites tip more generously and frequently than Ghanaians, possibly because Whites may be more affluent and more accustomed to tipping in hotels and restaurants in their home countries. Among the Ghanaian guests, interviewees said Ashantis tip more than the other ethnic groups. Ewes, Gas and Fantes rarely tip. It was also claimed that the professionals normally do not give tips, and the professionals I interviewed at the hotels expressed the view that since it is the workers' duty to provide them services for which they receive wages, there is no reason to give them extra money for executing such duties.

Such images formed by workers seem to influence their interactions with the guests. They tend to discriminate against guests who are perceived as troublesome and also those who do not tip. My observations show that the hotel workers are more enthusiatic about serving Whites and Ghanaian business persons. At one of the hotels a Ghanaian guest came in at the same time as some white men. The waiter on duty gave the Whites prompt attention, ignoring the Ghanaian guest for some time. The guest remarked, "If I were White I would have been served quickly". Such discriminatory practices by the hosts are likely to make the favoured group continue to behave more favourably and the despised group to persist in their irritating behaviour. Individual experiences, therefore, evolve into general stereotypes. In effect, the attitude of the hosts may contribute to the formation of stereotypes in the host-guest relationships.

International tourism literature portrays some situations where encounters between tourists from industrialized countries and their Third World hosts extend beyond the touristic milieu. Examples are the relations that developed between Western female tourists and Arab boys in Palestine (Cohen 1971) and Scandinavian tourists and Gambian boys and girls (Wagner and Yamba 1986). Some of the tourists invite the friends they make in the destination areas to Europe to continue the friendship, usually based on sexual relations. Claims of hotel workers show that interaction between Ghanaian hotel workers and their guests may sometimes continue outside the touristic situation. There develop extended relations between some of them. Some of the workers intimated that they communicate with guests who patronized their services in the past. At the Volta Hotel a waiter and a receptionist showed to me recent letters they received from former foreign guests. There are also instances of sexual intimacy leading to marriages. For example, I was told by some workers at the Volta Hotel that a sexual relation between a male worker and a French female tourist resulted in a marriage later in France. At Atlantic Hotel I learnt through three chambermaids that one of their fellow female workers was invited to America by a former White guest for marriage. Some workers at City Hotel pointed out to me a chambermaid who had had a child with a Ghanaian guest. Unlike extended relationships between workers and White guests, those between hosts and Ghanaian guests are usually not taken seriously by the workers because, according to them, it is potentially less rewarding than those with foreign guests. According to some experienced workers, they have realized that they do not derive much benefit from the Ghanaian guests. However, there are a few cases where extended relations with Ghanaian guests have yielded material benefits. For example, a receptionist in the Atlantic Hotel indicated that she had developed business contacts and secured employment for friends and relatives through extended relationships with Ghanaian guests. Also a waitress at the City Hotel told me she secured loans for a family business through the contacts she developed with a Ghanaian guest.

Unlike in the hotel workers-guests interaction, extended relationships seem to be unimportant in the residents-guests encounters. My interviews at the destination areas suggest that there are only few instances where the interaction between residents and visitors continued after the latter's departure. Perhaps this is a reflection of the limited nature of resident-visitor interactions involving Ghanaians.

Social contact between intermediaries like tourist guides, hotel concierges, taxi drivers, "professional friends", etc., and tourists at destination areas is a variant of host - guest interaction. According to Nash (1977), in situations where there are increased socio-cultural differentiations between stranger groups and hosts, "intergroup specialists" must be used if successful stranger - host relationships are to continue. The services of tourist guides are, therefore, often vital in international tourism, especially the mass type. They normally serve as sociocultural bridges between the foreign visitors and the host societies (Pearce 1982). In Ghana's domestic tourism, "professional" guides leading tourists from one destination to another are non-existent (They exist only for international visitors to Ghana). What is found are destination tourist guides who stay at particular tourist sites and conduct visitors around the premises. In Ghana such tourist guides operate at dam sites, game reserves, the castles, and museums. In this respect the tourist guides in Ghanaian domestic tourism are not actually "culture brokers" in Nash's (1977) terms, since they mediate between guests and cultural artifacts or physical structures, and not between guests and hosts. Perhaps this is because of the lack of very marked cultural difference between hosts and guests, unlike that between Third World hosts and international tourists.

My observations and interviews with five tourist guides at Akosombo dam site, Cape Coast and Elmina castles and the National Cultural Centre museum at Kumasi showed a generally healthy relationships between them and their Ghanaian guests. The guests' preoccupation with sightseeing (monuments and artifacts), coupled with the small fee paid for guides' services, may help explain this satisfactory state of affairs. Since tourists are usually engrossed in the things being viewed, the guide becomes virtually invisible to them most of the time. This tends to reduce

the level of interaction. Unlike in hotels and restaurants, guests here pay lower fees for the services rendered by guides, and therefore do not expect anything outstanding. Generally the more people pay for service, the more exacting will be their demand for better and more individual service (Mars and Nicod 1984). Usually it is only when the guests want to prove that they are more knowledgeable than the guides that conflict develops. According to the tourist guides it is mostly students and Ghanaians returned from abroad who behave that way. The irritation experienced by tourist guides in such circumstances could be better understood when their relationships with tourists are viewed as analogous to parent-child or teacher-student relationship (Pearce 1982). In the same way as parents and teachers assume superordinate positions in their relationships with their children and students, tourist guides assume superiority over tourists. In this sense, when the "subordinates" refuse to be instructed by the guides the latter's superordinate position is threatened and therefore they become irritated.

The tourist guides at the castles intimated that it is Black American tourists who are the most problematic. The castles were used as the exit points of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. When the Black Americans visit there and see the cruel dungeons in which their ancestors were kept before their final shipment to the New World, they become very emotional and may vent their resentment at the guides. They behave so because they hold the view that the ancestors of the guides contributed to capturing their ancestors and selling them as slaves. However, when White visitors are present the resentment is directed to them, since their people played a leading role in the commitment of such atrocities.

On the whole, the tourist guide-Ghanaian guest relationships do not exhibit the same level of tension as found in hotel workers - guests interaction. Perhaps the short nature of the social contact (rarely more than an hour), guests' preoccupation with sightseeing rather than the guide, and the inexpensive fee paid for the service would help us understand why interactions are generally harmonious. The relationships tend, however, to be formal and impersonal.

Other intermediaries in the host-guest situation appear not to be important in the Ghanaian domestic tourism context. Taxi drivers are not very popular with Ghanaian domestic tourists since many of the tourists travel in their own cars or engage in group tours. Hotel concierges and some of the other workers act as "professional friends". Although they are not permitted by management to associate freely with guests, they "secretly" render some services to guests. They help them become acquainted with important facts of the destination community, and in some instances help guests to get "girlfriends". These "professional friends", especially those engaged in the latter activity, popularly called "pilot boys" (10) in Ghana, are mostly found with the White guests because of the bigger "gratuity" they receive from such guests.

THE QUALITY OF TOURISTIC ENCOUNTERS: INTRA-HOST AND INTRA-GUEST INTERACTIONS

Touristic situations exhibit complex and intricate interactional processes. Apart from the host-guest relationships, there occur encounters among hosts and among guests which contribute either positively or negatively to the quality of touristic encounters at the destination areas.

Interaction among hosts in the face of tourists is generally a neglected area in the sociology of tourism. Interpersonal interactions that develop among the workers of the hospitality and other allied industries fall within a "competition-cooperation" continuum. Where there is much competition among the workers to gain favours from the tourists in order to obtain tips, there exists the likelihood of inter-personal conflicts. Competition among Ghanaian prostitutes for foreign tourists in the popular tourist destinations serves as an illustration. In the Ghanaian hotels at the tourist destinations there are prostitutes who compete among themselves for customers (mainly foreign visitors). Those prostitutes who do not attract enough customers

usually exhibit petty jealousy and envy towards the "lucky" ones. At the Volta hotel I overheard conversations of some of the prostitutes (not professional ones who have their own premises from which they operate regularly) which alluded to this. Interviews I subsequently had with them supported this assertion. One of them remarked: "Rose these days tries to pick a quarrel with me on small matters simply because she believes I have snatched Roberto from her". "But is she the one who brought Roberto to Akosombo? She can go and burn the sea", added another woman in the group. My interviews with two of the prostitutes later showed that these insinuations are common among the women in the "hotel business", that is, women engaged in prostitution with hotel guests. They told me some of the women are not even on speaking terms. According to hotel workers I interviewed at Volta Hotel, City Hotel and Atlantic Hotel, at times conflict among prostitutes at hotels degenerates into clashes. Some of them cited an instance at Meridian Hotel, Tema, where a violent clash developed between two prostitutes competing for a White customer. One hit the other with her shoes and cut the other's forehead. Thus inter-personal rivalries occur among hosts, especially when they have to directly compete for the favours of tourists. What Mars and Nicod (1984) say about waiters and chefs in competitive striving also seems to apply to other category of hosts (in our case prostitutes) as well. According to them, "Individual rivalries arise from the competitive striving which develops as waiters (and chefs) jockey for individual contracts in the pursuit of increased total rewards" (Mars and Nicod 1984: 122).

Such host-host conflicts seem non-existent in the interactions of hotel and restaurant workers, perhaps because competition for personal favours is minimal. In most of the hotels the workers are on a shift system with functions neatly defined. There is not much overlap. This tends to reduce the intensity of competition among them. Another factor mitigating competition is that workers in the same department of the hotel on the same shift usually put their tips together and share, or those who received the tip voluntarily give part to their colleagues. Conflict would arise only when it is discovered that some workers refuse to declare all the tips they obtain or retain everything. This is not a frequent occurence, however. My observation of tip sharing in

Ghanaian hotels is quite similar to what Nicod observed in some prestigious hotels in England. According to him, tips are first pooled and then redistributed (Mars and Nicod 1984). Another reason for cooperation among the hotel and restaurant workers seems to be commercial. It is the objective of the hotel and restaurant establishments to maximize their profits, and they feel this can be achieved when they attract more clientele. To ensure the attractiveness of their services, workers are trained to sublimate or sink their differences and cooperate with each other in providing guests with high standard of service. In other words, hotel and restaurant workers in the destinations may cooperate to boost the appeal of their establishments. However, at times there develop conflicts between the kitchen staff and workers in the other departments who have direct contact with guests. Since the kitchen staff (perhaps except the chef) do not have direct contact with guests they do not receive tips, and the other groups refuse to share theirs with them. Hence the inter-group conflict. The workers of the other departments often tease the kitchen staff that they are easily irritated because they work in a hot environment (Ghanaian hotel kitchens can be extremely hot).

Taxi drivers and car hire operators who ply between the airports and the hotels seem to experience inter-personal conflicts. In their attempt to attract guests (mostly Whites and Ghanaian business persons) they compete among themselves. Each tries to outdo the others by using various tactics. For example, making one's car look nice and new, instant verbal advertising, discrediting other drivers to guests, price cuts, etc. Usually those drivers who attract more guests have to endure jealousy from colleagues. In some instances they are accused by their colleagues of witchcraft or the use of "juju" --- a spiritual weapon used to destroy others or protect oneself against evil forces. One driver who operates a car renting service recounted his experiences to me. According to him he always keeps his car very neat, dresses very well, and added a personal touch to his services. As a result he attracts more customers than his colleagues operating at the hotel. In his words, "Instead of recognizing this simple fact they on many occasions accuse me of using spiritual powers. Many of them often have a strained relationship

with me".

It was discovered at Abonu, a tourist destination near Kumasi, that the local residents act as checks on each other's behaviour during their encounters with tourists. In their view this is to ensure that nobody does anything to visitors which may create a bad impression for the village. This helps prevent residents from overcharging visitors for services rendered to them. Asked why they have the same prices for both visitors and residents, the response was that "discriminatory prices are immoral". Here it is seen that host-host interaction works in the interest of visitors by ensuring them general security. Perhaps there is no hostility in the host-host relationships at Abonu partly because there is virtually no competition among them, and partly because traditional norms of hospitality and morality are still strong. However, the situation in this village is unusual enough to perhaps warrant a closer analysis. The web of kinship (almost all the residents are related to each other by blood and/or marriage) in the village seems to increase cooperation among them. The food- and fish-sellers are not envious of their colleagues who attract more customers because the colleagues think the profits they may get would still remain in the village. All residents would benefit from such money one way or the other. There is cooperation instead of competition among the village residents mainly because they want to collectively create a good impression of the village, so as to enjoy a positive reputation when they travel to other areas of the country. They are of the view that if they provide good services for people visiting their place they would receive reciprocal hospitality in their own travels. Their underlying assumption is that "when you throw a ball to the wall it would come back to hit you". In effect, their cooperation in the face of guests is not so much to attract more tourists as to ensure their own security in their future travels to other areas. Even the Ghanaian guests whom they are more likely to meet in their travels than foreigners are not perceived as tourists. The situation may be different in larger urban settlements in Ghana where residents are much more concerned with their personal interests than creating a "good image" for their towns/cities.

Whether or not interactions among hosts in their dealings with guests would be in the form of inter-personal conflict may depend, to some extent, upon the level of competition or cooperation involved in such relationships. Where there is much competition among hosts to extract material benefits from guests there usually develops inter-personal conflicts, and vice versa.

Both inter-personal and inter-group interactions among Ghanaian guests at the hotels and restaurants I visited were quite limited. Guests have physical encounters with fellow guests at stairs to rooms, corridors, restaurant, reception, bars, etc., but they scarcely interact socially. Even greetings are not normally exchanged. If there is any verbal interaction it is usually among people who arrive as a group or happen to know each other before. Therefore, Turnerian "communitas", that is, intense social togetherness among guests, does not operate at either the inter-personal or inter-group level. However, such behaviour or phenomenon is clearly evident in intra-group interaction. There seems to be, to borrow Turner's phrase, an "intensive and undifferentiated bond" among Ghanaian domestic tourists travelling as a group. For example, at Volta Hotel visiting students and workers groups chatted, ate and drank together, even with their teachers and management. Such intense interaction and the suspension of social differentiation rarely occur in their workaday lives.

Posing as an ordinary guest at the hotels and restaurants I visited, the only verbal interaction I had with other guests was mere exchange of greetings. What came out clearly through interviews with some of the guests is that their interaction with fellow guests is minimal mainly because they are total strangers to each other and there seems to be no common ground for interaction. A local proverb was cited by some of the interviewees to support this view, "When the fetish priest enters the display ground he shakes hands with those he knows". The implication is that unless people know each other before meeting at the touristic arena, there could not be any intense interaction between them. This virtual lack of interaction among Ghanaian guests at the tourist destinations tends to validate the claim of the business and higher professional persons formally interviewed in Accra. Asked to give their impressions about fellow Ghanaian visitors met

at the destination areas, most of them responded that they could not form any concrete impressions because they had no interactions with them. What is found, therefore, in Ghanaian guest-guest relationship is that the little interaction that occurs is mainly at the visual level, with the discourse aspect of the interaction hardly taking place.

Situations that produce a high degree of anxiety and fear make people seek affiliation. Schachter (1949) in his work on the psychology of affiliation demonstrated through laboratory experiments that "threatening conditions" cause people to affiliate. Nash (1970), studying some American communities abroad, using Schachter's perspective, discovered their tendency to clump together with their fellows. According to him this behaviour is a reaction to the fear of strangeness in a foreign situation. International tourism literature seems to show that tourists interact among themselves (Vogt 1978, Pearce 1982). Many tourists do so perhaps because they travel in groups and may have common fears --they are all strangers in a new environment. For example, Gorman (1979) shows how a group of American travellers on trans-European tour started intense interaction among themselves when a Black woman they were travelling with was refused entry to Belgium. Common fears or problems may cause people to affiliate, as even "drifters" do at some point in their travel in foreign countries. Vogt (1978) noted this in places like Amsterdam, London, Copenhagen, Vancouver and Berkeley. Perhaps our Ghanaian guests do not interact much among themselves at the tourist destinations because they are quite familiar with the Ghanaian physical and social environments, and do not expect any hostility from their hosts because of traditional Ghanaian hospitality. Turner's (1978) postulation that guests engage in intensive social togetherness because they have travelled to the "centre out there", seems untenable in our context: being in a tourist destination away from the usual place of residence alone is not a sufficient condition to induce people to interact intensively. They must know each other somewhere else before the encounter and there must be in existence at the destination area a common "threatening condition" (Schachter 1949). Personality type may also contribute to level of social interaction in the Ghanaian domestic tourism situation. A few outgoing guests interact with others whether or

not they know each other before hand.

TOURISTIC ENCOUNTERS: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Host-guest interaction in the Ghanaian touristic setting is not uniform. It encompasses relationships between hotel/restaurant workers and guests, local residents and visitors, and intermediaries and tourists. The interaction that occurs in such a milieu is a variant of general social interaction with some unique features. Unlike other social interactions this kind involves parties found in different dimensions of life: workaday and leisure. While the tourist plays, rests or recuperates the host performs utilitarian functions; the tourist's leisure constitutes work for the host. The tourists' uninhibited or liminoid behaviour in such a situation generates tension in the host-guest relationship, which is often consciously suppressed by the host. The host must tolerate the "offensive" behaviour of the guest in order to reap material benefits made possible by the guest's spending. This situation is particularly true in the hotel/restaurant worker - guest relationship.

Perhaps due to the transitoriness, temporal and institutional constraints, interaction between hotel and restaurant workers and their guests takes place on formal, mechanical and universalistic levels. It is generally characterised by superficiality, impersonality, and lack of spontaneity. This is more true for the interactions with guests visiting for the first time or those who do not stay for long. Where repeated visits occur and guests stay longer, more particularistic and intimate relationships do develop. To a large extent, host-guest interaction is characterised by hostile undercurrents which occasionally erupt. There is non-violent relationships mainly because of suppressed irritation of workers. Guide-guest interactions show virtually no hostility, but are largely impersonal.

Generally, as found in host-guest relationships in international touristic situations, stereotyping of guests takes place when guests interact with hotel and restaurant workers in

Ghanaian domestic tourism situations. The guests are categorized in terms of their behaviour pattern, according to their ethnicity, profession or socio-economic status, and foreign travel experience. The guests-tourist guides relationship is not different. Also, as found in international tourism, Ghanaian host-domestic tourist interactions may continue after guests have left the hotels and tourist destinations. However, such extended interactions are on a limited scale, because hosts perceive such relationships as less lucrative. What occurs in the resident-visitor relationship in the Ghanaian tourist destinations seems to be quite different. Here the hosts tolerate the guests not only because of social and material benefits they may derive, but also their perception of the Ghanaian domestic tourist as yet another stranger. Perceiving the tourists this way enjoins the hosts to offer a warm reception. However, hostility may occur when tourists abuse this privilege by exhibiting behaviour which is unacceptable to hosts. Hosts' hostility towards guests in the Ghanaian situation may therefore not necessarily be the result of high tourist densities or cultural differences between hosts and guests. It may largely be stimulated or reinforced by the behaviour of individual tourists and the quality of services provided for guests. As long as guests' behaviour falls within the generally "acceptable" norms in the destination area, and guests are satisfied with facilities and services, there would be harmonious relationships.

Intra-host and intra-guest relationships are integral parts of the interaction processes generated by touristic encounters. The host-host relationship in the Ghanaian domestic touristic milieu is generally that of cooperation. It is when there is competition among hosts that inter-personal conflicts develop. Like the interaction between Ghanaian domestic tourists and the local residents of the destination areas, guest-guest relationship at both inter-personal and inter-group levels are virtually non-existent, perhaps because of a high degree of familiarity of the environment to tourists and the traditional hospitality of hosts. One implication of this is that it is unlikely that domestic tourism will lead to greater national awareness, belongingness, and integration.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Travelling was part and parcel of the lives of pre-independence Ghanaians. Although the lack of a modern transportation system and general insecurity limited movement, it hardly prevented it. The people migrated, travelled on war expeditions, moved about for business transactions, etc. Though their travels did not have a recreational or pleasure component, the incorporation of sightseeing may not be ruled out. Therefore, like much of the travel in modern Ghana, pre-independence travel could be multi-purpose with touristic traits (at least sightseeing). The interaction and hospitality (accommodation and catering) systems were different from those found in touristic situations in modern Ghana.

The evolution of tourism in Ghana can be characterized as stunted. Governments rarely carry their commitment to develop the industry beyond rhetoric. The necessary financial and logistic resources required to back up their declared intentions have not been forthcoming. The explanations for this situation perhaps could be: 1) governments are not convinced of the industry's ability to make any substantial contribution to the country's development process and 2) the inability of tourism officials to make available any feasible and comprehensive tourism plans and programmes that could serve as a sound basis for a national tourism policy. Consequently, to date, there has not been any official cohesive national policy on tourism development. The recent Tourism Policy proposals (1987), however, offer a point of departure. Unlike the piecemeal plans of the past, these proposals represent a major step towards systematic, insightful and comprehensive planning which, when adopted and implemented, may create a solid foundation for the development of tourism in the country.

Thus far, the little attention given to tourism in Ghana has tended to focus on international tourism, especially the mass type. However, the negative economic and socio-cultural effects of this type of tourism in some Third World countries are causing some shifts in favour of alternative

forms of international tourism in Ghana. A positive result of these shifts is the recognition of domestic tourism as a vital part of tourism in the country. It has taken a long time for domestic tourism to attract official attention, probably because the low standard of living in the country made the viability and possibility of domestic tourism development doubtful. Other influencing factors for this invisibility may be domestic tourism's inability to generate foreign exhange, its foreignness to the Ghanaian culture, and its virtual non-existence in the country. The recent tourism policy proposals, however, stress the importance of developing this form of tourism in Ghana and show the crucial need for its development as an adjunct to international tourism. Also recognized is the existence of domestic tourism, though on a rather small scale in its conventional form. Existing side by side with this is the non-conventional or informal tourism which provides opportunity for Ghanaians of varied socio-economic backgrounds to engage in tourism, consciously or unwittingly, through funerals, sports, religious conventions, festivals and visits to extended families outside their (guests) places of residence. The magnitude of the numbers of people attending these activities seem to suggest that this form of domestic tourism is on a larger scale than the conventional type.

The examination of the travel patterns of selected business and higher professional urban Ghanaians reveals their preference for familiarity in their leisure travels. They seek familiar destinations, familiar transportation, familiar accommodation and room facilities. Their preference for travelling with people other than their wives and children, however, shows that the respondents do not completely ignore novelty. The respondents keep to the beaten track rather than venturing off it and this is evidenced in their preference for the popular urban tourist destinations in Ghana, and their repeated visits to such destinations. Other pointers to their interest in ensuring familiarity are the premium they place on air conditioned, well-furnished travel accommodation, staying with friends and relatives during their travels, and travelling in their own cars. These preferences of the respondents tend to help them maximize relaxation rather than serving as a security base from which to enjoy the "extravagantly strange" as

proposed by Boorstin and Cohen.

The nature of our respondents' work (business persons and higher professionals) and their many social ties (nuclear and extended family members, friends, business/professional associates) are such that they do not have enough time for relaxation. In their leisure travel, therefore, they are interested in destinations, surroundings, facilities and services that would enable them to achieve maximum relaxation, recuperation and rest. Hence the premium they place on high standard lodging and catering facilities and services. Air conditioned, well-furnished state and private hotels in Ghana are their preference, because they guarantee comfort, privacy and security. Those who choose to stay in private homes do not ignore facilities and environments that would enable them stay in comfort.

The business persons and higher professional Ghanaians studied tend to maximize autonomy in their leisure travel. They hardly join organized or group tours, and do not make use of services of travel agents or tour operators. Rather, they rely on their own resources, mostly travelling in their private cars. From the planning stage of their vacation trips to organization of activities at the destination areas, they prefer autonomy to dependence. They emphasize the need for independent choices, personal control, and freedom from institutionalized regulations.

Our respondents, like international tourists, appear to be motivated by the desire to escape temporarily from their places of residence. However, the "escape" seems to be that from boredom of routine life, and hustle and bustle in the urban centres rather than from "inauthentic" things as postulated by MacCannell or to seek "pseudo-events" as Boorstin imagines. Leisure travellers in Ghana may, therefore, not be motivated by the desire to seek things which are authentic "out there" (tourist destinations), neither do they usually develop interest in the "real" life of others (people with different cultural identities) in the destination areas. Perhaps this is why "life-seeing" and rural destinations seem unpopular with the business persons and higher professionals selected for the study.

The sightseeing preferences of the affluent Ghanaians studied show their interest in "nature", especially natural landscapes, which is not covered by any of the four continuums. In this light we suggest a fifth continuum to deal with extremes of preference between "natural" and "artificial". Our respondents' interests in natural things seem not to square with their preference for urban destinations. However, the inconsistency is just an apparent one, for natural landscapes such as beaches are found in some urban centres (Accra, Winneba, Takoradi, etc.). Moreover, some of the respondents mentioned that when they are en route to the urban tourist destinations they take the opportunity to admire the natural landscapes they see on the way.

The married, male respondents' preference for travelling with girlfriends instead of wives, and the female respondents' fear to travel unaccompanied, bring into focus the socio-cultural dimension of domestic tourism in Ghana. Polycoity in general, and polygamy in particular are acceptable practices for Ghanaian men. Married men are therefore able to engage in leisure travel with their girlfriends without social constraints or emotional discomfort. Gender role prescription in Ghana shows it is improper for women to travel unaccompanied for "non-serious" purpose. Women travelling alone for pleasure and lodging at hotels/resthouses are usually associated with prostitution. Since monocoity is viewed as the acceptable sexual practice for Ghanaian women, they may be rarely seen to engage in leisure travel unaccompanied, and as much as possible they avoid hotels. Traditional norms of gender roles therefore make leisure travel involving stay at hotels more acceptable for men than women.

In host - guest encounters, interactions move from that between the tourists and front-line hosts (hotel and restaurant staff) to that between tourists and back-line hosts (residents of destination areas). Added to these is the interaction between tourists and intermediaries such as tourist guides at the castles, museums, harbours, dam sites, etc. The intermediaries, who in our case usually mediate between tourists and premises or sites, rather than between tourists and local residents, constitute front-line hosts for day trippers. As suggested by the UNESCO study (1976), the transitoriness of the touristic encounters, and temporal and spatial constraints, seem to limit

touristic interactions in Ghana's domestic tourism setting to formal, mechanistic and universalistic levels. The interaction is dominated by impersonality, superficiality, and a general lack of spontaneity (these are especially true with the front-line hosts). However, where repeated visits occur and where guests stay long enough, the relationships can, and often do, develop into personalized and particularistic ones. What perhaps is missing from the UNESCO scheme is the role of institutional rules and regulations, and the commercial interests of hosts in the shaping of host-guest interactions. Many hotels and restaurants in Ghana resemble formal bureaucracies. The workers in such establishments are virtually forbidden by rules and regulations to develop any close, intimate relationships with their guests. This situation appears to contribute to the predominantly formal interactions observed in hotel/restaurant workers - guests encounters. The apparent "injunction" placed on the natural reactions of the workers to the attitudes and behaviour of guests perhaps partly explains the level of servility present in their dealings with guests. The suppressed irritation of the workers is reinforced by their commercial interest: if they are to retain their jobs, they have to abide by the rules and regulations of their establishments.

Generally, hostile relationships between Ghanaian guests and their front-line hosts are generated by the "unacceptable" behaviour of guests, poor hotel/restaurant facilities, and "sloppy" service of hosts. However, these usually do not develop into violent clashes because of the suppressed reactions of the hotel/restaurant staff. From a Turnerian (1974) perspective, uncontrolled behaviour of guests may be explained by their temporary spatial and social separation from their places of residence. According to this perspective, as tourists cross the threshold of their ordered world, away from the economic, political and socio-cultural structures of their places of residence, normal status and role obligations are suspended. The result is the irritating aspect of tourists' behaviour in the destination areas. This explanation, however, may be but a partial one in the Ghanaian domestic tourism context, for the commercialization of relations at the touristic setting seems to be an important factor. According to hosts, the guests think they have paid for the facilities and services, and can therefore behave in whatever ways they wish, even if

such behaviour contravenes socially condoned modes of behaviour. The guests, however, are of the view that they have to get their money's worth and will not settle for low standard facilities and services.

Another interesting observation on the host-guest relationships involving Ghanaians is the socio-economic inequality between the two interacting parties. The asymmetrical relationship finds expression in the display of attitudes of superiority by guests in their encounters with hosts, especially the front-line hosts. The guests perceiving these hosts as poor, ordinary workers, and the hosts' categorization of Ghanaian guests as having high socio-economic status, help to reinforce and perpetuate the superiority-inferiority relationships exhibited in their interactions. These general perceptions, however, can be viewed as oversimplications, for there are further classifications based on behaviour patterns. On the whole, the hosts have stereotypical perceptions of guests in terms of ethnicity, profession or socio-economic status and foreign travel experience. The perception of hosts is that guests from the coastal tribes (Fantes, Gas and Ewes), higher professional persons, and guests with overseas travel experience (been-tos/burgers) are more easily irritated than those from the hinterland tribes (Kwawus, Ashantis, Brongs, Northerners), business persons, and respondents without overseas travel experience. Also the latter categories are perceived to be more generous in tipping than the former. On the other hand, the guests stereotype the front-line hosts as poor, lazy and unscrupulous workers, and the back-line hosts as generally more hospitable. The effect of the stereotyping is that hosts and guests behave towards each other in pre-defined ways, based on their pre-conceived notions. Thus, there develops a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby people behave according to how they think they are perceived. Domestic tourism may therefore hardly alter the perceptions the interactive parties already held of each other. Analogous to international tourists-hosts relationships, Ghanaian domestic tourists may return from their trips with stereotypical views about their hosts confirmed. Likewise, impressions formed by hosts about guests may be solidified.

Very little interaction appears to take place between Ghanaian domestic tourists and the residents of the destination communities. The reasons may include the following: many of the superior hotel accommodations are isolated from resident communities where host-guest encounters are more likely; and guests' preoccupation with relaxation, which limits their time for visits to host communities. The likely implication of this general lack of intense host-guest interactions is that domestic tourism may not be able to generate deeper understanding among Ghanaians and foster national integration. Thus, like international tourism, domestic tourism seems to be unable to generate intense interactions between hosts and guests, and therefore cannot contribute much to the development of deeper understanding among residents of a country. This picture seems to cast doubt on Jafari's (1986) optimistic scenario for the role of domestic tourism in the development of national understanding. What little interaction does occur between the guests and residents, however, is largely harmonious. Perhaps this is because of guests' perception of the hosts as hospitable. They may therefore show a positive attitude towards the hosts which, in turn, may engender favourable responses from the hosts. Moreover, the hosts' perception of Ghanaian domestic tourists as "strangers" in the traditional perspective may enjoin them to offer a warm reception to the guests.

Intra-host and intra-guest relationships are important and integral aspects of interaction processes occurring in touristic encounters. However, these are often neglected by tourism researchers. Hosts-hosts interaction in the Ghanaian domestic tourism setting is basically that of cooperation. Perhaps the front-line hosts cooperate with each other to maximize their professional and commercial interests. They believe they have to work cordially together as a team to provide high quality services which may attract enough visitors to their establishments. In this way they may safeguard their jobs and remunerations. Another feature which seems to minimize competition, and therefore hostility, among front-line hosts is the system of sharing tips obtained from guests. Usually workers of each department pool their tips and share at the end of the day.

Back-line hosts (especially residents of travel destinations), on the other hand, cooperate in the face of tourists not with the intention of boosting tourism in their local areas (many people do not even perceive the Ghanaian guests as tourists), but to enhance the external image of their local community. The motive here seems to be that a good public image makes it more likely that residents of the community can enjoy hospitability when they too travel to other parts of the country. In effect, the hosts provide the guests with hospitality, not so much for the commercial benefits to be derived, but for the good reputation that the community may acquire. Traders, especially food and fish sellers in the locality, however, emphasize the commercial aspect of interactions, since more consumers (visitors) will help to maximize sales.

Intra-guest relationships, at both inter-personal and inter-group levels, are virtually non-existent in Ghanaian domestic touristic encounters. There are three probable explanations for this. Firstly, Ghanaian guests are familiar with the Ghanaian environment, and enjoy the hospitality of local residents. Since the guests claim to be familiar with Ghanaian society, and also do not expect any hostility from hosts, they do not feel threatened. There is, therefore, no need to affiliate. Secondly, the guests are relaxation oriented. They put a premium on relaxation and therefore prefer to be left alone most of the time, instead of mixing with other people. This maximizes their recuperation and rest during their stay at the destination areas. Finally, the guests rarely know each other prior to their meeting at the destinations. As total strangers they seem to have no common grounds for intense interaction, and since many of them spend only a short time at the destination areas, they do not become well acquainted with each other before they depart. However, this assertion does not rule out the importance of personality types of tourists in guest-guest interactions (some tourists seek close interaction because they are by nature gregarious and outward-going). The low level of interactions among guests shows that such type of tourists are very few in our case. In short, the Turnerian thesis which suggests that spatial and social separation of pilgrims, (tourists in our case), from their places of residence and their entry into destinations "out there" increase the likelihood of intensive social togetherness seems

inoperative in the Ghanaian domestic tourism context. "Separation" alone is not a sufficient condition for intense interactions among tourists at destination areas. Much depends on: 1) whether or not guests know each other prior to their meeting; 2) perceived existence of "common threatening condition" (Schacdter 1949, Nash 1970); 3) the way the holiday experience is organized; and 4) the personality types involved.

The views of a selected number of Ghana's tourism officials, experienced persons in the tourism industry, as well as opinion leaders of some tourist destinations in the country, on the likely impacts of domestic tourism all seem to echo Jafari's optimistic scenario. The general opinion expressed is that while international tourism in Ghana can increase the incidence of social problems like prostitution, "indecent" dressing, the use of "filthy" language among the youth, disrespect for elders, etc., domestic tourism is considered incapable of creating any serious problems for Ghanaian society. Even those interviewees who are quite sceptical about the development of domestic tourism in Ghana think that if there are going to be any negative socio-cultural effects at all, they may be moderate when compared to the impacts of international tourism. These are mere speculations, and longitudinal, objective study may show otherwise.

Generally, the notion held by interviewees is that domestic tourism is unlikely to increase prostitution in Ghana since Ghanaian men do not like engaging prostitutes for sex. What may occur, it is thought, is that Ghanaian men will travel with their girlfriends instead of their wives, which is not prostitution in the view of the selected interviewees. My observations at some popular hotels and the Labadi pleasure beach in Accra give substance to the above view. Prostitutes who visit the hotels and the Labadi beach usually prefer the white guests to the Ghanaian guests. This is mainly because they think the whites give them more money for their services than Ghanaian guests. Moreover, most of the Ghanaian men who visited the hotels (where I did my observations) came with girlfriends or wives. It is therefore unlikely that they would require prostitutes. With regard to the potential influence of tourist clothing styles on hosts, the view is that Ghanaian guests in the destination areas, unlike the foreign tourists, dress "decently", and therefore would

potentially have a positive influence on hosts' clothing style.

The national integration function of domestic tourism was consistently emphasized by interviewees. Their notion is that as Ghanaians from all walks of life and different ethnic groups pay visits to other parts of the country they would be exposed to the different ways of life and appreciate them. By so doing, the interviewees think, traditional stereotypes and prejudices may be ironed out, paving the way for effective national integration. If Ghanaians criss-cross their country on leisure trips and see the resources and problems, it is believed, there will be increase in national awareness and a sense of belonging. Awareness might be a precondition to integration. There are two stages in the process; first, integration among the affluent tourists, and second, integration between hosts and guests. However, given the low level of intra-guest and host-guest interactions at the popular destination areas, it is doubtful if domestic tourism can foster national integration as interviewees believe. This seems to cast doubt about Jafari's optimistic view of domestic tourism as an effective mechanism for national cohesion.

It is also suggested by the interviewees that domestic tourism may encourage the exhange of ideas and practices concerning community development. Tourists travelling to other parts of the country would see various community development projects, different patterns of settlements, housing types, agricultural practices, etc. These might be adopted in their own localities. Another point emphasized is that domestic tourism would provide healthy recreation for many Ghanaians, and promote both physical and mental recuperation. Domestic tourists would return from their trips invigorated, and could therefore put more effort in their jobs, thereby contributing to increased productivity. The formal interview survey of travel preferences and expectations of respondents, and also my observations of activities of Ghanaian tourists in destination areas add substance to this point. They put a premium on relaxation and relaxation-oriented activities like sightseeing and visiting friends and relatives. Whether such regained energy will be used to increase production or not is another question.

While expectations of tourism officials, experienced persons in Ghana's tourism industry, and opinion leaders in destination communities support Jafari's optimistic scenario of domestic tourism, my observations on Ghana's touristic situation suggests otherwise. The superiority complexes that many affluent and privileged Ghanaians reveal at hotels and restaurants in host communities, suggest that as many such domestic tourists move to destination communities they develop and exhibit a strong sense of their own social and economic superiority. This may lead to increasing resentment among the mass of the population. Generally, traditional stereotypes and prejudices seem to be reinforced in the encounters between Ghanaian hosts and guests in the tourist destinations. Also there appears to be very little interaction between residents of host communities and Ghanaian guests. It is doubtful if such situations are capable of creating national understanding and integration. Many of our respondents from the Accra business and higher professional categories indicated that their domestic travels in Ghana reveal to them the enormity of developmental problems in Ghana which prevent them from feeling proud as Ghanaians. Domestic tourism, therefore, could not help them develop a sense of national belonging, but rather a sense of hopelessness.

Domestic tourism in Ghana may lead to exchange of ideas and practices between hosts and guests. However, from my own observations and interviews with tourism officials, it is less likely that there would be a mutual flow. The hosts in the rural areas, and even people with lower socio-economic status in the urban tourist destinations may tend to copy from the metropolitan and affluent tourists who represent a strong "modern" culture. Put differently, an asymmetrical acculturation process may be promoted by domestic tourism in Ghana, leading to the domination of the traditional cultures of the host communities by the values and practices of the affluent urbanites. In this way, as the affluent urbanites move temporarily but repeatedly to the local tourist destinations, a national process of cultural homogenization may result. Thus, the cultural diversities of the various ethnic groups in Ghana, which are tourist attractions themselves, may be destroyed. These findings suggest that Jafari's view that domestic tourism would bring about

mutual exchange of ideas and practices between hosts and guests is far too optimistic.

It is the view of some of the opinion leaders in destination communities that, as domestic tourism becomes more popular with Ghanaians, their sense of priority will be distorted, and therefore monies that can be used to help relatives and friends will be "wasted" on leisure travel. This, coupled with an increased commercialization of relations that might result, will combine with other acculturative forces to eventually destroy or weaken the time-honoured extended family system in Ghana. My interviews with travel agents, tour operators, and guests in destination areas, and also my personal experience as a Ghanaian, suggest that many Ghanaians still feel it is important to help extended family members. They consider extended family responsibilities more important than engaging in leisure travel. This perception is critical in helping to explain the generally low participation in tourism.

CONCLUSION

While our Ghanaian leisure travellers are recognizable as tourists, even if they themselves do not readily accept this designation, they do not fit comfortably within Cohen's typology. They may wish to stay within a comfortable "environmental bubble" but their aversion to organized or institutionalized travel makes them unlike Cohen's "organized mass tourists". They operate independently, but their lack of interest in the host communities and their love of comfort make them quite different from Cohen's "explorers" or "drifters". Our respondents do appear to bear some resemblance to his "individual mass tourists", but they exercise far greater autonomy and show little interest in even temporarily joining group tours or other "mass tourist" activities.

It seems clear that Cohen's typology of tourists, designed with international tourists in mind, is a rather blunt instrument when applied to domestic tourism in Ghana. The virtual lack of institutionalized domestic tourism in this country means, almost inevitably, that Cohen's two types of mass tourists (organized and individual) will be rare indeed in the present situation. On the

other hand, since domestic tourism in Ghana has begun with the relatively affluent and sophisticated urbanites, it is unlikely that we should find many "explorers" or "drifters" at this stage in its development, and certainly not among the status-conscious people interviewed and observed during the research.

Given the embryonic stage of domestic tourism in Ghana at the present time, it should not be surprising if distinct tourist types have not fully emerged or crystallized. Our pioneers may yet come to resemble the mass tourists described by Cohen and others, as domestic tourism develops institutionalized forms in Ghana. At present, however, they seem to have more in common with the "incipient mass tourists" described by Smith (1977), who points to their preference for "popular" tourist destinations, individual or small group travel, modern hotels, and high standard Western tourism facilities.

This thesis has ventured into uncharted research territory and has assembled a body of empirical data which might serve as a starting point for further research on domestic tourism in Ghana. Our exploration suggests that six research tasks will require attention in the future:

1.   Full scale research is required on the nature and dynamics of "proto-domestic tourism" in Ghana, and how best it could be developed and promoted. This is essential if a situation whereby popular resentment could arise because tourism facilities are developed exclusively for the affluent is to be avoided or minimized. Ghanaians from all walks of life travel to attend funerals, sports events, religious conventions, festivals, etc. However, the dynamics of such travels are not yet well known.

2.   The Ghanaian public's conceptions of "tourism" and "tourists" need to be investigated further in order to understand how such conceptions influence hosts' attitudes towards tourists and tourism. Our thesis has shown that "tourism" and "tourists", as conceived by the average Ghanaian, seem quite different from what is found in the tourism literature, and also from how people in industrialized countries

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perceive them. It has been shown that such perceptions affect the interactional processes in domestic tourism settings. However, the extent of this influence is not clear.

3. A large-scale study based on a representative sample of affluent Ghanaians is needed to ascertain the relationships between specific socio-demographic characteristics and their leisure travel behaviour. The spatial distribution (rural and urban) must be considered in such a study.

4. Consideration of the role of Ghanaian social structure on domestic tourism development in the country is crucial. What is the socio-structural explanation of the tendency for many travelling Ghanaians to stay in private homes instead of hotels. Our study has shown that some Ghanaians do not like to be associated with staying at hotels because of the prevailing conceptions of an hotel as a citadel of immorality and wastefulness. In-depth participant-observation is essential to understand the dimensions and dynamics of such conceptions, and their implications for the development of tourism and the hospitality industry in Ghana. Why is it that many rich Ghanaians appear not to be interested in leisure travel, but some poor workers participate in travel as a leisure activity? Why is it that many affluent Ghanaians tend to disguise their leisure travel both within and outside Ghana? Why is leisure travel unpopular with Ghanaian women? Does the extended family system in Ghana facilitate or hinder the development of domestic tourism? These are all issues which require further research.

5. A detailed study of intra-host and intra-guest interactions in Ghanaian touristic situations is necessary. Explanations need to be found for the prevalence of competition among some hosts and cooperation among others. Are there socio-cultural explanations of the low level of interaction among affluent urban Ghanaian guests at the tourist destinations? Is this type of behaviour unique to such wealthy guests or would lower income Ghanaians exhibit similar patterns of

behaviour when they travel for pleasure? These areas should be considered in future research.

6.   A longitudinal research project aimed at examining the socio-cultural impacts of domestic tourism on Ghanaian society is necessary. In our thesis we attempted a preliminary assessment of socio-cultural effects of domestic tourism in Ghana, based on the views of tourism officials and a handful of opinion leaders, and also my personal observations on the tourism scene. Do tourists develop some sensitivity to the likely socio-cultural changes that their leisure travel activities may introduce in the host communities? These areas require illumination if we are to increase our knowledge on the socio-cultural ramifications of Ghana's domestic tourism.

Further systematic and intensive research in the areas demarcated will not only help to produce the comprehensive knowledge and data-base which may contribute to building a firm basis for planning, development and promotion of a viable domestic tourism industry in Ghana, but also it may contribute to empirical and theoretical knowledge of tourism. The theoretical value of the thesis lies in the light it sheds on the inadequacies of some of the theoretical ideas emerging from social science literature on tourism, when applied to domestic tourism in a developing country like Ghana. First, socio-cultural factors may be crucial in understanding the nature of domestic tourism in Ghana. Second, Cohen's typology of tourists based on "familiarity - novelty", and Turnerian postulations on "liminoidity" and "communitas" need modifications if they are to become more useful in analysing domestic tourism issues. Third, Jafari's propositions on the impact of domestic tourism in developing countries are overly optimistic.

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FREQUENCY TABLES

TABLE 17 GENDER AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

GENDER	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
MALE	42 (82.4%)	9 (17.6%)	51
FEMALE	9 (100%)	0 (0%)	9
TOTAL	51	9	60

TABLE 18: AGE AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

AGE	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
30 - 41	12 (23.5%)	2 (22.2%)	14
42 - 53	24 (47.1%)	5 (55.6%)	29
54 - 65	14 (27.4%)	2 (22.2%)	16
66 - 77	1 (2.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 19: MARITAL STATUS AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

MARITAL STATUS	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
SINGLE	3 (5.9%)	0 (0.0%)	3
MARRIED	47 (92.2%)	9 (100%)	56
DIVORCED	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 20: NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

NO. OF CHILDREN	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
0 - 3	17 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	20
4 - 7	26 (51.0%)	6 (66.4%)	32
8 - 11	8 (15.7%)	0 (0.0)	8
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 21: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
BELOW UNIV.	10 (19.6%)	1 (11.1%)	11
DIPLOMA	2 (3.9%)	0 (0.0%)	2
DEGREE	39 (76.5%)	8 (88.9%)	47
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 22: OVERSEAS EDUCATION AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

OVERSEAS EDUCATION	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
YES	32 (62.7%)	5 (55.6%)	37
NO	19 (37.3%)	4 (44.4%)	23
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 23: SOCIAL CLUB MEMBERSHIP AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

SOCIAL CLUB	TRAVELLED?(day trip)			TRAVELLED? (vacation travel)		
	YES	NO	N	YES	NO	N
MEMBER	36 (70.6%)	6 (66.7%)	42	32 (68.1%)	8 (61.5)	40
NON-MEMB	15 (29.4%)	3 (33.3%)	18	15 (31.9%)	5 (38.5)	20
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60	47 (100%)	13 (100%)	60

TABLE 24: RELIGION AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

RELIGION	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
CATHOLIC	10 (19.6%)	1 (11.1%)	11
ANGLICAN	9 (17.6%)	1 (11.1%)	10
PRESBYTERIAN	13 (25.5%)	2 (22.2%)	15
METHODIST	11 (21.6%)	2 (22.2%)	13
BAPTIST	1 (2.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1
PENTECOSTAL	1 (2.0%)	1 (11.1)	2
RIDGE CHURCH	4 (7.9%)	0 (0.0%)	4
HINDU	1 (2.0%)	1 (11.1%)	2
MUSLIM	0 (0.0%)	1 (11.1%)	1
ATHEIST	1 (2.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	60

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TABLE 25: INCOME AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

INCOME	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
MORE AFFLUENT	36 (70.6%)	5 (55.6%)	41
LESS AFFLUENT	15 (29.4%)	4 (44.4%)	19
TOTAL	51 (100)	9 (100%)	60

TABLE 26: ETHNICITY AND LEISURE TRAVEL PARTICIPATION

ETNICITY	TRAVELLED?		
	YES	NO	N
GA	11 (21.6)	0 (0.0%)	11
FANTE	9 (17.7%)	3 (33.3%)	12
AKWAPIM	7 (13.7%)	0 (0,0%)	7
AKIM	2 (3.9%)	0 (0.0%)	2
EWE	10 (19.6%)	2 (22.3%)	12
ASHANTI	7 (13.7%)	3 (33.3%)	10
BRONG	2 (3.9%)	0 (0.0%)	2
KWAWU	2 (3.9%)	0 (0.0%)	2
NORTHERN	1 (2.0%)	1 (2.0%)	2
TOTAL	51 (100%)	9 (100%)	

TABLE 27: IMPORTANCE OF THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS ON RESPONDENTS' CHOICE OF TRAVEL DESTINATION

PREFERENCES	EIMPO %	MIMPO %	NIMPO %	TOTAL %
Opportunities to see or experience something unusal or different.	75	10	15	100
Opportunities to meet different people from other walks of life.	51.7	20	28.3	100
Opportunities to relax and take it easy.	86.6	6.7	6.7	100
Letting others worry about making arrangements.	18.3	5.0	76.7	100
Opportunities to learn about the country's history and traditional culture.	55.0	21.7	23.3	100
High standard of comfort and services required.	65.0	13.3	21.7	100
Opportunities to meet old friends and relatives.	56.7	13.3	30.0	100
Opportunities to engage in sports or games.	26.7	11.7	61.6	100
Opportunities to see signs of national progress.	50	10	40	100

TABLE 28: HOW TO ATTRACT MORE GHANAIANS TO DOMESTIC TOURISM

SUGGESTIONS	NUMBER OF TIMES SUGGESTED BY RESPONDENTS	
	No.	%
Development of tourist attractions	18	9.6
Intensive and extensive publicity	25	13.4
Provision of good catering services	19	10.2
High standard hotel accommodation	38	20.3
Reliable and efficient transportation	49	26.2
Well organized group tours	20	10.7
Sporting and recreational facilities	11	5.9
Entertainment programmes	3	1.6
TOTAL	1C3	100

TABLE 29: NUMBER OF TIMES A FOREIGN COUNTRY HAS BEEN VISITED BY RESPONDENTS

COUNTRY	No.	%
WESTERN EUROPE	877	34.5
Britain	437	23.1
W. Germany	122	6.4
France	67	3.5
Switzerland	56	3.0
Holland	74	3.9
Italy	45	2.4
Scandinavia	26	1.4
Israel	16	0.8
Belgium	34	1.8
WEST AFRICA	445	23.5
NORTH AMERICA	192	10.1
United States	152	8.0
Canada	40	2.1
EAST AFRICA	98	5.2
S.E. ASIA	62	3.3
E. EUROPE	56	3.0
OTHER: AFRICA	32	1.7
LATIN AMERICA	28	1.5
Soviet Union	23	1.2
Korea	19	1.0
Taiwan	13	0.7
CARIBBEAN	18	0.9

AUSTRALIA/N.Z.	15	0.8
Japan	16	0.8
Taiwan	13	0.7
TOTAL	1894	100

TABLE 30: REASONS FOR CHOOSING TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION DURING VACATION TRAVEL

REASON:	No.	%
FINANCIAL	11	18.3
OBLIGATION/CONVENIENCE	24	40.1
FACILITIES	4	6.7
SERVICES	2	3.3
PRIVACY/SECURITY	4	6.7
OTHER	2	3.3
TOTAL	47	100

TABLE 31: REASONS FOR CHOOSING TO STAY IN PRIVATE ACCOMMODATION DURING VACATION TRAVEL

Reason	No.	%
Obligation/Convenience	13	56.5
Facilities	4	17.4
Services	2	8.7
Privacy/Security	4	17.4
TOTAL	23	100

TABLE 32: ACTIVITIES SUGGESTED TO VACATION TRAVELLERS BY HOSTS

Activity	No.	%
Visiting friends	2	4.3
Visiting night club/disco, etc.	2	4.3
Relaxing at beach	1	2.1
Drinking	1	2.1
Visiting places of interest	12	25.5
Boat ride	1	2.1
Nothing	28	59.6
TOTAL	47	100

TABLE 33: DAY-TRIP COMPANIONS OF MARRIED MALE RESPONDENTS

TRAVELLED WITH:	A'YS	U'LLY	S'TIMES	N'ER	T'L
SPOUSE	11	5	12	13	41
PARENTS	0	0	0	41	41
CHILDREN	10	4	10	17	41
SIBLINGS	0	0	2	39	41
OTHER RELAT.	0	0	4	37	41
BUS/PROF ACQ.	3	3	13	22	41

TABLE 34: ACTIVITIES VACATION TRAVELLERS SPENT MOST OF THEIR TIME ON

ACTIVITY	No.	%
RELAXATION	12	25.5
ENTERTAINMENT	1	2.1
VISITING FRIENDS/RELATIVES	6	12.8
NIGHT CLUB/DISCO/VIDEO/CINEMA	3	6.4
SIGHTSEEING	11	23.4
DRINKING/CHATTING	4	8.5
FUNERAL	4	8.5
OTHER	6	12.8
TOTAL	47	100

APPENDIX 2

<u>INTERVIEW</u> <u>SCHEDULE</u>

INFNO. . . . .   SCHEDULE 'A'

          TRAVEL DURING THE YEAR 19. . . . .

01 Duration type:

   01 Extended   . . . .

   (Absence from normal place of residence for SIX nights or

   more)

   02 Short   . . . .

   (Absence from normal place of residence for ONE to FIVE

   nights)

02 Have you ever taken domestic leisure travel in Ghana?. . . . .

03 Date of last (most recent) trip   . . . .

04 Duration of the trip   . . . .

05 Main destination   . . . .

06 Time spent at M/dest   . . . .

07 Other destinations   . . . .

   . . . .

   . . . .

08 Number of previous visits to M/dest   . . . .

09 Number of previous visits to other destinations . . . .

   . . . .

   . . . .

10 Information sources utilized in choosing destinations:

01 travel agent/tour operator ....

02 friend/family member/relative ....

03 newspaper/magazine ....

04 T.V. ....

05 other (specify)...

....

....

11 Choice of destination(s) made:

01 solely by informant

02 jointly with other person(s) (specify relationship of other

person(s) to the informant ....

....

12 Main purpose of the trip ....

13 Other purposes of the trip ....

....

14 Participants in the trip:

01 self (unaccompanied)

02 others (specify relationships to informant) ....

....

....

....

15 Transportation:

01 main mode ....

02 arranged with assistance of (specify 'travel agent', 'friend',

etc. ....

03 arranged without assistance

04 other modes ....

05 arranged with assistance of (specify) ....

....

06 arranged without assistance

16 Accommodation:

01 nights in state-owned hotels   ....

02 nights in government resthouse   ....

03 nights in private hotels/guesthouses   ....

04 nights in other types of accommodations (specify types of

accommodation) ....

....

....

05 travel agent used to arrange:

a. accommodation of types 01 and 02   ....

b. accommodation of type 03   ....

c. accommodation of type 04   ....

06 other person(s) (specify) assisting with arranging:

a. accommodation of types 01 and 02   ....

b. accommodation of type 03   ....

c. accommodation of type 04   ....

17 Reason(s) for choice of type of accommodation ....

....

....

....

18 Activities during trip: (check those engagad in)

01 visit friends/relatives   ....

02 visit night club/disco/cinema/video   ....

03 eat out at restaurant   ....

04 relax at beach ....

05 visit museum/art exhibition ....

o6 attend cultural event (music/dance, etc.) ....

07 attend traditional festival ....

08 visit historical/archaeological site ....

09 visit craft village/centre ....

10 visit zoo ....

11 visit game/wildlife park ....

12 visit scenic beauty spot ....

13 visit dam site ....

14 visit harbour/docks ....

15 visit factory ....

16 visit airport ....

17 visit plantation/farm ....

18 attended sports event ....

19 participate in sports ....

20 other (specify) ....

....

....

....

19 Activities during trip (details):

01 Which activities did you enjoy most and why? ....

....

....

02 Which activities did you enjoy least and why? ....

....

....

03 On which activities did you spent most time (give time estimate) ....

....

04 Which activities were planned prior to your trip, with the assistance of travel agent or similar person? ....

....

....

05 Which activities were suggested to you by:

   a. hosts ....

....

   b. fellow tourists ....

....

   c. others (specify relationship(s) to informant) ....

....

....

20 Estimate of costs of trip:

   01 travel   C.................................

   02 accommodation   C.................................

   03 food/drink   C.................................

   04 sightseeing   C.................................

   05 entertainment   C.................................

   06 gifts to bring home   C.................................

   07 items for personal use at home C.........................

      (specify if possible) ....

....

   08 other (specify)   C.................................

21 General:

01 In light of your trip, what would you tell your friends about

the treatment you received from your hosts? ....

....

....

....

02 In light of your trip, what impressions did you form about the

people living in the destination(s) you visited? ....

....

....

03 In light of your trip, what impressions did you form of other

Ghanaian tourists/visitors you met/saw at the destination(s)

you visited? ....

....

....

SCHEDULE 'B'

DOMESTIC EXCURSIONS

(Non-business: Return home within 24 hours)

01 How many day-trips did you make during 198...? ....

02 Which places did you visit? ....

....

....

....

03 Which of these places did you visit most frequently?

001 .... No. of visits ....

002 .... No. of visits ....

003 .... No. of visits ....

04 Which of these trips were organized by:

001 tour operator or similar person ....

....

....

....

002 other organizers (specify trip and organizer) ....

....

....

....

05 When making these day-trips, are you accompanied by:

	always	usually	sometimes	never
001 spouse	......	....	....	.....
002 parents	......	....	....	.....
003 children	......	....	....	.....
004 siblings	......	....	....	.....
005 other relatives	......	....	....	.....
006 business/professional acquaintances	......	....	....	.....

06 When making these trips, do you generally prefer:

001 everything organized by someone else ....

002 most things organized by someone else ....

003 everything organized by you ....

004 most things organized by you ....

005 few things organized (go where the mood takes you ....

07 Cf all the day-trips you took in 198..., which was the most

enjoyable and why? ....

....

....

....

....
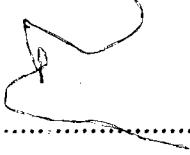
08 Of all the day-trips you took in 198..., which was the least

enjoyable and why? ....

....

....

....

....

09 On average, what do you think it cost you to make a trip in

198...? ....

SCHEDULE 'C'

GENERAL

01 In choosing places to visit for a holiday (short or extended) how

important are the following considerations for you?

	Extremely Important	Moderately Important	Of no Importance
01 Opportunities to see or experience something different or unusual	....	....	....
02 Opportunities to meet different people from other walks of life	....	....	....
03 Opportunities to relax			

and take it easy   ....

04 Letting others worry

    about making arrange

    ments, taking decisions   ....

05 Opportunities to learn

    about country's history

    and traditional culture   ....

06 High standard of

    comfort and service   ....

07 Opportunities to meet

    old friends, relatives   ....

08 Opportunities to engage

    in sports, games or

    similar activities   ....

09 Opportunities to see

    signs of national

    progress   ....

10 Other (specify)

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

02 Has your experience of travel within Ghana led you to adopt any

ideas or practices you encountered in your travels? ....

If YES, specify: ....

....

03 What would you say is the main benefit you have derived from

leisure travel in Ghana? ....

....

....

04 Do you have any suggestions on what ought to be done to encourage

more people to take holidays here in Ghana rather than travel

overseas? ....

....

....

....

....

....

....

05 Foreign countries visited in the past:

01 .... No. of times ....

02 .... No. of times ....

03 .... No. of times ....

04 .... No. of times ....

05 .... No. of times ....

06 .... No. of times ....

07 .... No. of times ....

08 .... No. of times ....

09 .... No. of times ....

10 .... No. of times ....

SCHEDULE 'D'

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC

01 Occupation (details) ....

....

02 Years in present occupation ....

03 Rank/Status in occupation ....

04 Educational level ....

05 Education Overseas (specify) ....

....

06 Sex ....

07 Age ....

08 Marital Status ....

09 Children:

    01 Number ....

    02 Ages ....

    03 Sex of children ....

    ....

10 Birthplace:

    01 Town ....

    02 Region ....

    03 Country ....

11 Years in residence outside Ghana ....

12 Ethnic group (tribe) ....

13 Religion ....

14 Church affiliation ....

15 Membership of Professional/Business Associations ....

....

....

....

....

16 Membership of Other Associations, Clubs, Societies ....

....

....

....

....

17 Income per annum C....................

18 Do you own:

   01 your own home ....

   02 your own car ....

   03 your own TV ....

   04 your own VCR ....

GHANA : Roads, Railways and Major Towns

UPPER VOLTA

Lawra

Bolgatanga

White Volta R.

Black Volta R.

IVORY
COAST

Tamale

Yendi

TOGO

Salaga

Lake Volta

Sampa

Sunyani

Kumasi

Abonu

Mpraeso

Awaso

Akosombo
Akosombo Dam
Kpong

Dunkwa

Koforididua

Volta R.

Sogakope

Keta

Aburi

Ada

Tema

ACCRA

Winneba

Cape Coast

Elmina

Axim

Sekondi
Takoradi

—— Main Roads
+++++ Railways
- - - Transmission Lines

0   100 Km

0   60 mi
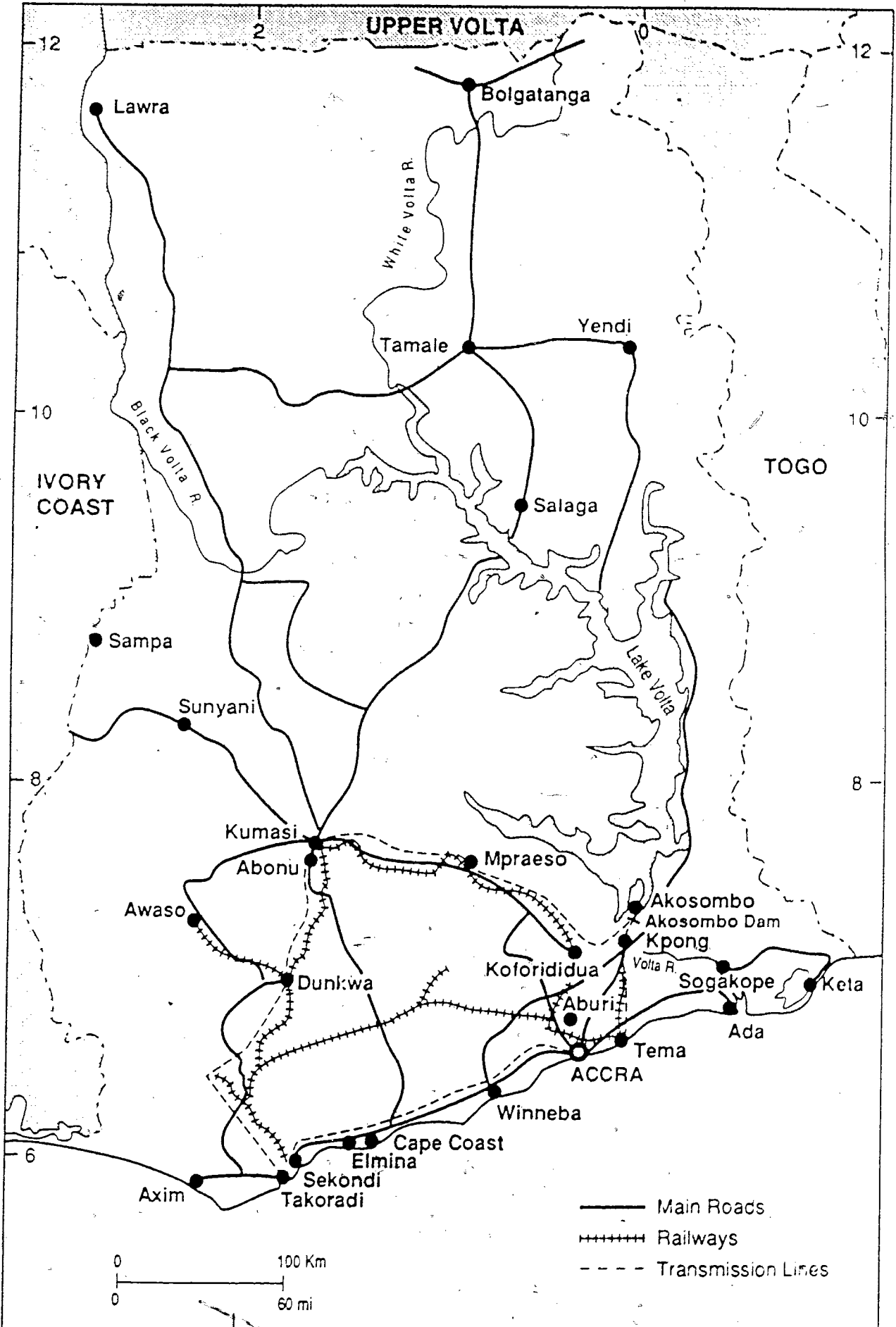
NOTES

1. Slave trade in Ghana predated the contact with Europeans at the coast in 1471. Slaves were among the commodities of the Trans-Saharan Trade, but less prominent than other commodities like gold, cola nuts and pepper (Ward 1948).

2. The broad distinction between "serious" and "frivolous" travel in Ghana is similar, in certain respects, to that commonly made in western societies, that is, travel of a utilitarian nature, such as a business trip, would be viewed as being more important or more serious than travel for pleasure or recreation. However, it appears that leisure travel may be regarded as frivolous by more traditionally-oriented Ghanaians because it often represents "individualized" rather than "communalized" pleasure.

3. Basically, they are "explorer" tourists who travel more frequently than the affluent Ghanaians. In addition, some of them often join tours organized by the Ghana Tourist Board and Rainbow Tours.

4. "Outdooring", in Ghana, is the celebration of the birth of a child a week or a fortnight after his birth. For the first time the child is literally taken out of doors, and formally christened. This practice is quite popular among Fantes and highly educated Ghanaians.

5. A common and officially sanctioned practice in Third World tourist destinations is that workers of the hospitality and allied industries use languages which foreign visitors are already familiar with.

6. My participant observation at Volta, City and Atlantic hotels revealed that the greater majority of married male guests visit the hotels with their girlfriends in their vacation travel. In most cases the women are far below the ages of men they travel with. Moreover, those "regular" guests of the hotels usually go there with different women on different occasions. The majority of

guests I suspected and interviewed later confirmed that the women they visited the hotels with were their girlfriends. My inquiries with receptionists, waiters/waitresses, and chambermaids supported this observation.

7. This concept is used by Cohen (1971) to describe the Arab boys in Palistinean tourist destinations. They are usually people who "specialize" in giving assistance to tourists with the aim of receiving gifts and/or sexual favour from such tourists.

8. In showing that tourists' behaviour at destination areas is "liminoid", it will be more convincing if their behaviour in workaday life is systematically studied and compared with their touristic behaviour. In the absence of such a study, however, experience of the researcher can be useful. I therefore relied mainly on my experience as a Ghanaian in distinguishing between the non-touristic and liminoid or anti-structural behaviour of the affluent Ghanaian tourists studied.

9. The affluent Ghanaian tourists' disrespectful and inconsiderate behaviour towards front-line hosts (hotel/restaurant workers) seems to be rooted in traditional Ghanaian ways of treating inferiors. Similar behaviour patterns exist among Ghanaians in non-touristic settings. For example, teachers' treatment of students; bureaucrats'/ managers' treatment of workers; wives' treatment of domestic servants; etc. However, the situation at hotels/restaurants is heightened due primarily to increased commercialization of relationships.

10. Busia, K. A. (1947) in his Sekondi-Takoradi Social Survey, employed this concept to denote "boys" who acted as "go-betweens" for prostitutes and wealthy white customers at the sea-port city of Sekondi-Takoradi.

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