

**A STUDY ON HANDICRAFTS AS A PRO-POOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGY IN FOUR CRAFT VILLAGES IN ASHANTI REGION, GHANA**

BY

ALEXANDER YAO SEGBEFIA



**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) DEGREE IN GEOGRAPHY AND
RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT**

**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT,
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA LEGON**

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GHANA LEGON

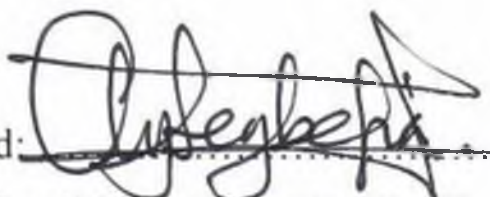
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DECLARATION

I, **Alexander Yao Segbefia**, do hereby declare that this piece of work is, to a great extent, the result of my own field investigations and analyses undertaken under supervision. However, other people's works have been consulted and have been duly acknowledged. This piece of work is in no way a reproduction, in part or in whole, of any work ever presented for the award of a degree.

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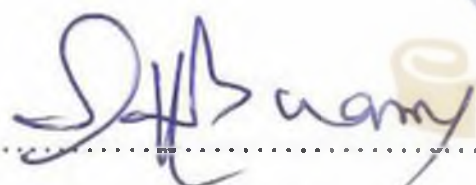
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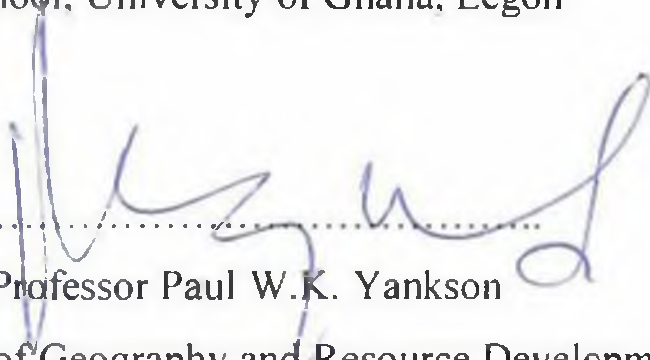
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DEDICATION

To Dela, Afealetey, Dzidzienyo, Aku, Sladen, Christine and to the loving memory of my grandmother I dedicate this thesis. At the same time, and no less sincerely, I dedicate this thesis to my siblings and all the hardworking artisans and crafts merchants of Ghana.

Alexander Yao Segbefia

December 2008



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ABSTRACT

This study examines handicraft production and the effects of local and global spatio-temporal changes on craft production and craft-based livelihoods in the Ashanti region of Ghana. It also investigates the coping and survival mechanisms craftspeople have adopted to overcome production difficulties and poverty. The study is philosophically grounded in cultural geography (cultural globalisation). Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, Value Chain analysis, Participatory Wealth Ranking and CASHPOR House Index (CHI) in combination with some descriptive and inferential statistics, the study identified some of the spatial and temporal changes that have occurred within craft villages, and their effects on the livelihoods and coping capacities of different categories of craftsmen and women. Focus group discussions and interviews were the main research instruments; however, these were supplemented with questionnaires administered to a hundred and thirty-eight craftspeople. Highlights of key findings, cross tabulations and chi-square were employed in the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data respectively. The 'pro-poor' focus of the cultural, tourism and poverty reduction policy frameworks were found to be inadequate, and effective implementation was lacking in many cases. The production, survival, sustainability and authenticity of cultural goods and associated livelihoods in the crafts villages were found to be susceptible to local and global 'threats' and 'opportunities'. Coping and survival capacities, however, varied from place to place, at different times and by gender. Few skilled artisans and many craft merchants were found in some of the crafts villages. Merchants resorted to the use of cheaper child labour and migrant artisans. Truancy, low academic achievement and a high school drop-out rate among the youth in craft villages; Inequalities and illiteracy prevented some artisans from deriving enhanced benefits, and were not able to participate in decision making in their communities and within the craft industry. Cultural goods were directed at tourists and the export market, with implications for authenticity, whilst factory produced imitations and issues of intellectual property rights emerged. To secure craft-based livelihoods, reduce poverty and deal with local and global threats and opportunities, the study recommends that Ghanaian cultural goods should be re-directed at the local market. Vulnerable craftspeople need to be provided with financial, marketing and technical support for capacity building. Clustering, public-private linkages development, reorganization of the production processes and education is seen as possible solutions to streamline the crafts sector, reduce poverty and to secure livelihoods. The study also proposes the adoption of 'community copyrights' as a way of protecting intellectual property rights of craftspeople in the craft villages. Finally, the study concludes that pro-poor craft development approaches hold the keys to successful development of cultural goods and pro-poor tourism for poverty reduction.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	African Development Bank
ADF	African Development Fund
AFE	Action for Enterprise
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
AIRD	Associates for International Resources and Development
ANDA	Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly
ATAG	Aid to Artisans Ghana
ATZ	Ashanti Tourist Zone
AU	African Union
BDS	Business Development Services
CHI	Cashpor Housing Index
CIFOR	Centre for International Forest Research
CNC	Centre for National Culture
CWIQ	Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire
DA	District Assembly
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DWM	31 st December Women's Movement
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDIF	Export Development and Investment Fund
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EJMA	Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EPC	Export Promotion Council
EPV	Export Production Village
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey

GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS I	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I
GPRS II	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GTB	Ghana Tourist Board
GTDC	Ghana Tourism Development Corporation
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative
ICRT	International Centre for Responsible Tourism
ICTs	Information and Communications Technologies
IDI	In Depth Interview
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDC	International Network for Cultural Diversity
INTDP	Integrated National Tourism Development Plan
KDA	Kwabre District Assembly
KMA	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
LDCs	Least Developed Country
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOT	Ministry of Tourism
MOTDA	Ministry of Tourism and Diasporean Authority
NBSSI	National Board for Small Scale Industries
NCC	National Commission on Culture
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NE	North East
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NTO	National Tourist Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PAMSCAD	Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment

PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PPTP	Pro Poor Tourism Partnership
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PSIs	Presidential Special Initiatives
PUA	Peri Urban Area
PUI	Peri Urban Interface
PWR	Participatory Wealth Ranking
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STEP	Sustainable Tourism for the Elimination of Poverty
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial and Development Organisation
UNMDGs	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Development Report
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

A major challenge facing the world community, according to the World Bank Development Reports of 2000/2001, is reducing the poverty facing about a third of the world's population. In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), it is estimated that almost 50% of the population live in absolute poverty (Rowson, 2001; Avery, 2007). The estimate of poverty incidence would significantly increase if it was seen beyond income poverty (Sahn and Stifel, 2002). Uncertain social progress is more acute in Africa compared to other regions that have witnessed more sustained improvement in living standards (UNICEF, 2000; World Bank, 2001).

Since independence, Ghana has been confronted with the inequitable distribution of development and the persistence of poverty. Meeting the food needs of a growing population, managing resources to meet the developmental needs without compromising the environment, and reducing the proportion of the population described as 'poor' have been identified as immediate challenges facing successive governments. In this regard, a range of social, political and economic strategies that put a high premium on economic growth (pro-growth policies) have been pursued over the years, and have yielded different levels of success.

The concern now, for 'pro-poor' policies and strategies is the consequence of a deep rooted disillusionment with the development paradigm which placed exclusive emphasis on the pursuit of growth. According to Pasha (2002) the primary target of developing countries in the 1950s and 60s to achieve rapid growth was to raise levels of foreign savings (aid) with the expectation of a 'trickle-down' effect, largely through higher employment and real wages for poverty alleviation. There were no explicit pro-poor policies, but only 'pro-growth' policies through which poverty was to be reduced in this paradigm. However, in many situations, the process of growth was accompanied by rising inequality such that the so-called trickle-down effect was either weak or non-existent (Pasha, 2002).

With the failure of growth strategies to lessen poverty, the focus shifted initially to the adoption of the Economic Recovery Programmes (ERPs) and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s and 1990s, to stabilise the economy. Next was the design of targeted anti-poverty interventions in the form of 'social safety nets' to tackle poverty. The objective of this strategy was to reach those groups that remained excluded from or were marginalised by the process of growth. This is the implicit philosophy behind the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) that have been prepared by developing countries for concessional financing by international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). In recognition of the implications of pervasive poverty for socio-economic development, the Government of Ghana launched its poverty reduction strategy in 2002.

There is recognition now of the need to go beyond the establishment of social safety nets and also directly focus on providing jobs and raising incomes of poor people through explicit policy interventions in the process of growth. Public policies need to influence both the process of generation and distribution of income in such a way as to disproportionately benefit the poor. The focus now is on 'pro-poor' growth, and by extension, 'pro-poor' tourism, where tourism is an important contributor to economic development, as is the case of Ghana.

Tourism is a young but expanding industry in Ghana which accounts for almost four percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and at the current annual growth rate of 12 percent, tourism has the potential of becoming Ghana's main foreign exchange earner (NDPC, 2005: 38). Even though the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) identified tourism as a tool for accelerated socio-economic development through its job creation and income generation potentials, the poverty reduction potential of tourism has been insufficiently recognised and exploited by government and its decentralised metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies over the years.

Following global trends in the 1970s and 1980s, Ghana pursued a macro-economic tourism development agenda, focussing on tax and foreign exchange revenues at the national level, with

investments in major hotel and resort development, international promotion and national and regional master planning (DFID, 1999; Ashley et. al., 2000; Asiedu, 2004). However, in the late 1990s, the adoption of the new poverty elimination target of halving the number of people living on less than one US\$ per day by 2015 has refocused development planning on pro-poor growth. Today, global and regional development planning agenda are shifting towards a micro-economic focus on local sustainable economic growth strategies which benefit local communities, and in particular those below the poverty threshold.

The potential for using tourism to generate pro-poor economic growth is being reassessed with poverty elimination now at the heart of tourism development decision-making. However, Goodwin (2000) notes that the emphasis has been on minimising social, cultural and environmental impacts; rather than on positively affecting the livelihoods of the poor (Goodwin, 2002). Generally, the importance of handicraft for tourism development in Ghana has not received adequate attention, and it is not clear whether the tourism, cultural and poverty policies have been pro-poor.

Recently, Ghana's poverty reduction strategy (GPRS I and II) recognises the vast economic potentials of the handicrafts sector, and seeks to promote the crafts industry for tourist trade and export through the provision of opportunities and technical assistance for micro-enterprises of crafts procurers and improvement in the quality and marketing of their products. However, while the crafts sub-sector might not be as conspicuous as other tourism sub-sectors (hospitality, travel and tours), in Ghana it is one sector in which poorer people participate effectively, not only as labourers doing menial seasonal jobs, but as owner-managers of Micro and Small-scale Enterprises (MSEs), with a great scope for wealth creation, and with benefits accruing directly to local people and their families in many craft villages nationwide.

The cultural and socio-economic value of handicrafts in general, and the recognition of the added value of handicrafts in tourism development in particular, call for its promotion (UNESCO, GACD, and DCCD, 2006; UNWTO, 2008). This is especially relevant today as world and regional bodies and nations are desperately searching for solutions to reduce poverty and other unacceptable

conditions of human existence summarised in the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG 1). Although there have been much concern and study of the real and potential contributions of tourism, and of handicrafts, there is now a pressing need to develop the synergy between the two and to understand the nature of that relationship so as to highlight the potentials of handicrafts for tourism development, wealth creation and poverty alleviation.

This thesis argues that the production and sale of handicrafts can foster the continuity of local skills and traditions, and contribute significantly to poverty alleviation through its ability to create jobs, income, socio-economic opportunities, and sustain crafts-based livelihoods in local communities in Ghana. The capacity of the craft industry to create high added value has been recognised by relevant world bodies and researchers (Kerr, 1981; Sagnia, 2005; Santagata, 2006; and WTO, 2008). This thesis also argues that money spent on crafts spreads instantly along the crafts value chain into the local community to provide a means of livelihood for many families that depend on this activity.

Historically, certain communities in Ghana are known for the production of particular crafts items that continue to serve functional, ceremonial, religious and aesthetic purposes. Even though there is ethnic specialisation of particular crafts based on different resource endowments, many of the skills for making these handicrafts are declining. The natural resources on which continued production depend are dwindling, and many craft-based livelihoods have become insecure. The craft production value chain and their organisation seem not to ensure equity. However, no systematic study has been carried out to measure the implications of these on the sustainability of the crafts industry and on the livelihoods of crafts workers and their families in Ghana, and the Ashanti region in particular.

1.2 The Research Problem

The potential contribution of handicrafts to improvements in local employment, wealth creation and poverty alleviation has been well documented by many writers such as Kerr (1990), Hitchcock and Teague (2000), Kamara (2004), Santagata *et al.* (2004), and Sagnia (2005). Advocates of the use of tourism as a tool for socio-economic development also recognise the contribution of crafts production to poverty alleviation policies. Tourism has been hailed as a sector with significant linkages to other

sectors such as agriculture, fishing, retailing, arts and crafts; and with economic spinoffs for rural development. However, the human and cultural capital of craft villages (craft skills, traditional techniques and local resources) seem to have been neglected. These could be revitalised for job creation, wealth creation and poverty reduction.

The peri-urban area (PUA) around Kumasi, the cultural capital of the Ashanti region, is characterised by a number of villages whose people continue to specialise in the production of traditional handicrafts. However, some local and global events have created both ‘opportunities’ and ‘threats’, making craft-based livelihoods precarious. The historical and cultural backgrounds of artisan labour, their economic potential, and their ‘survival’ or ‘demise’ today remain largely unexamined in these craft villages. Knowledge on how craftsmen and women are coping with reduced levels of welfare in the face of declining crafts activities in some villages on one hand, and how the renewed interest in crafts occasioned by tourism affects livelihoods on the other hand, is limited. Issues affecting crafts workers’ livelihood security and sustainability are unclear and the importance of tourism for sustained crafts production is little understood.

The important roles of the crafts sector in tourism for job creation and income generation have been articulated in the literature extensively but separately (Goodwin, 2000; Bello, 2006; Rogerson, 2005; and Sagnia, 2006). However, the role of handicrafts in promoting and, in turn, being promoted by the tourism industry for accelerated development and poverty reduction has only recently been acknowledged (WTO, 2008). The contribution of handicrafts has been realised but little has been done to harness its potential for wealth creation and poverty reduction, and linkages of the crafts industry with other sectors of the local economy are unclear. In order to exploit the potential synergies, the fundamental links need to be explored and clearly understood.

Cultural industries across the world are built on a myriad of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). This is especially true in the developing world where large-scale cultural enterprises are few and far between, (Rogerson, 2005) and a large number of micro enterprises operate alongside SMEs. The development of strong cultural industries in Ghana depends upon the

establishment of viable and sustainable enterprises, yet many cultural enterprises in craft villages often seem not to attain economic viability, and fail to ensure a decent living for creators and other artisans involved in the enterprise.

Factory produced substitutes of some hand-crafted utility goods and changing tastes are likely to affect the demand for crafts locally. This may result in strangulated markets and, or market failure in some crafts villages. In this regard, Goucher (1981) and Steiner (1985), (cited in Hitchcock and Teague, 2000) have noted that influx of manufactured items affects local production systems, leads to changes in buying patterns, and loss of income among craftspeople in the developing world. Economic necessity may also force many craftspeople to search for alternative livelihood options (Hitchcock and Teague, 2000). Information on these issues amongst craftspeople in the Ashanti region is lacking and needs to be examined.

Micro and small-scale enterprises face many challenges generally as the evidence of Yankson (1992); Meager et al. (1996); Gartner (1999); and Rogerson (2005) suggest in Ghana, UK and in South Africa. However, the challenges of micro and small-scale crafts enterprises, per se, have remained under-researched in Ghana. While CIFOR (2002) warns of depletion of forests, Okrah (2002) has found that declining access to natural raw materials in the wood carving business negatively affects carving enterprises in Ghana. However, information is lacking on the effect of the decline in patronage of crafts products and how this affects the crafts businesses and crafts-based livelihoods.

For crafts production to become a pro-poor tourism strategy for poverty reduction, the way business is done in the crafts villages need to change. Some crafts entrepreneurs along the handicrafts value-chain may be deriving less than optimum returns on their creativity and labour. Furthermore, information about issues of inequalities within the handicrafts industry in the crafts villages in the Ashanti region is limited. Issues of access to raw materials and markets, discrimination and remuneration regimes need to be investigated amongst craftsmen and women at various levels of the crafts value chain in order to identify the poorest segments of crafts workers. Policies that influence crafts production also need to be examined for evidence of pro-poorness.

Much is not known about local artisans' understanding of marketing tools, product development and place promotion. Issues of collaboration and competition amongst craftspeople need to be examined. The benefits of forming stronger businesses may be lost due to the fierce competition amongst crafts procurers and their lack of networking and collaboration.

To succeed in developing a workable poverty reduction intervention based on crafts production, there is the need to understand what artisans perceive as poverty, how they identify the poor within the crafts industry and within their communities, and where they place themselves on the poverty – wealth spectrum, following the model expounded by Kunfaa (1999). The study therefore, intends to analyse the systems that give real meaning to the concept of pro-poor growth and to explore what can be done to reduce poverty amongst handicraft entrepreneurs within the selected crafts villages. The research attempts to answer the following questions:

- Has the cultural, tourism and economic policy environment unlocked opportunities for craftspeople to derive enhanced economic, non-financial and other livelihood benefits in crafts villages in Ghana?
- What livelihood assets do craftspeople possess, and what are the constraints to crafts production, and their implications for participation and development of linkages?
- In what ways do different categories of crafts entrepreneurs perceive and experience poverty?
- In what ways do craftspeople cope with production challenges, and poverty?
- What is the scope for making handicrafts production pro-poor?

1.3 Objectives

The general objective of the study was to assess the potentials of the crafts industry as a pro-poor tourism development strategy for poverty reduction in Ghana. Specific objectives of the thesis were to:

1. Review the tourism, cultural and poverty policies in Ghana to determine their effects (pro-growth or pro-poor) on the development of the crafts, and the tourism industry.

2. Examine crafts workers' livelihood assets and production constraints, and outline their implications for participation and the formation of partnerships and linkages.
3. Find out how craftspeople perceive and experience poverty in the study villages.
4. Investigate how craftspeople cope with production challenges, and poverty.
5. Outline policy implications and recommendations to make craft production a pro-poor tourism development strategy for poverty reduction in Ghana.

1.4 Research Hypotheses and Propositions

1.4.1 Hypotheses

Based on their status in the crafts enterprise, level of economic benefits derived, participation in decision making and sustainability of the craft activity, the following hypotheses were formulated and tested:

1. H_0 : That there is no significant relationship between the status of craftspeople and their self-assessed poverty status. Status of crafts of craftspeople refers to their position along the production chain. The crafts production chain can be defined briefly as enterprises which are involved with creation and production, and marketing of crafts items, while poverty generally relates to deprivation due to inadequate income, food, shelter and inability to access social services like health and education. It is necessary, however, to identify who does what specifically, and what the main activity of a crafts person is. Beyond the 'merchant'/'artisan' categorisation, it is important to determine individual respondents' employment status by finding out whether they worked as 'unpaid family members', as 'contract artisans/merchants' or as 'self-employed artisans/merchants'. Indicators used to assess one's position along the crafts value chain included questions on specific work done in the crafts business, while respondents' own assessments (self ranking) of their poverty status on a 3-point poverty scale (poor, neither poor nor rich, and rich) was based on standards of each community studied. However, to avoid bias in this potentially subjective exercise, results would be compared with a more objectively

derived CASHPOR House Index to establish respondents' level of well-being accurately.

2. H_0 : That there is no significant relationship between the status of the craftspeople and the level of economic benefits derived from the crafts business. Benefits here are restricted to economic, financial and other non-financial livelihood benefits such as jobs, incomes, level of satisfaction, and capacity building and training for the individual craftspeople. Community benefits relate to positive social and cultural impacts, donations to the community, and increased access to infrastructure and services provided for tourists, but that are of benefit to locals such as improved roads, communications, healthcare and transportation. Other benefits such as prestige and pride are not included as they are difficult to measure.
3. H_0 : That there is no significant relationship between status of craftspeople and participation in decision-making that affect their businesses and community. It is necessary to be more specific as to the nature of participation in a particular context, and identify who takes part in what, when, and how, and with what results. Indicators used to assess the likelihood of participation of craftspeople in the affairs of their businesses and community included membership of crafts associations, community development committees, social security and insurance schemes and community crafts/tourism management teams.
4. H_0 : That there is no significant relationship between the availability of production inputs and sustainability of the crafts business. Availability here refers to physical and economic access to raw materials and skilled artisans on which the crafts business depends. Sustainability refers to ensuring that resources are used in a way that ensures present and future availability. Accessibility is measured both in terms of distances traversed and cost of obtaining production inputs. Entrepreneurs' perceptions about the sustainability of their businesses were also gathered.

Decision Criteria

H_0 (Null Hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between the dependent (which is the status of the craft entrepreneur) and the independent variable(s).

H_1 (Alternative Hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between the dependent (which is the status of craft entrepreneurs) and the independent variable(s).

If the P-value calculated is less than or equal to the significance level (≤ 0.05), reject the null hypothesis H_0 .

1.4.2 Propositions

1. The development of tourism and renewed interest in crafts production for sale to tourists and the export trade has provided jobs and incomes (livelihoods) to some craftspeople and their families in the Ashanti region.
2. Crafts-based livelihoods in some villages have become insecure as a result of decline or virtual collapse of the crafts production occasioned by dwindling markets and local support.
3. The way crafts production is organised does not ensure equitable rewards to women and those skilled artisans at the lower levels of the value chain in the crafts villages.
4. The long-term sustainability of the crafts industry is threatened by the shortage of some raw materials and skilled artisans. Some young people participate in the production of various crafts items but do not intend to remain in the industry.

1.5 Justification for the Study

Poverty alleviation in the developing world is one of the foremost issues today. It is an issue which has commanded the full focus not only of world leaders and governments, but also of civil society. As part of the collaborative research on the 'Changing Faces of Poverty in Ghana', this study was aimed at developing a pro-poor tourism strategy for poverty reduction based on handicraft production for the craft villages found in the country at large.

This study contributes to our understanding of the dynamic interrelationship between the tourism and crafts industries and the response of craft entrepreneurs to business opportunities and

challenges that come along with increased travel and globalisation. The study provides insights into how poverty is perceived and experienced by craft entrepreneurs, and deepens our understanding of their coping and survival mechanisms. This study makes a contribution to poverty reduction efforts in local communities through the understanding of the arena and arena systems and the agency of craftspeople which informs the practicality of implementing pro-poor tourism strategies.

1.6 Organisation of Chapters

The study has been organised into eight chapters. The introductory chapter (Chapter One) presents a brief background to the study. It is followed by the problem statement and research questions, objectives, and the hypotheses. Following this chapter is the second, which reviews relevant literature and conceptual issues including the concept of poverty, pro-poor growth and cultural globalisation. The discussion then moves on to the conceptual framework and the study methodology. The main themes discussed here include the elaboration of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and value-chain analysis. The context for the study is presented in this chapter. It justifies why Ashanti crafts are worthy of study and presents with maps a brief geographical, socio-cultural and historical overview of the study area and the tourism resources of Ashanti region. This is followed by the methods used, highlighting selection of study areas, sample frame and selection, field research techniques and methods of analysis.

Furthermore, government policies on handicrafts, tourism and poverty reduction are examined in Chapter Four. The review questions whether or not these policies specifically target poor people and unlock opportunities for them to increase economic and non-financial livelihood benefits. The discussion probes the policies in order to determine whether the approaches have been pro-growth or pro-poor. Chapter Five examines the various livelihood assets of craftspeople. The discussion touches on the production constraints and outlines their implications for participation and the formation of partnerships and linkages within the local economy.

Chapter Six highlights how various categories of craftspeople perceive and experience poverty. It presents results of how craftspeople rank themselves on the poverty – wealth continuum. Chapter

Seven provides insights into strategies craftspeople adopt to cope with production challenges and the mechanisms they employ to cope with poverty. The discussion examines the survival and coping mechanisms craftspeople employed to secure their livelihoods. Finally, the summary, conclusions, policy implications and recommendations are outlined in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, among others, highlighted the problem to be investigated, the specific objectives, and the hypotheses of the study. This chapter aims to locate the study in its scholarly context by reviewing the main currents of thought within the tourism, handicrafts and poverty discourse, and highlights the linkages amongst them. The chapter begins with a review of the literature on the nature of tourism development (2.2.1); explores the links between tourism, handicrafts and poverty reduction (2.2.2 to 2.2.5); and examines the potentials of cultural and creative industries for pro-poor tourism development (2.1.6 and 2.1.7). This chapter also examines the poverty concept, and discusses how poverty is perceived, experienced and highlights the range of coping mechanisms (2.2) that have been engineered to deal with it. Finally, the chapter examines conceptual approaches to tourism, handicrafts, and poverty studies and discusses the concept of cultural globalisation which underpins the study.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 The Nature of Tourism

The terms 'tourism' and 'travel' are often interchanged within the published literature on tourism (Page and Connell 2006:11). While 'travel' relates to the movements and the facilities created to transport the tourist from an origin of a journey to the destination and back, 'tourism' does not lend itself to easy definition. Williams and Shaw (1988) have observed that 'the definition of tourism is a particularly arid pursuit' (William and Shaw 1988:2). However, tourism encompasses human and business activities associated with one or more aspects of the temporary movement of persons away from their immediate home communities and daily work environments for business, pleasure or personal reasons (Chadwick 1994:65). In the same vein, the United Nations (2003) defines tourism as a socio-economic phenomenon comprising the activities and experiences of tourists and visitors away from their home environments, serviced by the travel and tourism industry and host destinations (UN,

2003:7).

The definition of tourism has emphasised both a demand and supply perspectives. From a demand standpoint, tourism involves the movement of people from their permanent places of residence and their temporary stay in other locations primarily for pleasure, leisure, recreation and business. However, a supply-side definition emphasises the range of businesses and goods that cater tourists' needs (UN, 2003:7). When the demand and supply perspectives are combined, tourism is viewed as: "the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs" (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:1). This study is concerned more with the supply side definition as it relates to crafts production and its potentials for wealth creation for poverty reduction.

2.2.2 Tourism Development and Poverty Reduction

Reducing poverty has been an on-going challenge for governments, NGOs and large sections of the world's population. To help achieve the MDGs and reduce poverty, a number of poverty reduction tools need to be developed and applied. There is increasing evidence that tourism is one tool which can effectively help reduce poverty. However, while the economic growth potential and the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism had long been recognised and acknowledged (Mathieson, and Wall, 1982; Wahab, and Pigram 1997; Butler, 1997), it is only recently that attention has been refocused on the potentialities and practicality of tourism development as a strategy for poverty reduction (Jamieson, 2001; Goodwin, 2002; WTO, 2002; Ashley and Mitchell, 2005, 2006; and ODI, 2006).

Most existing tourism studies, especially those focussing on developing countries, concentrate on the influence of large, foreign-owned tourism companies on destination areas (Britton 1978; Britton 1982; Debbage 1992). The literature also reveals the inadequate attention authors have paid to the impact and linkages of small and medium-sized tourism businesses on local economies and, importantly, have failed to successfully theorise the interaction of domestic with international forces in shaping tourism development (Shaw and Williams 1994).

The role of tourism in stimulating growth in the lesser developed countries has been highlighted. Hitchcock (2000) points out the attention other commentators have drawn to the potential of tourism to stimulate a variety of economic activities in the 1960s and how this 'multiplier and trickle down' concept was replaced by a more cautionary stance in the following decades as the problems of overdependence of tourism on external capital and its associated 'leakage effects' became clearer (Hitchcock, 2000).

In the wake of globalisation and economic restructuring, many countries and communities are struggling to redefine and rebuild their economies. To reduce poverty and encourage economic and social development, many governments, international aid agencies and researchers have recognised the positive impact tourism development can bring to a country by creating economic opportunities and contributing to the general quality of life of residents.

In the past, however, sufficient attention has not been paid to ensuring that gains from tourism development go to those most in need among the local population rather than only to the better-off or outsiders. In this regard, Emanuel de Kadt (1979) notes that although a more equitable distribution of the benefits of tourism is desirable, the tourism sector by itself cannot correct this anomaly. He concludes by highlighting the role of government policy towards unlocking opportunities for poorer participants to derive enhanced benefits from tourism development (De Kadt 1979:9). Other scholars who subscribe to the view that equity has to be at the centre of national policy planning include Bryden (1973) and Goodwin (2002).

Tourism has come to represent an increasingly stronger economic development opportunity for developing countries and for those wishing to diversify their economies. Tourism is in a good position to contribute to the UN Millennium Development Goals, especially the first one regarding poverty reduction as stated in the WTO Declaration: "Harnessing Tourism for the Millennium Development Goals" adopted on the eve of the 2005 UN Summit (Yunis, 2005). According to Hall and Lew (1998), debate over the 'wise use' of natural resources has been at the centre of geographic imagination for many years. They cite George Perkins Marsh's book *Man and Nature or, Physical Geography as*

Modified by Human Action (1965), originally published in 1864, as having enormous impact on conservation debates (Hall and Lew 1998:1). However, since the time of Marsh, geographers have been influencing the course of natural resource management in several ways (see Mitchell, 1989).

2.2.3 Approaches to Tourism Development

A critical review of the literature on the academic concern with tourism reveals many approaches and paradigm shifts, which have been occasioned by economics, environment, sociology, and now poverty. The economic aspects of tourism have been widely studied and have been extensively published in academic journals such as *Tourism Management* and *Tourism Economics*. However, much of the early research, and the justification for tourism development tended to focus on the potentials for positive economic gains (Asiedu 2004:26). Page and Connell (2006), and many others are of the view that tourism has flourished across the world because of its perceived benefit: it is touted as one of the world's largest industry. However, tourism development in many places has led to deterioration in environmental quality (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Pearce 1989; Asiedu 2004:26; Page and Connell 2006:343).

The growth of tourism has prompted debate about environmental consequences and the desirability of further development. The effects of mass tourism in the 1960s and increasing awareness of the human impact on the environment led to a general realisation that nature is not an inexhaustible resource, and this was embodied in the seminal study by Young (1973) *Tourism: Blessing or Blight?* This study and others by Krippendorf (1987), and Wood and House (1991) question the validity of uncontrolled growth in tourism. The 'impacts' studies and sustainability paradigm, instigated by concerns with the negative effect of tourism on the physical resources of destination areas in the 1960s culminated in the evolution of international tourism action on sustainable tourism since 1980. However, attributing environmental damage to tourism alone is problematic. Mathieson and Wall (1982) have noted that the main problem is that of disentangling the effects of tourism from the effects of human existence (Mathieson and Wall 1982:97-98; Page and Connell 2006:374).

Initially, the sustainability paradigm was applied to tourism development resulting in more environmentally sensitive forms of tourism such as ecotourism and wildlife-based tourism. However, failed direct state involvement and inequalities in the economic benefits, *vis-a-vis* the negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts derived by locals at tourist destinations led to a reworking of the approach to tourism development to include a new focus on local participation (Segbefia, 2008).

The sociological and anthropological concern with tourism development is reflected in a number of seminal studies in tourism and its social and cultural impacts embodied in MacCannell's (1976) *The Tourist*, Smith's (1977) *Hosts and Guests* and De Kadt's (1979) *Tourism: Passport to Development*. These studies confirm Murphy's (1985) argument that tourism is a 'socio-cultural event for the traveller and the host' (Murphy 1985:117). Indices such as Doxey's (1975) irritation index '*irridex*' have sought to measure these socio-cultural impacts through the measurement of varying degrees of acceptance (euphoria) to rejection (antagonism).

Today, however, the concern is on using tourism as a tool for poverty reduction and the new focus is on 'micro-economic pro-poor growth' compared to the 'macro-economic pro-growth' focus of past interventions. With the adoption of the MDGs, the focus has shifted to the role of tourism in poverty reduction. This has led development planners and tourism analysts to search for innovative ways of how tourism can contribute to poverty reduction. Earlier attempts by the United Nations and DFID sought to use sustainable tourism for the elimination of poverty (STEP). However, this approach did not specifically target poor people as the Pro-poor Tourism approach does.

2.2.4 Pro-Poor Growth and Pro-Poor Tourism

2.2.4.1 Pro-Poor Growth

While there has been research on the impact of tourism on the economic development of a country, there has been little work that documents the economic impacts of tourism on increasing the well-being and quality of life of the poor. It has been argued that the trickle-down effects of tourism does not benefit the less well-off segments of the society, and some researchers and donor agencies are not convinced that the economic benefits of tourism actually substantially change the conditions of the

poor. Generally, Pasha *et al.* (2003) notes that macroeconomic development paradigms which focus on the hope that there would be trickle-down effects have failed because the perceived trickle-down benefits have been weak generally, and non-existent in some cases.

The concept of pro-poor growth is of central importance. However, there are different understandings of this concept as reflected in debates in academic literature and policy environments. There is a distinction of an 'absolute' and a 'relative' concept of pro-poor growth (DfID, 2004). The absolute concept of pro-poor growth is that growth is pro-poor when it reduces poverty (Ravallion, 2004), whereas the relative concept is that growth is pro-poor when the poor benefit disproportionately, so implying a reduction in inequality (Kakwani and Pernia, 2000). Both notions are of relevance to this study because the absolute concept focuses attention on the rate of growth specifically for the poor, but it is also very important to consider the distributional pattern of growth and so the evolution of inequality. For a given rate of growth, the more it reduces inequality the bigger its poverty reduction impact will be (McKay and Aryeetey, 2004).

Pro-poor growth has been defined variously. Some authors refer to it as growth which results in a significant poverty reduction, thereby benefiting the poor and improving their access to opportunities. (e.g., UN, 2000; World Bank, 2000; OECD, 2001). But it is not clear how significant a reduction in poverty must be and how progress in achieving pro-poor growth is to be monitored (Pernia, 2003). The DFID (2004) defines pro-poor growth as 'growth that is good for the poor', and agrees that higher rates of growth usually result in more rapid poverty reduction, especially over periods of a decade or more. This is in consonance with Eastwood and Lipton's (2001) exploration of the links between growth, equality and poverty reduction. In that study, they confirmed that, "... poverty decline tends, on average, to be faster in times and places of fast, prolonged growth than alongside slow growth, let alone stagnation or decline; and that there is no general or universal tendency for growth, as such, to make income distribution either less or more equal...", (Eastwood and Lipton, 2001).

While Ravallion and Datt (2002) equate pro-poor growth with high elasticity of poverty with respect to growth, Ravallion and Chen (2003) introduce the concept of ‘mean growth rate of the poor’, all of which Ernesto Pernia considers as ‘begging’ the question of measuring and monitoring in the former, and as analytically ambiguous in the latter case. To him, “pro-poor growth is the type of growth that enables the poor to actively participate in economic activity and benefit proportionally more than the non-poor from overall income increase” (Pernia, 2003). Klassen (2004:2) similarly defines “pro-poor growth to mean that the poor benefit disproportionately from economic growth.”

Key to the definition of pro-poor growth, therefore, is the joint consideration of growth and its distribution. It should be stressed that, while both ex-ante and ex-post distribution are pivotal to poverty reduction as such, pro-poor growth is essentially about ex-post distribution, i.e., distribution of the increment to the pie, not to the existing pie. Moreover, pro-poor growth is primarily about the distribution of growth between, not within lower and upper income groups. Pro-poor growth merely requires that the proportional income growth of the poor exceeds the overall average income growth (Pernia, 2003).

In the same vein, Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) may be defined as tourism that enables the poor to actively participate in tourism economic activity and benefit proportionately more than the non-poor in overall income increase in the industry. This is a clear departure from the trickle-down development notion of the 1950s and 1960s that meant a gradual top-down flow from the rich to the poor.

2.2.4.2 Pro-Poor Tourism

The Pro-Poor Tourism framework has been identified as the most practical route to unlocking the opportunities for poorer people to participate and derive net benefits from tourism activity using a range of assets which are available to them. It is in this respect that small-scale craft entrepreneurs and craft villages become relevant. It is important to note, that overemphasis on social, economic and physical impacts of tourism in the literature overshadows the dynamics of entrepreneurial activities that plays an important role in the composite tourism industry. Generally, Hitchcock (2000) asserts that development of tourism enclaves in developing countries marginalises local entrepreneurs both

geographically and economically, and leads to an expansion of the informal sector (Hitchcock, 2000).

Until recently, a reliable set of research and data that is germane to the understanding of the poverty reduction and tourism development relationship in both developed and developing economies was lacking (Jamieson, 2001). However, the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership (PPTP) provides a compelling insight into the tourism and poverty reduction nexus, and re-articulates a multi-pronged strategy for its realisation in rural, peri-urban and urban settings of communities in developing economies. The PPTP is collaboration between the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI). Information on the definition and strategies of tourism and poverty reduction relationships and case studies are now available in the PPT info-sheets published by the PPTP (see <http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/>).

According to the PPTP (2004), “pro-poor tourism, is tourism that results in increased net benefits for poor people”. It is important to note that PPT is not a specific product or niche sector but an approach to tourism development and management. It enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people; so that tourism’s contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively in product development, e.g., operators of micro tourism businesses and craftspeople.

There is no doubt that a pro-poor tourism policy implies a change in policy direction. It calls for a change in objectives solely concerned with increasing overall tourism numbers and revenues, to a new one that stresses forms of tourism that are of benefit to the poor. These forms of tourism can be labour intensive, include support for a role of the informal sector in tourism development, should be based on tourism assets that are available to the poor and should direct tourism development to areas where the poorest people live. This form of tourism should also be concerned with ensuring that tourism development does not exacerbate the problems of the poor by increasing pollution, making land more expensive and decreasing access to natural and cultural opportunities (Jamieson, 2003).

The literature on the developmental impacts of tourism, mainly in the developing world, but to a certain degree also in the developed world, has in recent years sought to identify whether tourism can actually be regarded as, and encouraged to become, a 'pro-poor' development strategy (Binns and Nel, 2002). Poverty alleviation/elimination is the core focus of PPT. But there is often some confusion as to how PPT relates to other tourism concepts such as 'ecotourism', 'sustainable tourism' and 'community-based tourism'. In an attempt to clarify the situation, the PPTP explains: 'PPT also overlaps with both ecotourism and community-based tourism, but it is not synonymous with either. Ecotourism initiatives may provide benefits to people, but they are mainly concerned with the environment. Community-based tourism initiatives aim to increase local people's involvement in tourism. This is a useful component of PPT. But PPT involves more than a community focus – it requires mechanisms to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation' (Pro-Poor Tourism, 2002:1).

As Ashley and Roe (2002) argue, 'despite commercial constraints, much can be done to enhance the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction, and a pro-poor tourism perspective assists in this endeavour' (Ashley and Roe 2002: 61). In support of this approach, Sharpley (2002) also argues that, 'tourism has long been considered an effective catalyst of rural socio-economic development and regeneration' (Sharpley, 2002: 112). However, he questions whether tourism can, in fact, be regarded as a developmental panacea. Even though positive evidence of the impact of tourism-based development on communities can be found in localities such as Taquile Island (Mitchella and Reidb, 2001), Southern and Eastern Africa (Ashley and others, 2000) the reality is that, control often remains vested in the hands of outsiders, such that local communities are often only incorporated at a subservient level. This can easily lead to negative effects, such as resource depletion and the loss, or commoditisation of culture.

Pro-Poor Tourism, as noted, is hinged on three main pillars, economic benefits, capacity building and noncash benefits and networking and participation. When these opportunities are unlocked for poorer participants in the handicrafts business, there is a higher likelihood for poverty to

be reduced, putting hitherto less privileged artisans on the road to economic and other forms of security. What is left now is to fashion viable and practical poverty reduction strategies taking all the diverse perspectives into consideration; to support and empower craftsmen and women to be able to lift themselves out of poverty; to develop their capacities to deal with present and future shocks and stresses caused by arena-based difficulties, or agency-based inadequacies; help artisans to identify and seize opportunities to be able to make informed choices that would enhance their livelihoods, and enhance their capacities to effectively adapt to the changing fortunes of life. However, crafts development should be considered as part of overall development for a given region, rather than an economic panacea that will provide instant alternative employment and income opportunities.

2.2.5 Importance of Cultural Industries in Development

According to Engelhardt (2005), awareness of the potential economic value of culture is growing globally, and governments are increasingly focussing their attention on cultural industries – businesses which are based on cultural resources and intellectual property – as also understanding their utility as a vector for sustainable development. One means of countering the negative forces of globalisation, and highlighting the value of local skills and knowledge, according to Engelhardt (2005) is to support the businesses which rely on cultural creativity as key resources. The economic value of culture and the creativity they foster have been acknowledged by researchers all over the world (see Graburn 1976; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000; Shaeffer, 2005). The social and spiritual value of culture is well understood, but their potential for socio-economic development has been little recognised, and remains largely untapped.

Cultural industries have the potential to contribute significantly to the economies of developing countries. It has been observed that globally, cultural industries are considered the fifth largest economic sector in terms of turnover, after financial services, information technology, pharmaceuticals and biotechnology, and tourism. The global value of creative industries was projected to increase from US\$831 billion in 2000, to US\$1.3 trillion in 2005, representing an annual growth of over seven percent (DACST, 1998). Evans (2005) has noted that they are the major employer and major

contributor to national wealth in the UK as they earn more, and employ more people in London than financial services. They contribute £55 billion in gross value added, which is six times more than automotive industries and nine times more than aerospace and pharmaceuticals (Evans, 2005).

Culture is today acknowledged as an economic asset (World Bank, 1999; Thorsby, 2000). According to Santagata (2000), localised industries made up of micro, small and medium scale enterprises (MSMEs) that produce goods based on material culture constitute an important road to economic development. Consequently, Kamara (2004) has noted that for the past two decades, cultural industries have increasingly attracted interest from policy makers and private sector actors in developed nations who are increasingly aware of the important contributions cultural industries make to their economies.

In their analysis of quantitative data on the economic importance of artisan goods on national and international markets, Santagata *et al.* (2004) defined material culture, and presented a historical overview of the evolution of handicrafts. They noted that culture-based goods have become a modern example of sustainable and endogenous growth based on small and micro cultural firms. They conclude that cultural-based goods show a main road to development, but to develop, they have to make a transition from traditional handicraft production into 'soft industrial design' by adopting the 'cultural district' perspective and the assignment of 'collective trademarks' (Moreno *et al.*, 2004). The firms engaged in craft production and marketing in Ashanti craft villages are somewhat clustered, forming a de-facto cultural district. They can benefit from collective trademarks in their battle and frustration with protecting intellectual property rights.

In a related study, Moreno, Santagata and Tabassum (2004) examined handicrafts production through the lens of economics, and focussed on the sociological and economic definitions of material cultural heritage. They compared the issues of material culture value-chains in Pakistan and Ecuador, and analysed how material cultural heritage can be used as strategic assets for sustainable economic development for local communities. They conclude that material culture can become a basis for a self-sustained endogenous economic development. However, this is not a straight forward matter as

revealed by the findings of Kamara (2005) who identified the challenges and constraints to successful craft production and marketing in developing countries. Many of the craft entrepreneurs and artisans can benefit from Kamara's keys to successful handicraft entrepreneurship.

With the adoption of the MDGs in 2000 by the United Nations General Assembly, global attention has been increasingly focussed on the design of comprehensive strategies in which to achieve economic development that is truly sustainable and that contributes directly to the eradication of the scourge of poverty. This has triggered many international workshops and seminars seeking to examine the prospects of cultural industries for poverty reduction in developing countries in Asia, the Pacific and Africa. These include a high level panel on creative industries organised by UNCTAD in June (2004); a Senior Expert Symposium on Promoting Cultural Industries for Local Economic Development (Jodhpur, India, 22-26 February 2005); Arterial Conference on Vitalising African Cultural Assets (Goree Institute, Dakar, Senegal 5-7 March 2007); Strengthening Local Creative Industries and developing Cultural Capacity for Poverty Alleviation (Sixth annual conference 17-20 November 2005). The World Tourism Organisation International Conference on Tourism and Handicrafts (13-15 May 2006) in Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran; and the 12th session of the UNCTAD pre-conference event in Accra, which examined the creative economy and industries for development. International, regional and national organisations¹ have developed interest in cultural, tourism and poverty reduction.

Dimitri (1995) questions why the supply-side of the tourism sector (local suppliers, entrepreneurs and labour issues) has so far been weakly theorised, neglected and under researched. Rogerson (2005) re-echoes Brittons (1991) who is of the view that this weak level of theorising has stunted efforts to develop a stronger insight into the industry's workings and resulting social actions. Shaw and Williams (1994) also argue that the identity and characteristics of indigenous entrepreneurs, especially, the organisation and behaviour of local tourism businesses in developing countries need to be researched. They point out that there is a pressing need to comprehend the dynamics of the role of

¹ The international and regional organisations with interest in cultural industries include WTO, WIPO, ILO, UN, ECOWAS, NEPAD, and UNCTAD.

entrepreneurship, and particularly, “how tourism enterprises operate in different economies” (Shaw and Williams, 1994: 120).

Insufficient research has been carried out concerning firm formation and the development of entrepreneurial skills in tourism. Furthermore, inadequate information exists, for example, concerning the motivational forces leading local people to enter the small business side of the tourism sector. It is therefore appropriate to examine small tourism and hospitality firms as a distinct analytical category from small business enterprises as a whole (Thomas 1998, 2000). Recently, however, Christian M. Rogerson (2005) working on Tourism Small Enterprises (SMME) support programmes in South Africa found out that these enterprises needed different forms of assistance, and that local people had different motivations for entering the tourism small business sector (Rogerson, 2005). Thus, this study and allied studies in the developed world partially fills the void identified by Shaw and Williams (1994) in the dynamics of tourism small businesses.

In his review of tourism small businesses, Rogerson (2005) acknowledges that the bulk of existing scholarship is centred on issues around the role of small tourism firms in developed countries, and consists of work around several issues that are related to the development and dynamics of small tourism firms. The focus of many of these studies however, has been on the accommodation and not on the handicrafts sector. As many kinds of alternative tourism occur in peripheral regions, it has been suggested that local control and local small enterprise development in tourism in such areas be supported by the provision of special fiscal and monetary incentives to enable local entrepreneurs to own and operate small tourism establishments (Tosun, 2005).

Finally, a new perspective on tourism small firms in the developing world emerges from the set of writings on pro-poor tourism which stresses the importance of a policy environment for supporting small tourism enterprises as a potential basis for addressing poverty reduction (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Ashley *et al.*, 2001; Ashley and Roe, 2002; Bah and Goodwin, 2003).

2.2.6 Handicrafts and Poverty Reduction Potential

According to Kerr (1991) there are multiple reasons for ensuring the maintenance of cultural traditions: historical, cultural, economic, ecological and so on. Now, more than ever, there is a growing focus on the economic potential of the traditional crafts in terms of employment opportunities, small business enterprise, trade and tourism; and the potential of crafts development to enable local people to improve their well-being without depleting renewable natural resources. The utilitarian, aesthetic, socio-cultural and economic value of handicrafts have been amply demonstrated and documented in the literature (Gittinger, 1979; Gearheart and Kerr, 1987; Pye, 1988; Sellato 1989; Kerr, 1990; Santagata *et al.*, 2004).

The deliberate fostering of crafts villages is seen as a vital, socially and economically prudent and viable way of maintaining and preserving the cultural heritage of rural societies, especially in the face of declining agricultural yields and output occasioned by urbanisation and changes in land use; and the new effective demand created through the globalisation process. Although the volume of handicraft sales to tourists may not compare with the export market (Pye, 1988), handicrafts play an integral role in support of the performing arts which are of primary importance to tourism. Working together, the crafts become important catalysts in building ethnic pride and maintaining or reviving cultural practices which otherwise might become extinct (De Kadt 1979; Pye 1988).

Even though urban-based small-scale industrial production of handicrafts might seem attractive, results from pilots have proved that nurturing crafts in their natural settings appear to have a greater potential for success (Kerr, 1990; ATA, 1990). Santagata *et al.* (2004) have also demonstrated how material culture can be used as a strategic asset for sustainable economic development, especially for local communities, with the initial support of international agencies and progressively by themselves, given that high quality goods and services based on material culture can ground a self-sustained endogenous economic development (Santagata *et al.*, 2004).

Export diversification through the promotion of non-traditional exports is a leading priority for Ghana (UNDP, 2000). The handicrafts sector has grown rapidly in Ghana. Now, the African Growth

and Opportunities Act (AGOA), initiative has added textiles and garments under the Presidential Special Initiative (PSI). The sector has grown from a value of around \$2.6 million in 1993 to more than \$11.6 million by 2002. This figure excludes contributions from the garments and textiles (EPC, 2006). However, a study by Action for Enterprise (AFE, 2003) notes that much of this growth has been founded on direct donor funded support within the sub-sector, embedded in key market coordination and service functions, and as donor support was withdrawn major cracks appeared in the sector. These issues relate to quality control, product design and the use of ICTs. A strong case is, therefore, made for embedded services in the handicrafts sector as crafts merchants might see payments for these services as unnecessary outlays and a reduction of tight margins (AFE, 2003).

Studies by FAO (1987) and Campbell (1990) have found that what may work in an industrial setting may usually suffocate home-based handicrafts – especially, where women's roles are concerned. The introduction of 'labour-saving' machinery can threaten the hand-made nature of the crafts; moreover, case-studies consistently show that, when 'improved technology' is introduced, women are generally excluded from access to the new machinery (FAO, 1987a; Campbell, 1990). In this regard, Browne (1978) reports that the introduction of the potter's wheel into Ghana was patronised by men, while women continued making pots the traditional way (Browne, 1978).

According to Pye (1988) most rural-based artisans tend to work part-time and in the home. The characteristics of these cottage industries have both positive and negative implications. This may affect the ability to produce economically significant quantities to meet export demand, and a potential conflict of time between subsistence production and handicrafts work for cash. On the positive side, it may complement agricultural livelihoods, create extra employment and contribute to household income, mop up excess labour during off-season periods, mitigate migration, and help reduce poverty (Pye, 1988, Kamara, 2005). However, Kerr (1991) warns that expectations from efforts aimed at handicrafts development should not be exaggerated, as economic development of handicrafts production alone cannot be expected to result in maintenance of cultural traditions and poverty reduction.

As rural areas grow and become peri-urban, and as peri-urban communities become urban, access and utilisation of natural resources on which crafts-based livelihoods depend become problematic. Issues of discrimination, commoditisation, depletion and control arise. The perspectives of villagers accustomed to access defined by complex traditional precedents are often at odds with state and district laws aimed at resource protection. Usually, government policy is, by and large, tipped in favour of large consumers of raw materials, who are the main beneficiaries of government concessions and permits (Peluso, 1989; Weistock and Sunito, 1989).

2.2.7 Handicrafts, Tourism and Development

One of the first authors to draw attention to the importance of crafts as forms of cultural expression and to examine their important links to tourism was Nelson Graburn. Over the years, a huge literature on tourism, “ethnic arts”, “handicrafts” and artisanal products has emerged. Hitchcock and others have examined many issues relating to tourism, handicrafts, and community approaches to tourism with a focus on Indonesian handicrafts development (see Hitchcock, 1985, 1991; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000; Hitchcock and Nuryanti, 2000; Hitchcock and Putra, 2007; Hitchcock and Wesner, 2008).

Traditionally, handicrafts have been seen as a certain type of manufacturing, whereby objects are created by hand through the skilled use of tools to produce essentially functional goods (Donkin, 2001). According to Graburn (2008), the word *Handicrafts* in the English language connotes “alterity”. Alterity in turn, connotes being ‘handmade’ as opposed to manufactured, standardised, or plastic. In the Ghanaian context, handcraft items are intended to be used (either in the home or as tools). However, African crafts, and Ghanaian crafts for that matter, are not only handmade and functional for use as domestic accessories or tools; they are imbued with religious significance, and also serve as ‘secular’ objects of social customs – as regalia for the chieftaincy institution or ritual objects in cults (Rattray, 1927; Sarpong, 1971; Shadler, 1979; De Kadt, 1979; Obeng, 1988).

According to Graburn (2008), handicrafts can carry an air of nostalgia as “survivals of a past age” when everything was made by hand, or it may refer to an item being made by people who still

live a way of life that suggests the past, based on crafts, the ability to make most of the useful things in their lives themselves (Graburn, 2008, cited in WTO, 2008:29). Handicrafts are, therefore, the tangible and intangible products that reflect the cultural heritage and traditions of a country, region or local community. McKercher (2008) notes that handicrafts may be evocative of past practices but may also reflect current practices. They are associated with place and have value because they reflect a place and the people who produce them. They can be physical products, including household products, traditional beauty products, cosmetics and medicines, clothing, art, paintings, sculptures, carvings, pottery, traditional ceremonial artefacts and even industrial goods including farm implements, tools and industrial artefacts. Even skills, no matter how broadly 'skill' is defined can become a handicraft (Marwick 2001, cited in McKercher, 2008). There is also a recognition that intangible heritage can fit into a broader definition of a handicraft (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). However, by strict definition, art and performance are not handicrafts.

Crafts development can represent a constructive, positive contribution to the development of alternatives to resource-destructive agricultural practices, based on the provision of gainful employment. Although research is limited, available evidence provides clear indications of the actual and potential economic clout represented by handicrafts within the economies of developing nations (Kerr, 1990; Bello, 2002). When this is combined with tourism the possibilities are immense. Handicrafts are an important part of tourism. Yet, little research has been conducted on this activity in Ghana. According to McKercher (2008), much of what has been written is general in nature, and repeats the same old stereotypes about the positive and negative impacts of tourism on host communities (Heeley, 1989; Hall and McArthur, 1993; and Bruner, 1996). While there has been extensive work carried out on the impact of tourism on the economic development, the last two decades has seen a proliferation of a rich volume of literature by geographers on tourism's spatial characteristics, with studies devoted to addressing the economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts of the tourist industry in destination areas (Britton 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Zurick, 1992).

Even though there have been many conferences and research on tourism and many on handicrafts, the linkage between tourism and handicrafts has not yet been fully explored, understood or developed, with a resultant loss of valuable revenue and job creation opportunities. However, there is a growing awareness of the potential economic value of cultural resources for tourism development. The UNWTO identified this largely unexplored research area only recently, and organised the first ever conference in May 2006 to develop the synergy between tourism and handicrafts, and to raise awareness about the importance of handicrafts for tourism and vice-versa. This conference examined the job creation, income generation and poverty alleviation opportunities in developing the tourism-handicraft linkage, and investigated ways to maximise these opportunities, paying attention to the vulnerable sectors of society. The prospects of a sustainable partnership between tourism and handicrafts were thoroughly examined within the broad framework of the struggle for poverty alleviation, culminating in a 'Tehran Declaration on Handicrafts, Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (2006)'. This declaration marks a useful beginning in the process of defining relevant strategies and practical tools for governments and the private sector, identifying the roles of the corresponding Government departments, of the local and incoming tourism industry, of external sources of finance, and of the necessary technical assistance (UNWTO, 2008). Tourism and handicrafts seem to have a symbiotic relationship.

Again, recent international conferences, workshops and symposia organised by United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 2004 and 2008, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) in 2005, the International Network for Cultural Diversity (INCD) in 2005 and 2007, all focused on the prospects of cultural industries for poverty alleviation in developing countries; the potentials and constraints of their development; and the importance of networks and a conducive policy framework to support their development. However, the link between handicraft and tourism development for poverty reduction is a recent phenomenon. It is imperative, therefore, to throw some light on the theoretical and conceptual basis of this literature in order to obtain an illumined understanding of its relevance to poverty reduction in urban, peri-urban and rural

contexts in Ghana.

One of the things tourists look for during their trips is a 'memento', something that reminds them of the particular trip. Handicrafts and other souvenirs satisfy this tourist need. But McKercher (2008) re-echoes Marwick (2001) when he notes that unlike other types of souvenirs, handicrafts play a much more personal role in shaping the tourist experience, fostering long-term memories and associations with a place. As such, they are valued more highly than most other souvenirs (McKercher, 2008).

In India, Jaya Jaitly, Sheldon Shaeffer, Richard Engelhardt and others in 2005 examined the socio-economic contributions and industrial potentials of India's creative industries at a seminar on the arts and crafts of the region. They concluded that creative enterprises and traditional crafts held the future of industry as they were the major employers and contributors to national wealth. As such, businesses in the cultural industries were to be seen as vectors for sustainable development, and culture was to be renegotiated as legitimate business activity (Shaeffer, 2005).

International and regional organisations such as the World Bank (WB), International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Union (AU) and governments all over the world are interested in issues dealing with the problems and prospects of ethnic and tourist crafts. This interest focuses on the economic, job creation and poverty reduction potentials of crafts, and their tourism appeal. However, African and Ghanaian researchers and academics are beginning to recognise the prospects of the cultural industries for poverty reduction in developing their economies. Increasingly, poverty reduction strategy papers (of Cambodia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nepal, Yemen, Zambia and Ghana) include crafts and tourism issues (PPTP, 2004: Info sheet No. 9).

The establishment of specialised agencies and programmes for the examination and support for cultural industries, including the handicraft sector, attests to the increasing importance and relevance of

the sector, and the acknowledgement of its economic viability in transforming local and national economies. In this regard, Mohamed Berriane (1999) in a study commissioned by UNESCO, summarised and synthesised earlier studies on Tourism, Culture and Development in the Arab region, and draws out a positive connection between culture, tourism and the development needs of local communities (Berriane, 1999). However, such studies have been slow to emerge on the Ghanaian tourism and crafts scene. Crafts may change in response to new tastes and preferences or due to changes in religion and culture.

The link between culture and tourism has been examined by Ellis (1976). He examined the impacts of tourism on cultural manifestations and highlighted issues relating to changes in cultural manifestations due to tourism development. He noted that changes in the form and use of crafts are occasioned by passage of time, and new forms of tourist demand. Ellis concludes that authenticity of arts and crafts, and the environments in which they are marketed need to be preserved to sustain tourist interest in them. Graburn (2008) shares this view by insisting that the point of sale of crafts should be in harmony with the objects being sold.

Research output on tourism in Ghana relates to the social and economic effects of tourism (Asiedu, 1997; Owusu-Frimpong 2001; Blankson *et al.*, 2001) community involvement, and eco-tourism (Dei, 2000). Those related to tourist crafts and handicrafts were researched by Pokua-Nimo (2000) who looked at the problems and prospects of the kente weaving industry while Okrah (2002) examined the link between wood carving and depletion of certain tree species. However, issues relating to handicraft entrepreneurship and handicraft-based poverty reduction strategies remain largely under-researched.

2.2.8 Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) and Craft Entrepreneurs²

While Buame (2001) provides a deep analysis of entrepreneurship and who an entrepreneur is

² This section draws heavily on the works of:

1. Francis Greene and Kevin Mole (2006) "Defining and Measuring the Small Business"
2. David J. Brooksbank (2006) "Self-employment and the small business" all in
3. Sara Carter and Dylan Jones-Evans eds. (2006) *Enterprise and small business: Principles, Practice and Policy*; 2nd ed. Prentice Hall. Pearson Educational Ltd., Harlow England.

in his (2001) draft on Entrepreneurial and Innovation Management (see Buame 2001), it is clear that possessing a craft-making skill, or any other skill per se, does not make one an entrepreneur. However, defining what a small enterprise is presents many conceptual difficulties. Definitions used by researchers and governments to describe smaller enterprises shows that there is no single or universal definition of smaller enterprises (Sara and Carter 2006). The Bolton Report (1971) is one of the earliest attempts to provide a definition of small enterprises based on meeting certain criteria such as independence (uncertainty), owner management (personalised), and small market share (size) in the United Kingdom, (Greene and Mole 2006:7).

The European Union recognises three categories of small businesses, using employment levels. According to the EU (2005), micro enterprises have less than 10 persons; small enterprises with <50 persons; and medium ones with <250 persons. The United Kingdom categorises small enterprises into micro, 0 – 9; small (including micro) 0 – 49; and medium, 50 – 249 persons. However, the National Board for Small-Scale Industries (NBSSI) in Ghana define micro enterprises as sole proprietorships and those which employ less than 5 people; small ones as those employing 5 - 29 people; and medium ones as those employing 30 - 100 people. Clearly, there are problems with measurement, and cross-country comparisons. In spite of these problems, Greene and Mole (2006) assert that smaller enterprises represent the overwhelming number of enterprises in any economy (Greene and Mole 2006:7 f). But, it is important to know what kind of people go into self employment, especially the entrepreneurs who venture into the handicrafts businesses and their prospects of overcoming poverty.

There is no established, widely accepted definition, official and otherwise, of a small firm. But whatever definition is adopted, the most commonly found crafts enterprise is small or micro (informal) (Morrison and Thomas, 1999). It has been suggested that tourism-dependent firms should be regarded as a distinct group of small enterprises (Thomas, 2000). Even though micro and small crafts enterprises are visibly present in the tourism industry in Ghana, very little is known about them. It is, therefore, imperative that we investigate the dynamics of crafts production, the value chains and how these could be reorganised into pro-poor tourism related poverty reduction activities.

Yankson (1992) has noted the definition of SMEs based on their size, management style, client base, and the nature of technology employed; these define some of their characteristics. In that study, some of the challenges of MSMEs have been outlined. These include inadequate capital and the high cost of capital, bureaucratic impediments which discourage registration, inability to prepare business and marketing plans. Based on these characteristics, most cultural enterprises and entrepreneurs may be categorised into the micro and small-scale enterprises. Despite their apparent simplicity in terms of size and organisational structure, Yankson (2008) concludes that small enterprises are actually more difficult to study than larger enterprises (Yankson, 2008).

There is a lively debate about the types of people tempted to give self employment a try. Brooksbank (2006) identifies the backgrounds of the self-employed in the UK and examines the major trends and changes in the stock of self-employed over the last two decades. In this regard, Jenkins (1994), Meager *et al.* (1996), and Parker (1997, 2004) reports on the income distribution of the self employed (male and female), and conclude that while the self-employed could earn as much as wage earners, their earning abilities are skewed, with very high earning males to one side of the spectrum, and a large and growing number of poor self-employed to the other end of the spectrum.

It has been found out that self-employment, even if it forms only part of a working career, can put people's future financial security at risk, as people with punctuated work histories, with periods of employment, unemployment and self employment are more likely to be pushed into the poorer group of self-employed workers. This category is less likely to have a stable occupational pension, and any significant volume of savings, implying a greater dependency burden in later life.

A critical examination of the personal characteristics (gender, age, marital status, ethnic group, and levels of education) of the self-employed reveals certain patterns and trends. It must be noted that while this aspect of the review relies heavily on European evidence, the general characteristics of entrepreneurs are similar, with only slight differences. It has been found that males make up a significantly greater proportion of the self-employed than do females. However, there is a debate about the role of women in the workplace and the increasing trends in female self-employed rates (Carter and

Cannon, 1988; Hakim, 1988a; Curran and Burrows, 1989).

The links between self-employment and poverty or success are not straightforward. For this reason, Storey (1994) believes that it is important for the self-employed to have a realistic understanding of what they are undertaking, as many survive only by working very long hours at very low rates of pay. Brooksbank (2006) questions why so many people are choosing self-employment if there are risks of failure and poverty. Majority of people entering self-employment, however, are the unemployed with dreams of becoming their own bosses, and those with limited options of finding any wage employment (Brooksbank 2006:30-32). However, anecdotal evidence suggests that some of the new self-employed are forced into it through re-deployment and redundancy. The links between self-employment and age shows clearly that self-employment becomes an increasingly inviting option as one nears middle age, and an increase in the participation of people aged over 65 years. Meager (1991) reports that age distribution for both sexes are roughly similar; however, the propensity for males to enter self-employment at an early age is almost four times that of similarly aged females. Explanations for these patterns and trends include age at which enough capital and experience are likely to be accumulated, compulsory retirement at age 65, and family commitments at middle age.

Self-employment and marital status has been researched by Daly (1991a) and Meager (1991) into some detail. They report lower rates of self-employment for single people than it is for people in other categories (such as married, widowed, divorced or separated); divorced men have higher self-employment rates than divorced women, while widowed women have a higher self-employment rate than all other categories. Daly (1991a) stresses the importance of dependent children in determining self-employment rates. He reports little difference between men and women with and without dependent children over all age groups.

Generally, ethnic minority populations tend to be concentrated in fairly distinct geographical regions. Some particular ethnic groups are reputed to be more enterprising than others (Curran and Burrows, 1989). While the *Kwahu* of Ghana's Eastern region are informally reputed to be one of the greatest 'trading' ethnic groups, this study has not stumbled on any hard evidence which suggests that

the Ashanti are more or less enterprising than other ethnic groups. However, Clark and Drinkwater (1998) have examined how both 'push' and 'pull' factors have led members of certain ethnic minorities to enter self-employment by re-echoing Metcalfe *et al.* (1996), who found that the desire to avoid labour market discrimination in the form of low-paid jobs was a principal explanation for the entry of minorities into self-employment.

The level of education achieved by the potential entrepreneur has long been as a crucial factor in determining both the actual entry into self-employment and, thereafter, the longer-term success of the venture. However, evidence from the UK shows some inconsistencies as reported by Curran and Burrows (1989). They conclude that the self-employed appear to have lower levels of educational attainment than wage earners, although there is some overlap between the two groups. However, Daly (1991) and Meager (1991) found out that, generally, the self-employed appear to have a higher level of educational achievement than their employees. Brooksbank's analysis clearly shows that there is a complex relationship between educational qualifications and participation rates for the self-employed. However, this relationship depends critically upon the definitions used in defining the datasets and, indeed, upon which survey is used to compile that data.

Craft village entrepreneurs fall within the informal tourism sector of the economy in many developing countries. Production value chain is traditional in outlook and quantities are limited by the type of technology, and business organisation. Michael Porter's 'value chain' is a well-established concept for considering key activities that an organisation can perform or manage with the intention of adding value for the customer as products and services move from conception to delivery to the customer (Porter, 1980). It is often used in economics with reference to the process from conception to the consumption of a product.

In Ghana, the role of small and medium-sized handicrafts enterprises remains largely under-researched. The most recent research on SMEs in tourism by Gartner (1999) examined the development role of SMEs in the in the tourism industry in the Central region. However, Yankson and Aboagye's (1992) examination of production constraints of small-scale artisans, though not directly

related to traditional handicrafts, offers some insight into the problems faced by SMEs in Ghana, and the characteristics of the practitioners. Rogerson (2005, 2006) has published extensively on tourism small businesses in southern Africa. In all these, the handicraft sector does not feature prominently in the literature. However, the potential contribution of handicraft development to economic development has been acknowledged by Asiedu (1997).

2.2.9 Cultural Enterprises and Creative Industries

Culture has been defined as “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and encompasses in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, 2002)³. However, the cultural policy of Ghana defines culture as: “... the totality of the way of life evolved by (our) people through experience and reflection in their attempt to fashion a harmonious co-existence with their environment” (NCC, 2004:9). The policy also recognises handicrafts as a valuable material heritage which forms a valuable part of Ghana’s contemporary culture. The businesses that engage in making and selling handicrafts and other items of the material culture of any people can be called ‘cultural enterprises’, which belong to the broader ‘cultural industry’. The key component in these businesses is individual creativity (Evans, 2005).

The word ‘heritage’ connotes a form of ‘legacy’ which is bequeathed to a person or inherited by a people. Nuryanti (1996) examines the complex relationships between tourism and heritage and associates ‘heritage’ with ‘inheritance’, noting its role as a carrier of past historical values. Heritage is viewed as part of the cultural tradition of a society from which material culture and handicrafts are derived. Tourism on the other hand, is seen as a dynamic form of modern consciousness, and its interaction with heritage often resulting in a reinterpretation of the latter. She draws a parallel between heritage and tourism on the one hand, and tradition and modernity on the other. However, other studies point out the contradictions that sometimes characterises dialogue concerning cultural heritage and tourism. Cultural tradition is associated with stability and continuity, while tourism is associated

³ Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, UNESCO, Paris, 2002.

with change (Hall and McArthur, 1993; Heeley, 1989; Hewison, 1987; Fowler, 1989).

The concept of “Heritage” in this study will be expanded to include the natural, social, cultural and historical past and values, structures and crafts making skills that have been passed down from generation to generation. It includes the physical environment and its attributes, the social and traditional cultural manifestations, and the traditional crafts and skills for their production, which together form the basis of tourism and crafts development. The study interrogates the links between handicrafts and tourism, how crafts production is organised, and how poverty perceptions influence choice of coping strategies.

Different theoretical approaches have been used to analyse the relationships between cultural heritage and tourism. A number of authors have chosen to address the linkages between the two by examining the structural ties between production of culture and tourism consumption (Cohen, 1988; MacCannel, 1976; Urry, 1990; Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). However, local crafts production in Ashanti has been sustained partly by the thriving chieftaincy institution, socio-cultural and traditional religious values, tourist demand, and the export trade. These craft villages have preserved the age-old crafts traditions and skills, and have acted as magnets in attracting international tourists, and artisans from other parts of Ghana into the Ashanti region.

It has been argued that new forms of reproduction of the past and associated consumption patterns are reflected in the ways that people choose to travel. A movement towards one’s roots and a growing appreciation of tradition and aspects of relating to one’s total environment reflect the interplay between the local and the global. Tourists are assumed to be looking for what they perceive to be original, authentic (craft) items and want to buy them at their place of origin (Ventacachellum, 2004). Heritage tourism offers opportunities to portray the past in the present. It provides an infinite time and space in which the past can be experienced through the prism of the endless possibilities of interpretation and reinterpretation (Ventacachellum, 2004, cited in McKercher 2008).

Ashanti crafts may also be conceived as ethnic crafts and its relation to tourism as ethnic tourist arts. Defining ethnicity is problematic as it connotes notions of tribal and local minorities. Bentley

(1987) defines 'ethnicity' as a construction of group identity based on ideas of shared descent and socio-cultural practices, with both sentiment and instrumental power dimensions. According to Swain (1993:33) 'Indigenous' indicates a type of ethnic group living in their socio-cultural natal place. She re-echoes Grabum (1976:1) who refers to these peoples as "the fourth World": "... a collective name for all aboriginal or native peoples whose lands fall within national boundaries and techno bureaucratic administrations of the First, Second and Third World (Swain, 1993). However, there is no attempt to imply that the Ashanti are 4th world.

Cultural industries are also known as 'creative' or 'copyright' industries, and include a wide variety of economic activities, ranging from crafts through music and film to publishing, fashion and the multimedia industry. UNESCO, defines cultural industries as those industries which produce tangible or intangible artistic creative outputs, and which have the potential for wealth creation and income generation through the exploitation of cultural assets and the production of knowledge-based goods and services (both traditional and contemporary). The use of creativity, skill and intellectual property to create products and services with social and cultural meaning is what binds the cultural industries together (UNESCO, 2005)⁴. Handicrafts are also known as artisanal products, and crafts men and women also as artisans.

According to UNCTAD, "artisanal products" are those provided by artisans, either completely by hand, or with the help of hand tools or even mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most substantial component of the finished product. Handicrafts are considered part of the larger set of heritage. However, there are no universally acceptable definitions for artisanal products.

Creative industries derive their origins from individual creativity, skill and talent that have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of the individual's intellectual property. Creative industries include artisanal products, visual arts, performing arts, cinema and audiovisual media, multimedia, literature, books and publishing (Evans, 2005). This thesis is only

⁴ Definition of 'cultural industries' in, Background Documents, Asia-Pacific Creative Communities: A Strategy for the 21st Century, Senior Experts Symposium, 22-26 February, Jodhpur, India, UNESCO.

concerned with handicrafts, which is part of the artisanal cultural products.

Creative industries have emerged as one of the world's most dynamic economic sectors, offering vast opportunities for cultural, social and economic development. International trade in creative goods and services surged to US\$445.2 billion in 2005 from US\$234.8 billion in 1996, according to preliminary UNCTAD figures. Such trade grew at an unprecedented average rate of 8.7% a year from 2000-2005 (UNCTAD, 2008). This reflects the economic and cultural breadth of the creative industries. Linking business, culture and technology, the creative economy holds potential for developing countries to transform untapped creative resources into growth.

While the concept of the creative economy is recent and still evolving, it reflects the idea that creative assets, including handicrafts, can generate economic growth, job creation and export earnings while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development. To this end, the UNCTAD XI ministerial meeting in Sao Paulo in 2004 called on the international community to help developing countries “foster, protect and promote their creative industries.” In 2004, WTO held a Ministerial Meeting on Cultural Tourism and Poverty Alleviation which highlighted the challenges and opportunities presented by cultural tourism, culminating in the historic Hue Declaration. The WTO has established its own ‘Sustainable Tourism to Eliminate Poverty’ (UNWTO ST-EP) Foundation, using sustainable tourism to eliminate poverty in developing countries.

2.2.10 Commoditisation, Adaptation and Authenticity

Commoditisation, according to Cohen (1988), who re-echoes Appadurai (1986), is “... a process by which things and (activities) come to be evaluated in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services)...” (Swain, 1989:208) Ethnic art souvenirs are a commoditisation of ethnicity: the production and exchange of ethnic goods and behaviours of consumption by others across ethnic boundaries (Swain, 1990). Tourism has also been viewed as exploiting indigenous people (Swain, 1990) and their intellectual property rights.

Some of the pitfalls of commoditisation of handicrafts relate to gender segregation, discrimination and exploitation, and loss of skills and authenticity (Scrase, 2002:3). The work on the ‘*chikan*’

embroidery industry of India by Wilkinson-Weber (1997) shows elements of change in gender roles, and exploitation in the craft production process. The artisan is paid per piece, and as demand pressures increase, artisans become de-skilled. In the process, authenticity and quality are compromised.

Scrase (1997) concludes that it is impossible to meet the increased demand and consumption for the *chikan* embroidered shirts with the more time consuming but authentic methods. The drive to meet the large number of orders leads to the craft itself becoming de-skilled and inauthentic. Similarly, it is possible for less preferred tree species and inferior yarns to be used in making products for tourist consumption in the selected crafts villages.

This adaptation relates to what Graburn calls ‘inwardly’ and ‘outwardly’ directed crafts, where a certain degree of craftsmanship and choice of materials may vary for the type of client. Crafts directed at local clients (chieftaincy institution and traditional religious people) may be quite different from those directed at tourists. However, issues of authenticity arise from adaptation of traditional crafts in response to tourist demand and the new uses to which the crafts products are put. It is important to note that apart from the manufacture of items specifically for tourist consumption, Schadler (1979) observes that the impact of tourism on the shape, colour and aesthetic appearance of traditional arts and crafts is negligible (De Kadt 1979:149).

Rattray (1927) has noted that Ashanti crafts, in particular, owe their origins largely to religious factors. In this regard, Obeng (1988) found that the style and form of Ashanti stools reflected their closely held religious beliefs. However, De Kadt contends that even in Africa, a craftsman can produce objects of beauty without their being invested with ritual or religious significance either for him or for his clientele (De Kadt 1979:70).

While Shadler’s (1979) work on the impact of tourism on the meaning of cultural manifestations suggests that African crafts become degenerate when their manufacture is not for religious purposes, De Kadt suggests that May’s (1977) definition of crafts is less problematic: traditional art (craft) comprises works “made within a traditional society for use – religious or secular

– within that society or for trade with traditional trading partners” (May, 1977).⁵

Schadler (1979) has noted that tourism is not solely responsible for changes that have been taking place in African arts and crafts. He contends that change in the crafts result from an erosion of the religious beliefs or social customs that have always been the mainspring of African artistic expression. Objects such as carvings were created for use in the cult; with the demise of traditional religious beliefs and their associated rituals, the objects to which craftsmen devote themselves become “meaningless fragmentary husks of a cult or religion”. Because the original meaning invested in craftsmanship has disappeared, Schadler regards the objects, by definition, as degenerate. However, other commentators (De Kadt, Andronicou and Groupe Huit, 1979) have insisted that tourism has rather contributed to their preservation and revival (De Kadt 1979:79).

According to Emanuel De Kadt (1979), tourist demand for traditional crafts as souvenirs and the different uses to which such crafts were being put has led some craftspeople to adapt the design (form, shape and size) of these products to bring them more in line with the taste of new customers (De Kadt 1979:68). This observation is attributed to Forster (1964) who claimed that tourist demand for souvenirs and their uncritical stance toward the performances which they observe in their search for local colour have often been mentioned as causes of a decline in cultural and artistic standards (Forster 1964:226). In this regard, Mario Gavira (1976), who studied the mass tourism industry in Spain, concluded that once crafts production comes under the impact of demands of mass tourism, it becomes the manufacture of mere souvenirs, which are not necessarily objects of traditional craftsmanship (Gavira, 1976). Some researchers (Onderwater *et al.* 2000, cited in Asiedu 2004) have, however, criticised the sale of ethnic crafts – which were traditionally geared towards satisfying local needs and were not intended for the marketplace – to tourists. They saw this practice as ‘commoditisation’ of ethnic crafts and ‘adulteration’ of cultural practices, as some of the items were modified to suit tourist tastes, preferences and convenience (Asiedu, 2004:25). These themes border on adaptation of ethnic crafts for the tourist market and, on issues of authenticity.

⁵ May R. J. (1977) “Tourism and the Artefact Industry in Papua New Guinea,” in Ben R. Finney and Karen A. Watson, eds., *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: East-West Centre, 1977, p.125.)

The frequent claim that tourism contributes to degeneration in arts and crafts (Foster 1964:226; Gavira 1976) appears to be an exaggeration. However, De Kadt (1979) maintains that tourism has contributed to their preservation and revival. He further notes that even though curio production, “airport art”, and performances of fake folklore are stimulated by tourist demand, arts, crafts, and local culture have been revitalised as a direct result of tourism. He concludes that even though some transformation of traditional forms may result, this change does not lead to degeneration. However, Appadurai (1986), Cohen (1988) and other researchers consider the sale of traditional crafts and other cultural and religious objects in tourism as commoditisation and the trivialisation of cultures for selfish interests. It is important to note that other factors may contribute to changes in form, uses and meaning of traditional crafts (Appadurai, 1986; Cohen, 1988; Swain, 1993; Scrase, 2002).

Many tourist art products have become oversized (gigantism) compared with their original dimensions. To meet quality standards, products have of necessity to be large, and tourist demand tends more toward bigger models than was originally expected (miniaturisation). This is especially true for all kinds of brass castings, but also to a certain extent, for wooden objects, although parking requirements impose certain limitations.

Craft production has a gender dimension. Swain (1993) explores this dimension by examining how women are empowered, or exploited in a predominantly patriarchal and capitalist economic system which is epitomised by international tourism. She concludes that while internal (family/community) factors lead to commoditisation of ethnicity, which enables women’s empowerment, external factors (such as market or state) limit role options for indigenous women and men, and defines what they can or cannot do. It would be interesting to find out if this is possible in a predominantly matrilineal socio-cultural environment amongst the Ashanti.

A common theme in the earlier literature on African and Ashanti crafts is the relationship between handicraft and the religious, cultural and social lifestyles of the peoples or societies that created them. Browne’s (1978) review of literature on handicrafts reflects the focus of early scholarship on handicraft research in Ghana and the West African sub-region. These tend to focus on

the history, production methods, form and function, design, symbolism and religious role of handicrafts as is suggested by the works of Price (1883), Cardinall (1924), Sarpong (1971), Quarcoo (1970), Kent (1972), Lamb (1975), Huber (1959), and Quarcoo and Johnson (1968). These works were all cited in Browne (1978).

Rattray's study among the Ashanti – *Religion and Art in Ashanti (1927)* – is probably the most comprehensive on Ashanti royal crafts and the villages established for their production. He explored the art and culture of Ashanti, and includes descriptions of weaving in Bonwire, *Adinkra* printing in Ntonso, pottery in Pankrono, bronze casting in Krofoforom, and wood carving in Ahwiaa. However, the economic and poverty reduction implications, and the link of handicrafts with tourism were not considered in that study. A complex industry has emerged in the craft villages, in response to this new demand.

Browne (1978) focussed on the local production techniques, economic viability and technology of selected crafts. She studied wood carving at Ahwiaa, pottery at Apiadu, bead making at Dabaa, brass casting in Kurofoforom, and kente weaving at Sakora Wonoo, and concluded that the local technologies were well-adapted to the local economic conditions and were by no means static, but noted the decline of pottery, as plastic and aluminium wares were introduced into the market. Even though this study noted the employment creation potential of the crafts, the link between handicrafts, tourism and poverty reduction was not considered.

2.3 Conceptualising Poverty and Craft-based Livelihoods

The persistence of poverty in many parts of the developing world, despite quite spectacular economic progress in the last half century, has revived interest in the subject in academic and policymaking circles alike. This revival, according to Osmani (2003), has spawned a rapidly growing literature in the last decade or so that is markedly different from the poverty discourse of a few decades ago (Osmani 2003). In this section, the concept of poverty which includes inequality, discrimination, exploitation, vulnerability, exclusion and gender issues are examined as they relate to crafts-based livelihoods.

The new discourse in poverty has been shaped and informed by several streams of ideas with a great deal of convergence, but does not add up to a single coherent conceptual framework. However, a major common theme underlying all these streams is diversity – diversity of ways in which people perceive and experience poverty, diversity in how poor people strive to escape or cope with it, and diversity of policy interventions needed for combating poverty. This recognition of diversity in all spheres related to poverty has far reaching implications for how the subject is approached; in particular, how to conceptualise poverty, assess its prevalence, and devise strategies for eliminating it (Osmani, 2003).

2.3.1 Poverty Perceptions and Experience

What is perceived as poverty provides the basis on which policies and strategies are designed to meet poverty reduction goals (Grecley, 1994:50). To understand the many perceptions and reality of poverty, which constitutes ‘the changing faces of poverty’, and the potential of handicraft production for poverty alleviation, it is important to understand how craft entrepreneurs perceive and experience poverty, and the ways by which they cope or try to overcome it. In this regard, Kunfaa (1999) reports that based on local criteria, communities are able to identify the well-off, the better-off, the poor and the abject poor. It was further noted that the rural poor had more coping strategies to fall upon than the urban poor (Kunfaa 1999:3).

Traditionally, poverty has been understood to mean a lack of access to resources, productive assets and income resulting in a state of material deprivation (Baulch, 1996, cited in Catagay, 1998). Recent discussions on poverty have shown that poverty is multi dimensional and includes not only material deprivation but also, various forms of vulnerability to shocks. It also includes lack of dignity and autonomy (Catagay, 1998; Sen, 2000; World Bank, 2000; Kabeer, 2003). The World Development Report (2000) included insecurity as one of the three key dimensions of poverty. The World Bank designates certain percentages of the population above the poverty line as vulnerable because they face a high likelihood of falling below it.

Kabeer (2003) looks at vulnerability from two perspectives: from an objective perspective such as exposure to risks, shocks and stress and the inability to deal with them without sustaining damaging loss, for example, becoming less healthy, selling off productive assets or withdrawing children from school, and from a subjective perspective such as the sense of powerlessness in the face of threats (Kabeer, 2003). In the crafts industry generally, those businesses and individuals which derive a greater proportion of their incomes from tourists, and depend solely on crafts are more vulnerable than those which derive only a small proportion of their incomes from crafts and tourists. In this sense, many crafts entrepreneurs may become vulnerable to changes in travel patterns and market trends of their crafts.

According to the World Bank, “one is considered poor if one’s income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs”. This minimum level is usually called the ‘poverty line’ – what is necessary to satisfy basic needs. These vary across time and societies. Therefore, poverty lines vary in time and place, and each country uses lines which are appropriate to its level of development, societal norms and values. To this end, this study uses a number of approaches to identify poorer craftsmen and women from wealthier ones. Crafts workers themselves identify categories of poorer workers along the craft value-chain through a process of participatory wealth ranking (PWR), through self ranking, and through the calculation of a simple Cashpor Housing Index (CHI), (Catarinich 2000).

Research has shown that poverty can be both chronic and transient (ODI and AIRD, 1999; Gyan Baffour, 2004). It is chronic when one is born into it and with virtually no chance of getting out of it. In the latter case, changing economic, political or environmental circumstances, acting singularly or in various combinations, may push some people ‘in and out of poverty’. In other words, during certain periods, these factors may cause some people to become poor or poorer, but at other times the same people may become more affluent. This suggests that there are winners and losers in the face of both what is considered ‘adverse’ and ‘favourable’ factors. The determining factor then would be one’s capability to withstand the ‘shocks’ (resilience versus vulnerability) or one’s capability to identify and

convert opportunities into levels of welfare. Poverty may then be defined as a lack of basic capabilities. For example, basic capabilities include a life free of avoidable morbidity, adequate nourishment, healthy reproduction, personal security, and participation in society (McKinley, 1997). This ties in very well with Amartya Sen's concept of 'capability failure' as poverty.

Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze (2002) introduced a broader perspective on poverty as the deprivation of human capabilities. Capabilities are alternative combinations of 'functionings,' that is, what people are able to do and be, and from which a person can choose. The idea of capability is one of freedom, that is, freedom to choose what kind of life to live. Poverty is thus, the deprivation of such basic capabilities as the freedom to lead a normal life – being able to avoid deprivations such as starvation, undernourishment, illiteracy, morbidity and mortality – (Dreze and Sen 2002).

Poverty involves constant emotional stress, and violence has a profound impact on the lives of the poor (Davies and Rylance, 2005). Thus, "individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack, or are denied, the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least, widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. They are poor when their resources fall below those commanded by the average individual or family so that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities" (Townsend, 1993:31). Even though this gives some impressions on social exclusion and how poverty may be experienced, it is nothing close to actually experiencing it.

Indeed, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I & II) accepts poverty as a multi-dimensional concept with complex interactive and causal relationships between the dimensions. Though it implies low income, it goes far beyond that. It means malnutrition, persistent ill health, lack of education, and poor housing, it also means chronic unemployment, lack of access to basic social services and inability to access legal or political rights. The GPRS focuses on four dimensions of poverty, namely: Poverty as lack of income and consumption poverty; Poverty as lack of access to basic social services e.g. water, health, educational facilities; Poverty as deprivations in human

development, i.e. capacity development; Poverty as a multi-dimensional deprivation – related and non-related negative elements of life such as physical weakness, powerlessness in decision-making, vulnerability, isolation, gender discrimination, inability to assert legal or political rights.

Poverty is defined as not the mere shortage of income, but also the deprivation of rights, liberties and opportunities (Dreze and Sen, 2000). Following this new perspective, Dubois, Mahieu and Possard, 2001 (cited in Droy and Dubois, 2002) have analysed the dimensions of women's poverty as a result of gender inequalities because poverty is not mere shortage of income but also the deprivation of rights, liberties and opportunities (Dreze and Sen, 2000). The dimensions of poverty as analysed by Dubois, Mahieu and Possard (2001) include: a) Lack of human capital (lower levels of education, insufficient healthcare); b) Lack of physical capital (little access to equipment, reduced land rights); c) Lack of access to financial capital (lack of credit, savings, low income, and lack of control over income); d) Lack of access to social capital (weakness in social cohesion, insufficient information to relate to other women); e) Low decision making power at the home and community levels; f) Reduced mobility due to time constraints; g) Inability to access political rights; h) Vulnerability and discrimination, violence towards women, no respect of civil rights, women and girls denied their rights due to cultural norms.

Indeed the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997) cited in Catagay (1998) argues that from a human poverty or capabilities perspective, it is harder for women to transform their capabilities into incomes or well-being. Inequalities in the distribution of income, access to productive inputs such as credit, command over property or control over earned income as well as biases in labour markets and social exclusion that some craftspeople experience in a variety of economic and political settings form the basis of their greater vulnerability to chronic poverty. These issues may also apply to migrant craft workers and those craft workers operating at the lower ends of the craft value chain.

Poverty may be experienced differently by its victims. In this regard, the poor in one society may represent the affluent in another society. There may be variations even within the same country and region, and from one community to the other. It would, therefore, be interesting to find out each

community's acceptable standard of well-being in order to establish the poverty status of all those deviating from the community standard in the selected urban, peri-urban and rural craft villages. This exercise may be a tenuous one as it is extremely difficult to determine a uniform desired living standard, even for members of the same household, let alone for a whole community. The caveat in this maze is to rely on averages or minimum acceptable levels of well-being.

Much of the available information on poverty and inequality in Ghana has been assembled over the last two decades, with conventional administrative data now being supplemented with survey data and qualitative or participatory assessments of poverty. Important qualitative sources include a participatory poverty assessment carried out in several rural and urban communities in 1994/95 (Norton *et al.*, 1995); the Ghana 'Voices of the Poor' study (Kunfaa, 1999); the participatory poverty consultations conducted in 36 communities as part of preparing the GPRS (Government of Ghana, 2003, section 3.3); as well as a large number of other local level studies.

Important sources of survey data include the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS; conducted in 1987, 1993, 1998 and 2003); Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ; 1987 and 2003); and the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS; 1987/88, 1988/89, 1991/92, 1998/99 and 2004/2005). The 2000 Population and Housing Census also provides some information of relevance to poverty, e.g. on availability of facilities, and is also a key source for the recently completed poverty mapping exercise (Columbe, 2004) which provides estimates of income poverty at a district level (McKay and Aryeetey, 2004).

In view of the many criticisms levelled against the income method of poverty measurement, it is important to adopt a more holistic measure that combines income levels with those of consumption, levels of vulnerability and the possession of material and non-material assets. Most importantly, the individual's own perception of her/his poverty status is necessary to aid the determination of the links between poverty and the perception of stigma. Currently, only a few studies explore these social dynamics in Ghana. The current blueprint for poverty reduction is captured in the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II, which focuses on: Accelerated and sustainable growth; Poverty reduction;

Promotion of Gender equity; Protection and empowerment of the vulnerable and excluded within a decentralised, democratic environment. While GPRS I emphasised Poverty Reduction programmes and projects, the GPRS II emphasises growth inducing policies and programmes as a means to wealth creation and poverty reduction. GPRS II is, therefore, anchored on: Continued macro-economic stability; Accelerated private sector led growth; Vigorous human resource development; and Good governance and civic responsibility.

The word 'capability' has been used by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1984, 1987; Dreze and Sen, 1989) to refer to being able to perform certain basic 'functionings', to what a person is capable of doing and being. It includes, for example, to be adequately nourished, to be comfortably clothed, and to avoid escapable morbidity and preventable mortality, to lead a life without shame, to be able to visit and entertain one's friends, to keep track of what is going on and what others are talking about (Sen, 1987:18; Dreze and Sen, 1990:11, cited in Chambers and Conway, 1991:4).

However, within the generality of Sen's use of capability, there is a subset of livelihood capabilities that include being able to cope with stress and shocks, and being able to find and make use of livelihood opportunities. According to Chambers and Conway (1991), such capabilities are not just reactive, being able to respond to adverse changes in conditions; they are also proactive and dynamically adaptable. They include gaining access to and using services and information, exercising foresight, experimenting and innovating, competing and collaborating with others, and exploring new conditions and resources.

It is often assumed that poverty is a rural phenomenon as evidenced by the following studies (World Bank, 1995; GOG, 2000; Songsore, 2002). This corresponds with the belief that urban residents in Ghana have much higher income than their rural counterparts because they have a better access to formal and informal employment in the cities (Lipton, 1977; Bates, 1981). However, recent studies also indicate that the number of urban residents that can be characterised as being poor is growing (Maxwell *et al.*, 2000; Songsore, 2003). The changing fortunes in peri-urban areas due to urbanisation and city expansion bring in its wake, rapid changes in the local economy to which some

residents are not able to cope. Such persons become displaced right in their own territories because they lack or have inadequate capacity to cope with the rapid socio-economic changes that urban dynamics and urbanisation brings to bear on their livelihood activities and local resources on which these livelihoods depended. Commoditisation and commercialisation of hitherto free natural resources, pressure on available socio-economic infrastructure and the rising cost and scarcity of land may require a reworking of livelihood strategies and a re-engineering of skills to deal with, and surmount the new challenges.

According to Cattarinich (2001) certain dimensions of poverty may prevail in particular temporal and spatial contexts, however, it is more useful to view poverty as a complex phenomenon that often includes some or all of the above dimensions. Moreover, it is worth noting that the defining characteristics of poverty also are invoked as its causes (e.g., a persistent lack of income or material assets might be declared the cause, as well as the symptom, of poverty). The causes can constitute a set of interlocking vicious cycles, for example, illness may prevent someone from working, leading to a decline in income, which may in turn result in the inability to procure enough food and medicine, leading to a further decline in health. This may necessitate the sale of material assets in order to obtain the resources to purchase the food and medicine, thereby increasing the individual's vulnerability to changing economic circumstances while also leading to a decline in socio-economic status and influence in the community, etc. Thus, poverty must be viewed as a process as well as a phenomenon.

Finally, poverty may be defined both objectively (absolute) and subjectively (relative) (ODI and AIRD, 1999:10; Serageldin, 1989:28). The international poverty line is based on an absolute definition of poverty. Subjective/relative definitions determine poverty in comparison to other groups within a given society. There are other definitions of poverty that attempt to blend the two conceptions. For instance, IFAD (2001:19) state that, "poverty can be seen as broadly multidimensional, partly subjective, and variable over time, comprising capabilities as well as welfare and in part relative to local norms, comparisons and expectations". Strategies that rely on absolute/objective definitions aim to raise the standard of living of all people to a common minimum standard. Strategies that rely on

relative/subjective definitions aim to reduce societal inequalities (Cattarinich, 1991:3).

It is important to note, however, that all of these definitions are constructed, usually by those who may not be poor, and imposed on 'poor' groups. Poverty is, therefore, a value judgement that is not something one can verify or demonstrate except by inference and suggestion, and even then, with a measure of error. To say who is poor is to use all sorts of judgements. The concept has to be limited by the purpose for which it is to serve by the definition. Depending on whether poverty is perceived in terms of absolute or relative deprivation (Webster, 1984:18), the numbers classified as poor will differ and so will the approaches required for poverty reduction (Dinye and Deribile, 2004:45).

This study looks at poverty from the perspective of Dubois, Mahieu and Possard (2001). As a result of traditional cultural restrictions and inequalities in crafts production, some categories of craftspeople, including the youth, women and migrant crafts workers have limited opportunities, capabilities and options, less information and knowledge, and limited power which affect their socio-economic status. This translates into limited choices and agency in decision-making processes that shape their well-being. These 'vulnerable' craftspeople are systematically excluded from the higher levels of participation and decision making in the craft villages. This affects their earning power at the production and marketing levels, and their ability to participate at the community level. With limited capacity, they are not able to establish effective linkages and or collaboration with their colleagues within or outside their own rank.

At the production level, some carvers, weavers, and finishers (artisans with craft skills) have less financial capital, lower education, and less valuable information, which translates into low productivity and subsequent low income levels. Their work is the most difficult and dangerous, yet the least rewarded. They are paid for only the material content of the handcrafts they produce, irrespective of the time input and symbolic value of the crafts. The craft merchants then sell these same pieces at prices which reflect the symbolic value and the painstaking effort of the production process. In this way, artisans remain poor, producing craft objects that enrich craft merchants and other middlemen. At the community level, artisans, migrants, the youth and women have less power or means of expression

as compared to craft merchants and men due to their lower socio-economic status. These situations affect livelihoods security. One way to understand the situation of the vulnerable in the crafts industry is to examine their livelihood portfolios.

2.3.2 Coping and Survival Mechanisms

In addressing the question of coping and survival strategies, Sahl (1996a) assumes that a small deficit in a household's budget can lead to the mobilisation of its 'sedentary' resources. In this respect, coping and survival practices refer to the ordinary mechanisms people pursue to mobilise resources to handle difficult situations. This is because as long as there is a deficit, people find themselves compelled to engineer possible alternatives to bridge the gap between their income and expenditure either by increasing income to match expenditure, or to reduce expenditure (i.e., consumption) according to the level of their income (Sahl, 1996).

Thus, the concepts of coping and survival practices describe the ways in which the poorer craftspeople increased their earnings, or reduced their outlays in order to realise a minimum tolerable standard of living (Bangura, 1994).

2.3.3 Participation, Marginalisation and Exclusion

Participation has been defined in various ways but a clear distinction can be made between participation as a *means* and participation as an *end*. Participation as a means is to enhance the likely success of predetermined activities and targets by involving people to ensure their commitment (Harper, 2003). Those who argue for participation, as an empowering end, pursue it through increasing people's confidence and consequently enabling change. This has been a subject of debate because it is argued that participation in itself is not an empowering experience, although change can occur. Those that favour participation as an end, argue that participation can lead to greater control and confidence and that this can achieve changes in wider social relations. They see it as integral to a wider process of social transformation and structural change of a system of relations through which inequalities are reproduced. At the same time, the process of participation gives greater decision making power or access to the poor or marginalised (Harper, 2003). Thus, Harper argues that participation could be both

a means and an end. She notes that in situations of extreme marginalisation, participation as an empowering end is seen to be the only option.

In this study, participation is seen as a means to an end. When craft workers are able to access more jobs and derive more economic and non-cash benefits, they are empowered and feel part of the economic process. They are able to meet and honour their obligations and earn the respect of their fellow colleagues and family. This participation can be enhanced when they come together for common interests and share trade information and access opportunities for partnership and linkages with other sectors of the local economy in a 'win-win' fashion. Through participation in group activities, training programmes can be organised to upgrade their (artisans) skills, which can lead to access to credit and entrepreneurship training programmes. The researcher believes that those craft workers who have benefitted from such programmes would be better placed to derive more benefits from any intervention programmes than those who have not.

According to Jamieson (2001), the tourism community must understand the nature of poverty before it can begin to define the relationship of tourism initiatives and improving the conditions of the poor. Consequently, this study sought to understand the nature and extent of poverty in the rural and peri-urban handicrafts villages first, before designing poverty reduction strategies that are targeted at improving and sustaining their current livelihood strategies, to bolster their resilience and to reduce inequalities and vulnerability to future shocks and stresses. But, in what ways do poverty perceptions of the poor differ from those of the non-poor? Beyond income and basic services, individuals and societies are also poor – and tend to remain so – if they are not empowered to participate in making decisions that shape their lives (Jamieson, 2001).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

While there are a number of possible conceptual frameworks and constructs that can be used to determine how best to intervene in the poverty reduction process, one accepted approach is the Livelihoods Approach. Walter Jamieson, Harold Goodwin and Christopher Edmunds (2004) see livelihood analysis as a methodology, which can be used to analyse the contribution that different

forms of tourism might make to the livelihoods of the poor. The advantage of livelihood analysis is that it provides a methodology that looks at the positive and negative impacts of a particular form of tourism development upon the livelihoods of the poor (Jamieson *et al.* 2004:15).

According to Jamieson *et al.* (2004), applying a livelihoods approach enables the assessment of the impacts of tourism initiatives on the different livelihood strategies of individuals and households in a particular area. It recognises that not all individuals and households will experience the same positive and negative impacts. As the poor generally lack access to the employment market they generally have a diverse set of livelihood strategies designed to minimise risk and reduce their vulnerability. These strategies are often applied at the household level with men, women and children engaging in a wide range of activities, some of them subsistence activities which cannot easily be assigned a cash value, to sustain themselves.

In order to maximise livelihood benefits, there is the need to understand what people's livelihood priorities are, and the complex ways in which different tourism options affect livelihoods directly and indirectly. It is also important to note that livelihood strategies differ between households and between men and women. There is therefore, no single answer to what will optimise livelihood impact for the poor in a community. However, livelihoods need to be secure and sustainable over the long run. Yet, in most situations, some will lose and gain more than others.

2.4.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is a way to improve understanding of the livelihoods of poor people. It draws on the main factors that affect poor people's livelihoods and the typical relationships between these factors. It can be used in planning new development activities and in assessing the contribution that existing activities have made to sustaining livelihoods. The two key components of the SLA are: a *framework* (see chapter four) that helps in understanding the complexities of poverty and a set of *principles* to guide action to address and overcome poverty.

The livelihoods approach was developed initially in the early 1980s by Amartya Sen (1981) to explain famine. This approach represents a wider and more complex conceptualisation of poverty. The

essence of the concept is described by Chamber and Conway (1992): A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both tangible and intangible resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (DFID, 1999). However the sustainable livelihoods framework is hinged on certain principles. The principles that underpin the DFID (1999) sustainable livelihood approach are as follows: 1) It is human centred, that is, sustainable poverty elimination will be achieved only if external support recognises the socio-economic, cultural and ethnic diversity of communities, focuses on what matters to people and works with them in a way that fits in with their current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt; 2) It must be responsive and participatory, that is, poor people must be closely involved in the identification and implementation of livelihood priorities; 3) It is versatile and operates at various levels; 4) It adopts the partnership approach, with both public and private partners; 5) It is dynamic, as livelihoods and the factors shaping them are constantly changing; 6) It takes a wide view of sustainability with key dimensions such as – economic, institutional, social and environmental sustainability.

The framework provides a checklist of important issues and sketches out the linkages. It also draws attention to core influences and processes and emphasises the multiple interactions between the various factors that affect livelihoods. The framework is intended to be a versatile tool for use in planning and management. Imbedded in the framework is the systems approach which is demonstrated in the interconnectedness between and amongst elements of the framework (vulnerability context, capitals and assets, policies and other structures, agency and outcomes). The sustainable livelihood approach is a departure from earlier models of planning like Participatory Development, Sector-wide approaches and Integrated Rural Development Approach of the 1970's. The approach endeavours to build upon the strength of these and gives more recognition to poor people's realities.

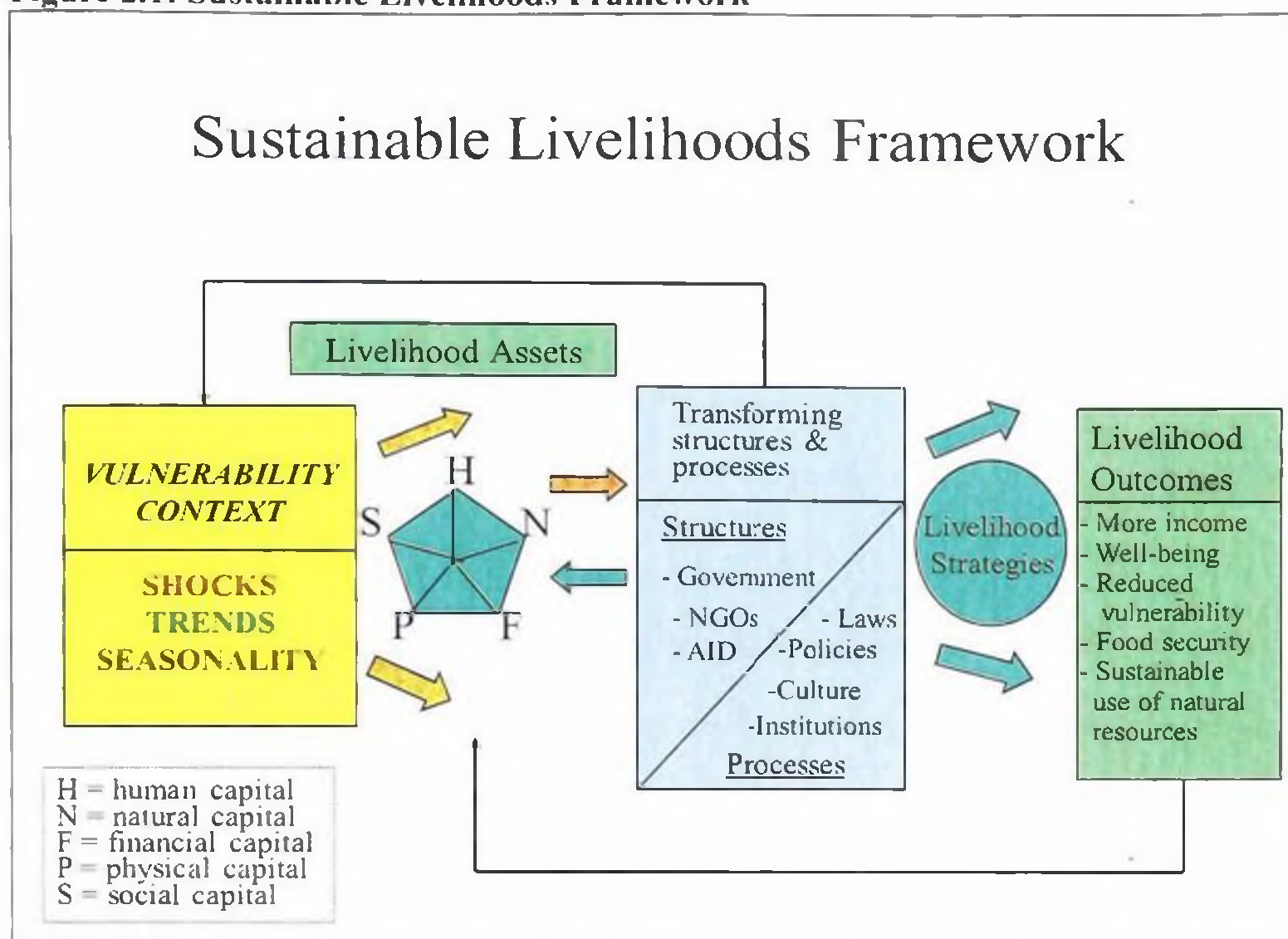
People are the main concern, rather than the resources they use or their governments. SLA is used to identify the main constraints and opportunities faced by poor people, as expressed by

themselves. It builds on these definitions, and then supports poor people as they address the constraints, or take advantage of opportunities. The framework is neither a model that aims to incorporate all the key elements of people's livelihoods, nor a universal solution. Rather, it is a means of stimulating thought and analysis, and it needs to be adapted and elaborated depending on the situation. In this study, a livelihood is a combination of the resources used and the activities undertaken in order to survive. The resource might consist of individual skills and abilities (human capital), land, savings and equipment (natural, financial and physical capital), and reciprocal formal support groups or informal social networks that assist in the activities being undertaken (social capital). These correlate with the livelihoods asset pentagon in the Sustainable Livelihood framework (Fig 2.1). This combination of activities is represented in the livelihood strategies box in the framework.

The livelihoods perspective should broaden our understanding of the crafts entrepreneurs, helping us to see them as individual men and women struggling with the day-to-day business of managing the opportunities and risks of a diverse and complex livelihood portfolio. It aims to stimulate debate and reflection, which should result in more effective programmes for the promotion of crafts as a sustainable livelihood option, and as a pro-poor tourism strategy for poverty alleviation. The SL framework places people at the centre of a web of inter-related influences that affect how these people create a livelihood for themselves and their households. Closest to the people at the centre of the framework are the resources and *livelihood assets* that they have access to and use. These can include natural resources, technologies, their skills, knowledge and capacity, their health, access to education, sources of credit, or their networks of social support.

The extent of their access to these assets is strongly influenced by their *vulnerability context*, which takes account of trends (for example, economic, political, and technological), shocks (for example, epidemics, natural disasters, civil strife) and seasonality (for example, prices, production, and employment opportunities). Access is also influenced by the prevailing social, institutional and political environment, which affects the ways in which people combine and use their assets to achieve their goals. These are their *livelihood strategies*.

Figure 2.1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID, 1999

Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, and ability to work, physical capability and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. At a household level, human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available; this varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential, health status and the ability to leverage labour of other household members particularly women (DFID,1999). Human capital (knowledge and labour or the ability to command labour) appears in the generic framework as a livelihood asset, that is, as a building block or means of achieving livelihood outcomes. Apart from being of intrinsic value, human capital is required to make use of any of the other four types of assets. It is, therefore, a prerequisite, though not solely responsible, for the achievement of desirable livelihood outcomes.

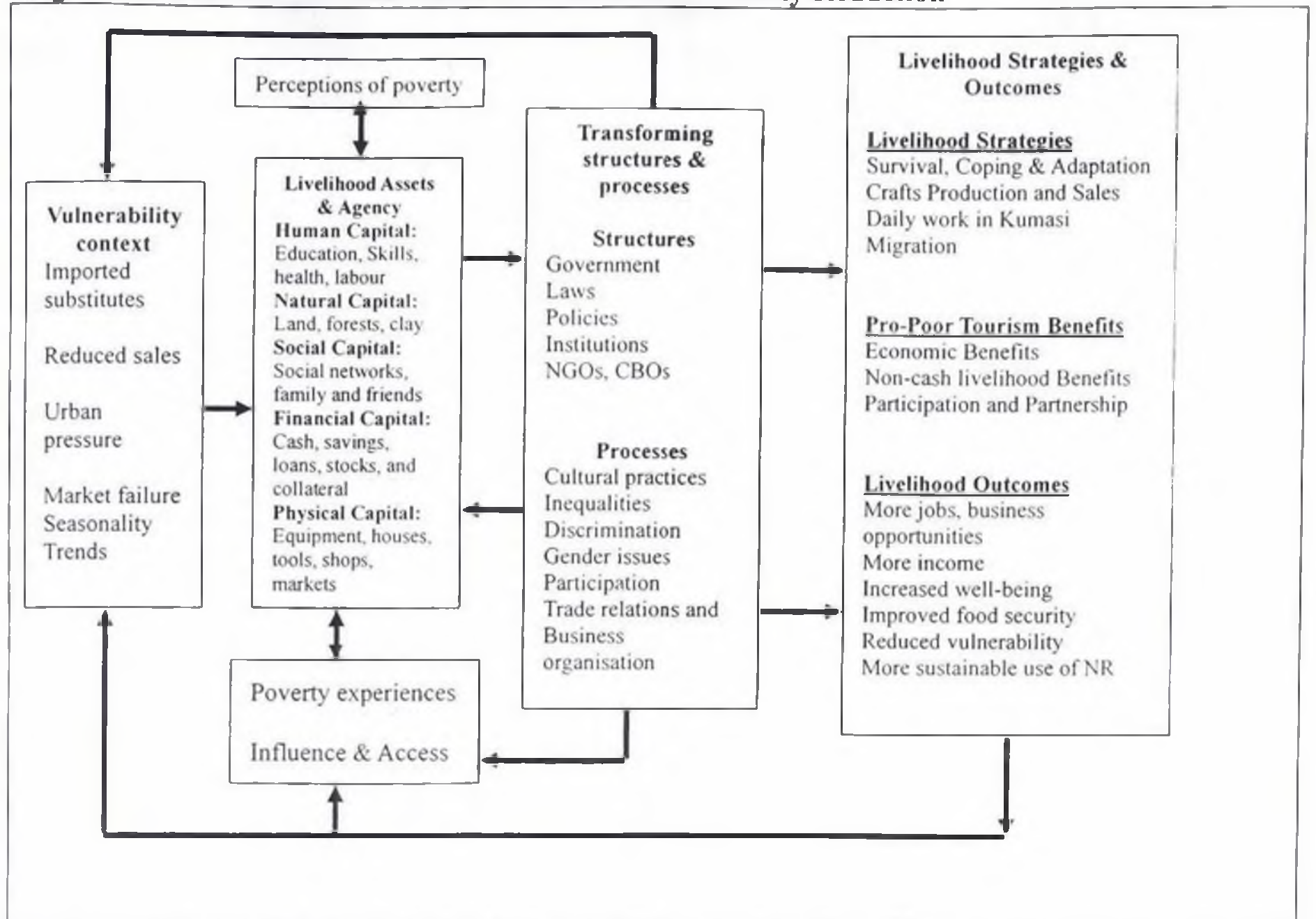
High levels of human capital can substantially add to social (networks and connectedness) and financial capital (regular inflow of money, savings and available stocks) and help in acquiring natural capital (land – clay, trees, and other factors of production) not only for direct productive activities but also as collateral for loans. Through their stock of social, financial and natural capital

craftspeople may be able to attain productive physical capital (equipment and inputs). Human capital also shapes perceptions and behaviours, and informs decisions and choices of coping and survival strategies.

This study adapts the sustainable livelihoods framework (Fig. 2.2) and combines it with perspectives from Giddens' (1984) Structuration theory, Coleman's (1971) Resource Conversion Approach, and the Pro-Poor Tourism model by Ashley *et al.* (2002) to analyse the handicraft system for a pro-poor poverty reduction strategy which is focused on the vulnerable craftspeople of the crafts communities under study.

Livelihoods may demonstrate resilience or vulnerability based on the level of resourcefulness or inventiveness of craftspeople (agency) to convert goods, ideas and opportunities into levels of welfare. Again, livelihoods may be influenced by socio-cultural or political structures which may shape the 'arena'. The characteristics of the arena or arena systems may 'support' or 'restrict' the efforts (agency) of crafts workers. These perspectives from Structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and Resource Conversion Approach (Coleman, 1971) lend themselves to poverty studies and are relevant to understanding the sustainable livelihoods framework adapted for this study. Intervention strategies could be based on enhancing the capabilities of the crafts workers (agency oriented), or they could be based on improving the socio-economic, political and cultural environment within which craftspeople work (arena oriented).

With local and external constraints identified, the next level of the framework identifies the different poverty perceptions of various craftspeople, district assembly and tourist board officials. These are deemed necessary because these perceptions inform the policies, programmes and strategies that are designed for poverty reduction and alleviation. The next level of the framework assesses some of the processes and structures that influence crafts production and the policies and programmes with relevance to crafts and tourism development. In this exercise, there is a deliberate search for a micro-economic and pro-poor policy focus on the handicrafts sector specifically, and linkages with other sectors of the tourism industry for poverty reduction.

Figure 2.2: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Poverty Reduction

Source: Adapted from DFID, 1999; Coleman, 1971; Giddens, 1999; and Ashley *et al.*, 2002.

As the financial structure is closely connected with the social structure, membership of more formalised groups may enhance access to information and markets. Thus, social ties and membership of associations lower or break barriers to market entry and access to information and assistance. Furthermore, social needs are all dependent on financial and human capabilities as well as on the provision of social security, by markets and state structures and processes. Thus, market and state structures determine the poverty levels or livelihood strategies of the crafts entrepreneurs. In order to develop an understanding of these complex relationships it is necessary to look beyond the assets themselves, to analyse the types of structures and processes that transform assets into livelihood outcomes. Issues of discrimination based on gender, age and ethnic differences, exploitation of weaker participants and equity are important issues here.

Support to enhance human capital can be both direct – craft support programmes, skills development and capacity building – and indirect – changes in local institutions, reform in craft and

tourism policies, and changes in business practices. In either case it will only achieve its aims if people themselves are willing and able to invest in their own human capital (Berma, 1996, cited in Sood, 2002). However, if some categories of craft workers are prevented from doing so by adverse structures and processes (e.g. formal policies, financial constraints or gender inequality and cultural norms within the crafts villages) then indirect support to human capital development will be particularly important. In many cases it will be necessary to combine both direct and indirect support. The most appropriate mechanism for such combined support may well be an integrated approach to human capital development, drawing on information gathered through livelihoods analysis to ensure that effort is focused where it is most needed.

The 'livelihoods' concept is a realistic recognition of the range of activities that individuals and households engage in to ensure their survival, and improve their well being. In the past, craft production used to be an off-season pastime, but now it has become the main business activity to many families. Many others rely on it for a substantial part of the family budget. Generally, it is difficult for households in poorer countries to support themselves on the basis of a single business activity or full-time wage employment (Rakodi et al., 2002).

Households and individuals, therefore, combine their options. The household income is influenced by the number of working members and their earning capacity, household size, skill levels and on the interplay of assets (human, social, physical, natural, financial, and political capitals) along with the institutional/organizational processes and structures. All of which, are influenced by external shocks and opportunities (decline in tourist flows, changes in tastes or competition from cheaper imports) and internal evolution (death, migration or a new born). They use a diverse combination of assets at different times, and in different settings. Sometimes they emphasise one at the expense of another, depending on their priorities, opportunities, constraints, and choices. This combination constitutes their portfolio.

Ellis (1998) adds that through livelihood diversification poor families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and improve their standards of

living. Households and individuals adjust the mix according to their own circumstances and the changing context in which they live. Richards (1989) has noted that “At any scale (whether of individual, household, village, region, or nation), livelihoods are composed in complex ways, with multiple and dynamic portfolios of different activities” (Richards, 1989, cited in Scoones, 1998). Since livelihoods are dynamic, portfolios are often recomposed. Feeding regimes, education and health are affected during stresses and may or may not be restored to their original levels after the stress.

Employment creation through indigenous crafts is believed to be a productive source of income (Harper, 2000, cited in Sood, 2002) and can compliment other livelihood strategies. Crafts could form an important part of asset portfolios of the poor, and could lead to diversification of their livelihood strategies. Practitioners in the field have also recognised the value of crafts as a lever for wider development. Jamieson (2003) warns that crafts development should be considered as part of an overall development for a given region rather than as an economic panacea that will provide instant alternative employment and income opportunities.

It is believed that income generation programmes to revive crafts and provide livelihoods alone cannot guarantee development and poverty reduction. They could be the entry point for many other aspects of the development process. They can become the key and catalyst to financial independence, better education, health, community building, women’s emancipation, youth employment and the discarding of social prejudices – in short, it could lead to the revitalisation, both economic and social, of marginalised rural, peri-urban and urban communities.

Apart from examining the diverse combination of assets and livelihood strategies that the poor adopt, SLA also takes into consideration the nature of vulnerability that the poor face. According to Moser (1998) it provides a more dynamic understanding of poor people’s position because poor people move in and out of poverty, depending on events, circumstances, and/or on the life cycles of individuals and the household. Moser (1995) identifies five elements in her ‘asset-vulnerability framework’ – labour, human capital, social capital, productive assets and household relations. A pooling in of these elements plays an important role in the individual or household’s ability to adjust to

changes in the external environment. The pooling of these elements acts both as critical safety nets and as 'shock absorbers', reducing the vulnerability of a household and individuals who join them.

The concept of vulnerability better captures processes of change than more static measures of poverty. For the vulnerability concept, poverty removal is seen as a process of removing vulnerability which can be in the form of financial, physical, natural, human and social constraints. Reardon. (1997) emphasises that human capital is connected to the financial, natural and social structures within which the poor find themselves, and to achieve sustainable livelihoods those structures do have to be addressed.

Some cultural traditions and the gender role of women in Ghana have the potential of negatively affecting the capability of craftswomen to enter labour markets and earn income. For example, women's reproductive and gender roles may negatively affect their productive outcomes. Time spent on childcare, domestic roles and social obligations could be spent in production activities, so when we try to intervene in linking the artisans with markets, one has to address these other issues that can release more time for women to engage in economic production.

It is equally important that the Government, while planning and envisaging policies, ensures that all the five components are addressed simultaneously, to ensure sustainable livelihoods to craftspeople. It has to ensure that interventions are packaged in the right combinations that make it viable and manageable in particular circumstances. Government policies need to take into consideration the physical location of the artisan groups, as well as ensure access to information, plans and schemes. One without the other does not yield results. Providing one followed by another would make no sense either.

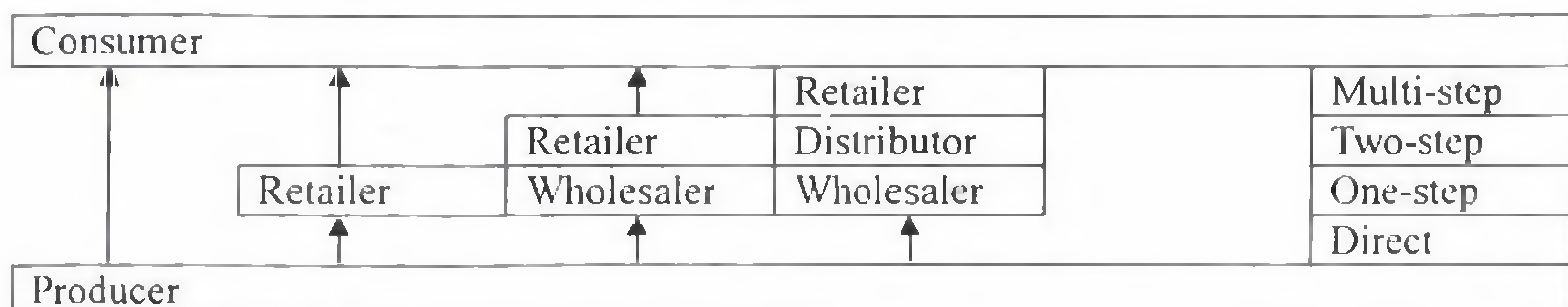
2.4.2 Crafts Value-Chain Analysis

The crafts production and marketing/distribution sub-system will be targeted for special evaluation using the value-chain analysis described by McKercher (2008). In this model, direct sale of handicrafts (where the consumer buys directly from the producer either at the point of production or through a retail shop owned by the artisan) has the advantage of maximizing returns to the producer.

but the disadvantage of limiting the distribution network. It ensures a fairer return to artisans and lower prices for consumers (Figure 2.3).

Multiple step systems involve one or more wholesalers and/or distributors, whether locally or overseas buying and on-selling the item to a retailer and ultimately to the consumer. This model allows the product to reach a larger market, but the return to the producer is generally less. The producer also loses control over how the handicraft is presented and what cultural message is sent. Figure 2.3 illustrates the dynamics of this framework.

Figure 2.3 Handicrafts Value-Chain Analysis



Source: (McKercher, 2008)

Carvers, weavers, potters and bead makers as well as finishers operate at the lower end of the model, while dealers and other craft merchants who are not artisans operate at the next higher levels by on-selling locally or through export. While producers receive a price which reflects only the material content of the items, retailers and wholesalers sell handicrafts to tourists and other consumers at a price which reflects the symbolic content, thus making bigger profits. At each stage of the distribution chain, the price of the craft item increases by the profit margin and handling costs that are incurred. Artisans are, therefore, cheated by retailers and wholesalers. Artisan's capacity on correct pricing needs to be enhanced.

2.5 Cultural Globalisation

Stemming from Carl Sauer's (1925) ideas of a Cultural Landscape, Cultural geography has evolved into a sub-field within human geography. Some of the main cultural phenomena studied in cultural geography include language, religion, different economic and governmental structures, art and crafts, tourism and other cultural aspects that explain how and /or why people function as they do in the areas in which they live. This study is philosophically grounded in this concept of cultural

globalisation as it relates to tourism studies.

According to Jordan *et. al.*, (1994) cultural geography is the study of cultural products and norms and their variations across and relations to spaces and places. It focuses on describing and analyzing the ways language, economy, government and other cultural phenomena vary or remain constant. from one place to another and on explaining how humans function spatially (Jordan *et. al.*, 1994). Timothy Scrase (2002) provides an overview of recent literature and studies of Third World artisans in the context of economic globalisation. He draws upon recently published research from Central America, Asia, and Africa, which demonstrates that globalisation has intensified the precarious existence of artisan communities through increasing global competition, the mass production of craft goods, and shifting trends in fashion, cultural taste and aesthetics. He criticizes both government and non-government support programmes and policies as limited and ineffectual and considers recent consumer trends like “fair trade” shopping as piecemeal and limited in terms of the long-term support they can give to struggling artisan communities. He concludes that when artisans survive, they do so mainly on the periphery of both global and local capitalist economies – a situation that has rarely changed over the decades. In various ways and in specific regional contexts, the globalisation of production exacerbates, rather than diminishes, the marginal status of artisan communities (Scrase, 2002).

Writing on *Globalisation and Indian Crafts Industry*, Pradeep Kumar Jena (2007) reviews Orissan handicrafts production and examines the challenges and opportunities occasioned by globalisation. He notes that illiteracy keeps artisans poor, and dependent on middlemen who pay them on a piece rate basis. Artisans who are not able to cope turn to other alternatives, leading to a 30 per cent decline in the number of skilled artisans over the years. It is important to understand what cultural changes have taken place in the crafts villages in Ghana and how these changes have impacted livelihoods of craftspeople in the selected crafts villages for this study:

2.6 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of crafts production as a pro-poor tourism development strategy and elucidated on the poverty perceptions, experience and coping mechanisms. The chapter

has also examined the dynamics of crafts production and marketing through the sustainable livelihoods framework and the crafts value chain analysis to identify the relative benefits derived by different players in the industry.

Until recently, the poverty, tourism and poverty reduction literature have evolved separately. However, through this review, the connectedness in the culture, handicraft enterprises, tourism and their potentials for poverty reduction have been recognised and harmonised. Additionally, a strong case has been made for the vast potentials in using cultural enterprises as a pro-poor growth vehicle for wealth creation and poverty reduction in craft communities in Ghana and similar societies of the developing world. Identified gaps in the literature include the dearth of information on self ranking on the wealth-poverty spectrum by individuals, how poverty is experienced and the coping mechanisms that are engineered to deal with poverty and reduced levels of well-being. Information on cultural globalisation and the changes that it has created in specific spaces and places exists, but empirical research on these issues in the African and Ghanaian context is lacking. This study seeks to cover some of these grey areas in the literature and generate relevant data and information.

The review has also shed some light on the nature of handicrafts and what tourists are looking for when they purchase them. Authenticity, though not the focus of this thesis is a very important consideration as noted by Graburn (2008). Handicrafts need to be produced by the local people whose culture it reflects and must be sold by them to tourists and other clients. The influences of urbanisation, modernisation, and globalisation have also been examined and have been found to exert both positive and negative influences on the sustainability of micro and small tourism enterprises.

Having examined the relevant literature on handicrafts, tourism and poverty reduction, the conceptual and philosophical background of the study, the next chapter focuses on the study area and describes some of the crafts of Ashanti and presents the research methodology, which outlines the sources of data, methods of data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the review of literature and conceptual framework of the study. This chapter presents the geographical, historical, and socio-cultural background to handicraft production and tourism development. This background to the study area is important because it aids understanding of the context of handicrafts production and tourism development in the study villages of the Ashanti region. Section 3.6 presents the methodology of the study.

3.2 Geographical and Historical Background

3.2.1 Geographical Background

The Ashanti Region is centrally located in the agro-ecological zone known as the middle belt of Ghana. It lies between longitudes $0^{\circ}.15''$ W and $2^{\circ}.25''$ W, and latitudes $5^{\circ}.50''$ N and $7^{\circ}.46''$ N. It occupies a total land area of $24,389 \text{ km}^2$ representing 10.2 per cent of the total land area of Ghana (GSS, 2005). Figure 2.1 presents the Ashanti Region in national context. The region shares boundaries with Brong Ahafo to the north, Eastern Region to the east, Central Region to the south and Western Region to the South West. It is the third largest region after Northern ($70,384 \text{ km}^2$) and Brong Ahafo ($39,557 \text{ km}^2$) Regions.

Today, Ashanti region is home to over 3.6 million people (3,612,950), representing over 14% of the country's population with a population density of 148.1 persons per square kilometre, the third after Greater Accra and Central regions (GSS, 2000). If early population estimates are at all accurate, the Ashanti population has expanded significantly during the twentieth century. The population was estimated at about 250,000 around 1900, at approximately 578,000 in 1931, and at over 822,000 in 1950 (Fortes 1969: 140; Manoukian 1950: Busia 1951: 165; and Steel 1948). The 1960 census lists a total population of 895,360 (Kaplan *et al.* 1971: 88).

More than half of the region lies within the wet, semi-equatorial forest zone. Due to human activities and bushfires, the forest vegetation of parts of the region, particularly the north-eastern part.

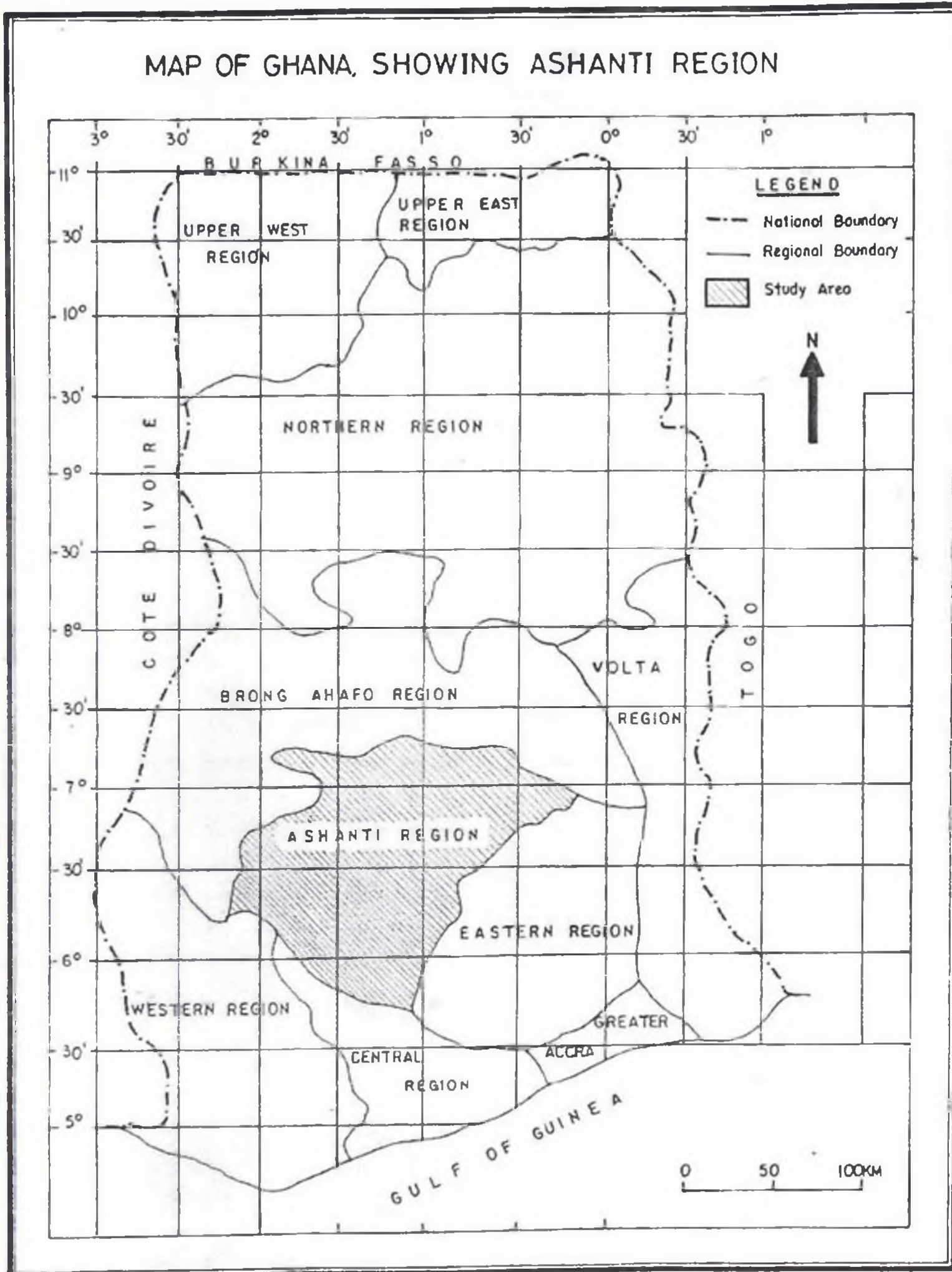
has been reduced to savannah. The region has an average annual rainfall of 1270mm and two rainy seasons. The major rainy season starts in March with a major peak in May. There is a slight dip in July and a peak in August, tapering off in November. December to February is dry, hot and dusty. The average daily temperature is about 27degrees Celsius. Much of the region is situated between 150 and 300 metres above sea level (GSS, 2000).

Despite this tropical setting, Ashanti region is divided into two quite different ecological zones, northern and southern. The northern zone is drier and is characterized by a savannah-forest type of vegetation, with stunted trees scattered over large expanses of grasslands. The natural vegetation of the southern zone consists of high forest, but little virgin forest now remains. The most common vegetation today is that of the cultivated plots of cacao (cocoa) trees and secondary forests on formerly cultivated land.

These differing ecological zones have given rise to contrasting types of agriculture. In the north (around Ejura and Mampong) the main subsistence and cash crop is yams, followed by guinea corn. In the south, a much larger variety of subsistence crops is grown, including especially yams, cocoyams, cassava, and maize. Also, there has been widespread development of major commercial crops such as the kola-nut and particularly cocoa. In fact, cocoa farming has become the main economic activity in the southern zone. Trees in the forested southern areas provide the raw materials for the carving activities.

The region is endowed with spectacular geography – Lake Bosomtwe, the Mampong Escarpment, Digya National Park, the Owabi Arboretum and Bomfobri Wildlife Sanctuaries – some of which are being developed as tourist attractions. The region is drained by Rivers Offin, Prah, Afram, and Owabi with a major water treatment plant at Barekese which supplies Kumasi and its environs with potable water. There are other smaller rivers and streams which serve as sources of drinking water for residents in the region.

Figure 3.1 Map of Ghana Showing Ashanti Region



SOURCE: Dept. of Geog & Rural Dev. KNUST - Kumasi - 2008

3.2.2 Historical Background

Some of the early documentation on the people who occupied present day Ghana before colonisation includes the erstwhile Ashanti kingdom (Boahen, 1989). Insights into who the Ashanti are, their social structure and kinship systems, political organisation and governance, traditional customs and religion, control and administration of natural resources, and traditional handicrafts have been documented by anthropologists, colonial administrators and other scholars, with notable ones being Rattray (1920), Browne, (1978), and McLeod (1971). According to Fortes, the Ashanti state was created and maintained by war, and a military ideology remained a central feature of its cultural orientation to the end. Before its annexation by the British in 1901, this state was a confederation of nine originally autonomous founding chiefdoms and a number of subsequently incorporated communities. At the centre of the state was the wealthy and powerful chiefdom of Kumasi, whose hereditary ruler was acknowledged as the Asantehene, that is, the head of the nation, or king.

The 'Ashantis' constitute the largest of the subgroups of the Akan, who trace their origins partly to Bono-Manso and Techiman, in present day Brong Ahafo Region. The Ashanti speak Twi, an Akan dialect, which belongs to the Niger-Congo language family (Greenberg 1966: 8; Manoukian 1950: 10). According to traditional accounts and legends, the name 'Ashanti' was derived from the Akan phrase, "*osa nti*", meaning those brought together because of war (Microsoft Corporation, 2005). As a united people, they started with the *Oyoko* clan around *Asantemanso*. After several years of subjugation by other polities, such as the *Akwamu* and the *Denkyira*, the Ashantis eventually grew to become a very powerful kingdom founded by King Osei-Tutu I (1695-1717).

In the late 1600s Osei Tutu, who had spent his childhood days in the court of the Denkyira King, Ntim Gyakari, organized a rebellion and defeated the Denkyira people during the battle of Feyiase in 1701 (Buah, 1998), converted the military coalition into a permanent political union (confederacy) with the help of his lifelong friend and spiritual mentor, the legendary Okomfo Anokye, and established the Ashanti Kingdom. The Ashanti constitute 14.8 per cent of all Ghanaians by birth, and 30.1 per cent of the total Akan population of 8,562,748 persons in Ghana (GSS, 2005:3).

Historically, the Bekwai, Juaben, Kokofu, Kumasi, Kumawu, Mampong, and Nsuta people were once subject to the Denkyira. The Ashanti Kingdom expanded rapidly, by fighting and dominating many settlements, far and near. They fought many successful wars against the Denkyira and their allies, the Wassa, the British, the Fante and even the Bonos (Brongs). By the 18th Century they had dominated most parts of present day Ghana.

In 1896, Britain occupied the Ashanti Kingdom and annexed it as part of the Gold Coast Colony in 1901. The Ashanti kingdom eventually collapsed with the defeat and exile of King Prempeh I, first, to El-mina Castle and eventually to the Seychelles. In 1957 the Ashanti people became independent as part of Ghana. The region is one of the ten political regions today. However, the Ashanti people retain a strong sense of historical and cultural identity in modern Ghana, and show reverence and allegiance to the *Asantehene* till today.

3.2.3 Ashanti Social Structure and Cultural Heritage

Traditional Ashanti governance was based on an elaborate chieftaincy system. Like all Akan peoples, the Ashanti are matrilineal, meaning that descent is traced down the female line. In this system, a man's heirs are not his sons but his sisters' sons (Obeng, 1988:2). No *Asantehene*, therefore, has been a son of a previous one, but all *Asantehenes* descend, in the female line, from Osei Tutu's mother, Nana Maanu. A senior woman in this royal line always carries the title of *Asantehemaa* (Queen Mother). She might or might not be the biological mother of the *Asantehene*, but in any case she commands immense respect and traditionally exercises much influence. The present Ashanti King, Otumfuor Osei Tutu (II), is a direct matrilineal descendant of Osei Tutu (I).

The Ashanti heritage consists of their matrilineal inheritance system, veneration of ancestors, traditional festivals (*adaekesee/fofie*), funeral celebrations, and traditional ritual observations for deified gods, represented in rivers such as Tano, Prah, Offin, and others. These traditional practices serve as authentic attractions for tourists from all over the world.

Historically, the city boasts of a number of relics and monuments that tell part of the story about Ashanti heritage. Some of these include the Manhyia Palace Museum, the Centre for National

Culture, Premper II Jubilee Museum, Kumasi Fort and Military Museum and the Okomfo Anokye Sword. Others are the Kejetia Market, Traditional Street Sculptures, Kumasi Zoo, and the *Akwasidae* Ceremony. These heritage resources can be combined with the region's natural tourism resources and developed for domestic and international tourism.

3.2.4 The Crafts of Ashanti

Handicraft, also known as handcraft, craftwork or simply craft, is a type of work where useful and decorative items are made completely by hand or using only simple tools. Usually the term is applied to traditional means of making goods. The individual artisanship of the items is a paramount criterion; such items often have cultural and, or religious significance. Items made by mass production or machines are not handicrafts.

Usually, what distinguishes the term handicraft from the frequently used category 'arts and crafts' is a matter of intent: handicraft items are intended to be used, worn, et cetera, having a purpose beyond simple decoration. Handicrafts are generally considered more traditional work, created as a necessary part of daily life, while arts and crafts implies more of a hobby pursuit and a demonstration/perfection of a creative technique. In practical terms, the categories have a great deal of overlap. The men and women who create these handcrafted items are the artisans.

During pre-colonial times and the recent past, the Ashanti and other ethnic groups in Ghana produced most of the useful things they needed themselves, using local resources and traditional methods and technology. Many of the traditional utilitarian crafts have been replaced by imported factory produced substitutes today, leading to the disappearance of not only the craft objects but the skills of making them. However, Ansa Asamoah, commenting on Ghana's experience of the 'Socio-economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries' in 1996 noted that invasion of the Ghanaian market by large imports did not, as is generally thought to, destroy the greater part of pre-colonial craft technology and domestic industry. However, modernisation and industrialisation have led to change in taste in the use of more durable household items. Traditional craft technologies like pottery and weaving have been hardest hit. Other pre-colonial crafts like iron and gold smelting could

not survive (Asamoah, 1996).

Some pre-colonial craft technologies have survived.⁶ However, Asamoah (1996) notes that they are still embedded in subsistence technology, and restricted to rural areas. Many of the artisans producing these pre-colonial crafts are to be found in rural areas, combining their trade with agriculture. However, this study found out that many crafts people now live in urban and peri-urban areas, and virtually depend on crafts for a greater proportion of their household budgets. Secondly, some of the craft villages have been totally engulfed by urban development. This has implications for the survival of not only the craft technologies, but most importantly, of the sustenance of crafts people whose livelihoods depend on these crafts. Asamoah also identified newly introduced crafts such as tailoring and shoe mending, watch, vehicle, motor cycle, bicycle and electrical repairs. Crafts like carpentry, masonry, tie and dye, photography and hairstyling, as well as book binding, milling, ceramics and taxi services also emerged during the colonial era. These crafts are mostly urban based with artisans and service operators living in urban areas.

The Ashanti are noted for their expertise in a variety of specialised crafts. These include weaving, wood carving, pottery-making, and metallurgy. Of these crafts, only pottery-making is primarily a female activity; the others are restricted to male specialists. Even in the case of pottery-making, only men are allowed to fashion pots or pipes representing anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures. Today, the city of Kumasi is ringed by villages famous for their artisans and handicrafts. Some of the craft villages were originally established centuries ago to provide regalia for the king and his court. The most skilled craftsman was commissioned to produce religious or everyday handcrafted products for the royal courts. These craftspeople were usually rewarded by conferring on them chiefly titles of the particular crafts for which they were recognised. Thus, there is the *Kentehene* (Kente Chief), *Nkukuohemaa* (Pots queen) and so on. Over time, these crafts chiefs who supplied the royal courts with specific handcrafted items became influential in the crafts villages' local governance and administration. In the case of Ahwiaa, the settlement was established by *Fante* refugee carvers from

⁶Pre-colonial crafts which have survived include Blacksmithing, Gold smithing, basket weaving, leather work, mat and cloth weaving, spinning, pottery, carving, beads making, brewery, soap making, and palm oil extraction.

the Asante-Denkyira war in the 17th century. However, they report to the *Otumfuor* through the *Atepemhene*, a sub-chief of the *Otumfuor* (Fosu, 2001:46).

The establishment of craft villages in the Ashanti region was, in some cases, a response to the demands of the traditional chieftaincy, religious and socio-cultural systems on one hand, and the requirements for utility items for everyday use on the other. Thus, those villages which specialised in the production of stools, state swords, linguist staffs, fertility dolls, figurines, beads and pots with local philosophical and proverbial designs and symbolism may be recognised as “royal crafts” villages. These ‘royal craft’ villages are found in close proximity to the Ashanti traditional court, *Manhyia* which is located in Kumasi. Special villages have not been established for the production of the other utility craft items.

3.2.4.1 Wood Carving

Wood carving is a form of working wood by means of a cutting tool held in the hand resulting in a wooded figure or figurine or in the sculptural ornamentation of a wooded object. The phrase may also refer to the finished product, from individual sculptures, to hand-worked mouldings composing part of a tracery (Wikipedia, 2008).

Wood carving is divided into many branches, each with its own specialists. Among the major products are wooden sculptures of outstanding artistic quality and the talking-drums (ntumpane). The famous wooden “stools” are symbolic and ritual objects rather than items of furniture. The Golden Stool, (*Sikadwa Kofi*), is the most sacred stool of all because it represents the *sumsum* (soul) and symbolises the unity of the Ashanti people. According to Rattray (1927), several generations ago, every stool in use had its own special name which denoted the sex, or social status, or clan of the owner (Rattray 1927: 271).

Wood carving has been an age-old activity in Africa and in many Ghanaian communities. The activity persists today with most religious, chieftaincy regalia and household utility items being carved – fertility figurines, stools, linguist staffs, masks, mortars and pestles, wooden spoons and palettes, drums and other musical instruments, and dug-out canoes, etc. These carved objects also have artistic

designs and symbols that serve religious or decorative functions. The carving of wooden stools and fertility figurines is an important craft in Ashanti. Sarpong (1971) discusses some aspects of the history, design, symbolism and religious role of the stool, while the work of Quarcoo (1970) is another major study of the stool carving industry.

Plate 3.1 Stool Carvers at Work



According to Rattray (1927), the art of wood carving in Ashanti owed its origins largely to religious factors. The style and form of Ashanti stools reflected their closely held religious beliefs, especially, with regard to the dwelling place of their chiefly ancestors. The seats (stools) on which people sat were believed to embody the souls of their owners, during their lifetime and even so after death (Obeng, 1988). This belief led to the desire for seats of artistic form and design. Later on, particular designs became specialised and standardised for use by certain sexes, clans or individuals, i.e. designs indicated gender and clan affiliations (Rattray, 1927). No one is allowed to sit on the golden stool of the Ashanti people as a sign of reverence, and it has its own stool. When a king or chief dies his stool is blackened and put away as a memorial (Rattray, 1920; Obeng, 1988).

Wood carving in Ahwiaa has evolved from an activity which served the local domestic and religious needs to a business adapted to meet tourist demand and export, and one on which many

families and livelihoods depend today. The activity itself has become departmentalised with different people performing different aspects of the carving process. Different craftspeople were observed performing specific aspects of the carving process – carving, finishing, polishing and sales. Carving is seen as a man's work; women and children participate only at the finishing, polishing and sales stages. See cut logs in the background of plate 3.2.

Plate 3.2 Ahwiaa Contract Carvers at Work



Carving begins with the selection and cutting of wood the approximate size and shape of the figure to be created. The type of wood is important as hardwoods like Mahogany (*Khaya ivorensis*), Ebony (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*) and Teak (*Tectona grandis*) are more difficult to shape but have greater lustre and longevity. Softer woods may be easier to carve, but are less resistant to damage. Sese, (*Funtumia spp*; *Holarrhea wiufsborgii*) is the preferred wood for carving stools for its white colour and finish quality (see small 'sese' stools in plate 3.1 on the previous page). In the past, wood was readily available in the surrounding forest around Ahwiaa. However, wood has become scarce today as preferred wood species are cut without replanting. This scarcity has presented a business opportunity for trade in the supply of wood for carvers. However, only a few men were involved in this trade.

After selecting their wood, carvers begin the general shaping process using gouges (*Bomye*), adzes (*asene sorsorwa*) or hand-held axes (*Akuma*) depending on the size of wood and the item being created. One of the most important tools of African carving is the adze. It has implications for African design. Generally, sculptures are carved while wood is still fresh as dry wood is more difficult to work on. For harder woods, the sculptor may use various chisels, (*Paeye, sosor dianim, dawuruwa*) and mallet (*Abosobaa*), much like a stone carver. Smaller sculptures may require the wood carver to use a knife (*sekanmma*), and larger pieces might require the use of a saw or axe. No matter what wood is selected or tool used, the wood sculptor must always carve either across or with the grain of the wood, never against the grain.

Plate 3.3 Carving Tools used by Carvers at Ahwiaa



Once the general shape is made, the carver (designer) may use a variety of tools for creating details. For example, a knife may be used to smoothen the surface, and a “v-tool” may be used to make fine lines or decorative cuts. Once the finer details have been added, the wood carver finishes the surface. The method chosen depends on the required quality of surface finish. The texture left by shallow gouges gives ‘life’ to the carving’s surface and many carvers prefer this ‘tooled’ finish. If a completely smooth surface is required general smoothing can be done with tools such as “rasps.”

which are flat-bladed tools with rippled edges. “Rifflers” are similar to rasps, but round in shape for working in folds or crevasses. The finer polishing is done with sandpaper. Large grained sandpaper with a rougher surface is used first, with the sculptor then using finer grained sandpaper that can make the surface of the sculpture slick to the touch.

Plate 3.4 Finished Stools and other Wooden Sculptures on Display



After the carving and finishing is completed, the artist (finishers) may seal and color the wood with a variety of dyes and polishes, such as potassium sulfate or ‘mansion’ polish which protects the wood from dirt and moisture. Oil also imparts sheen to the wood which, by reflecting light, helps the observer ‘read’ the form. Carvers seldom use gloss varnish as it creates too shiny a surface, which reflects so much light it can confuse the form. Objects made of wood are frequently finished with a layer of wax, which protects the wood and gives a soft lustrous sheen. A wax finish is comparatively fragile though and only suitable for indoor carvings.

Finally, shop owners and their sales attendants display the finished sculptures in shops/stalls along the main road which passes through the town or packages them for export. Some of the wood carvings are also sold in the regional and national capitals and in craft markets in adjoining countries (Boukina Fasso, Togo and Benin). Today, wood carving does not only serve utilitarian and religious

purposes, but it has become a business activity which supports the livelihood of many families in the craft villages and beyond. There have been adaptations in the form, size and shape of the objects, and there are problems and new opportunities.

There are carving centres in almost all ethnic areas where the local resources and skill permit. Aburi in the Eastern Region, Winneba and Cape Coast in the Central Region, Hohoe and Vakpo in the Volta Region are all carving centres in Ghana with a predominance of certain designs and objects. However, the centre of carving in Ashanti is Ahwiaa in the Kwabre district, noted for stools, fertility dolls (*Akuaba*) and other traditional court paraphernalia. Other carving villages (see fig. 3.5) in Ashanti are Asennua, Meduma, Amanfrom, Foase, Otaakrom, Yonso, Atwea Hills, Abofour, Offinso, Amantia, Akuasi, Apaa, in the Sekyere, Abuakwa, Mampong, Atwima and Ahafo Ano South districts. Carving activities also takes place in the bush as shown in plate 3.5.

Plate 3.5 Carvers Operating from the Forest (Bush)



According to oral tradition and a few historical accounts (Fosu, 2001), Ahwiaa was established as a refugee settlement for three stool carvers and their families who fled the Ashanti-Denkyira war in the 17th Century to seek asylum with King Osei Tutu I in the Ashanti Kingdom. The original settlers were in the persons of Opanin Kwame Panin, Yaw Kwatia and Opanin Kutua and their families who were received by the Adontenhene, Nana Amankwaa Sci and taken to the *Otumfour*. They were later

on joined by Opanin Kwame Darkwa and Akwasi Yoyo and their families. After learning that they were carvers, the *Otumfour* ordered that they be settled at Ahwiaa to carve all the stools and other wooden objects and court paraphernalia for the Ashanti court. It was these men who introduced stool carving into the Ashanti region, combining carving with agricultural activities.

Ahwiaa carvers are reputed to have carved the famous golden stool, and the ceremonial presidential seat. Ahwiaa is best known for its stools (*seseqwa*), fertility figurines (*akuaba*) and wooden swords (*afena*); however, other genres of wood carvings such as ‘profiles’ and ‘shadows’ from Aburi, Animals and figurines from Hohoe and other items are carved by carvers from other regions who are attracted to the carving centre at Ahwiaa. For their good works, a stool has been created at Ahwiaa for a chief, commissioned to be in charge of all carving needs of the Ashanti court and to oversee all carving matters. However, there is a chieftaincy dispute in Ahwiaa today.

3.2.4.2 Kente Weaving

Weaving is a highly developed craft, with dozens of standardized and named textile designs. Stamped cloth, *Adinkra* is also made. Weaving is a widely practised craft in West Africa, and kente one of the better known crafts of Ashanti. The techniques, designs and colours of weaving have been studied by Lamb (1975), who undertook a comprehensive study of West African weaving. Kent (1972) describes the weaving of Ashanti, Fon, Yoruba, Ewe, Ibo, Nupe and Igbirra peoples in Ghana and Nigeria. A detailed account of Ashanti weaving is contained in Rattray’s (1927) work on religion and art of the Ashanti.

It is not easy to state exactly when the art of weaving was introduced in Ashanti. The kente cloth, known locally as *nwentoma*, is a type of fabric made of interwoven cloth strips and is native to Ghana, where it was first developed in the 12th century. Kente is a royal and sacred cloth worn by kings and only in times of extreme importance. However, over time, the use of kente has become more widespread. Nevertheless, its importance has remained and is held in high esteem in the Akan family and the entire nation.

Plate 3.6 Ashanti Kente on display at The Export Production Village in Bonwire

There are many legends on weaving in Ashanti. According to indigenous Bonwire weavers, the original weaving idea came from two hunters (Koragu and Ameyaw) who were fascinated by a spider making its nest. They returned and tried to imitate the spider using fibre from the *Kyenkyen* tree to weave bark cloth. Weaving is said to have started at the time of Oti Akenten in the 17th century. The first woven cloth was known as 'bark' cloth. This cloth was woven from the bark of the *Kyenkyen* tree, which was softened by beating it with a corrugated metal hammer. The fibre was woven using the basket weaving technology, hence the name *Kente* derived from *kenten* (basket).

Another legend has it that the basket (*kenten*) weaving technology was employed in making the first cloth from raffia fibre. Koragu and Ameyaw, hunters from Bonwire, are believed to have invented the kente cloth; however, Nana Ota Kraban is reputed to have improved upon their invention. According to Rattray, (1927), Kente weaving started at the time of Oti Akenten in the 17th Century. Otaa Kraban is reported to have brought back the hand-loom technology from the Gyaman area, now in La Cote d'Ivoire into Bonwire.

Kente weaving in Ashanti has for a long time been confined to men. Certain kente designs such as the *oyokoman* is reserved for only the Asantehene. It is a cloth of prestige and class worn by royalty and the very important and wealthy in society. Today, the economy of Bonwire is inextricably

ties to Kente weaving and this activity supports the livelihoods of many families. Kente weaving is a complex activity which supports livelihoods. Its potential for wealth creation and poverty reduction are great but there are challenges.

Kente is a special hand-woven cloth in strips of about four inches wide on a traditional wooden handloom. It is then cut into strips of twenty-four, each measuring about four yards and sewn together into a larger piece of cloth for men. Special lengths and sizes are sewn for women. Combinations of two or more bright colours of yarns are used to weave kente by the weavers' own arrangements and design as shown in plate 3.6. The weavers assign names and significance to the designs and arrangements that they have created.

The tools of kente weaving comprise the wooden loom (Plate 3.7), made up of the heddle, shuttle, spindle and cotton or rayon yarns. The loom and all the accessories are obtained locally while the yarns are now bought from retail shops in the town, from Kumasi, or Tema. The weaver propels the shuttle across the warp by hand and changes the weaving pattern by foot. To obtain a smooth and uniform weave, a weight is attached to the yarns on a wooden sledge. Single, double and triple weaves are produced to obtain different thickness in the fabric.

Originally, the first bark cloth and kente cloth was woven for the *Asantehene*, and later for some paramount chiefs who wore it during traditional ceremonies and on special occasions. The original bark cloth is still worn by the *Asantehene* on special occasions. Certain kente cloths, such as the *Oyokoman* are reserved exclusively for the *Asantehene*. Intricate designs are named after important Ghanaian personalities and celebrities. Ashanti kente has bright colours and geometrical designs while Ewe kente has softer colours and animal or human designs.

In contrast to rayon favored by Ashanti weavers, the Ewe use cotton. Although no longer using vegetable dyes, many of them use hand dyed yarn. Although there is overlap in techniques, one can distinguish the Ewe Kente from the Ashanti because the Ewes weave figures and symbols into their cloth. There is more diversity in the Ewe patterns. Usually Ewe cloth is woven to order for Ghanaians, but the tourists have become customers also and concessions have been made in colour and style in

cloth that they buy and seem to prefer. The main cloth market is in Agbozume, which is close to the Togo border. Other Ewe kente weaving centres include Agbozume, Anlo Afiadenyigba, Keta, Agortime Kpetoe and Kpalime in neighbouring Togo.

Plate 3.7 Weavers at the Loom in the Export Production Village Shed in Bonwire



The centre of Kente production in the Ashanti region is Bonwire. However, other kente weaving villages in the region include Sakora Wonoo, Adanwomase, Amampe, Bepoase, Tewobaabi, near Ntonso and the Cultural Centre in Kumasi (see Figure 3.5). However, the Ewes are master weavers of beautiful kente with intricate designs. Besides the narrow loom, broad loom weaving occurs in the northern region. Kente weaving is a household activity and the mainstay of the local economy in Bonwire and its surrounding villages.

The weaving industry is organised around independent and contract weavers, and kente dealers and merchants who buy from independent weavers and contract weavers who are paid per piece. There are tailors who stitch the narrow pieces together, and design bags, neck ties and other garments from kente. Besides weaving, which is the main economic activity for men, women engage in trading in foodstuffs and other household provisions, and carry out some subsistence farming. However, children and women participate in some aspects of the production process, e.g., yarn spinning and stitching.

It takes determination, skill and long hours and many days of hard work to weave a strip of kente. Due to the arduous nature of kente weaving, many young men in Bonwire do not want to become weavers. The shortage of skilled weavers has necessitated recruitment of migrant weavers from the Volta region. A group of Ewe migrant weavers are shown in plate 3.8.

Plate 3.8 Migrant Ewe Weavers at their Looms under a Shed at Bonwire



Like Ahwiaa, weaving in Bonwire is confined to men. However, women participate in selling the cloth. The weaving skills are passed down to the youth informally as they assist with various aspects of the craft. However, most of them are not interested in becoming weavers in future. Kente continues to be a cloth of choice for its quality and cost. The merchants sell to locals and tourists while the weavers concentrate on weaving. Even though weaving still persists, the volumes sold have declined since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA in 2001.

3.2.4.3 Pottery

Pottery is made by forming a clay body into objects of a required shape and heating them to high temperatures in a kiln to induce reactions that lead to permanent changes, including increasing their strength and hardening and setting their shape. There are wide regional variations in the properties of clays used by potters and this often helps to produce wares that are unique in character to

a locality. Prior to some shaping processes, air trapped within the clay body needs to be removed. This is called de-airing and can be accomplished manually by wedging. Wedging can also help to ensure even moisture content throughout the body.

Plate 3.9 Traditional Method of Pot Making at Pankrono



Once clay has been de-aired or wedged, it is shaped by a variety of techniques (coiling, flattening, solid balls of clay). Traditionally, Ashanti pottery was hand-molded from solid balls of clay. After shaping it is dried ($75^{\circ} - 80^{\circ}$) before firing. There are great variations in methods used but a commonality is the non-use of the potter's wheel. Pots are fired at low temperatures, in an open air kiln to a temperature of about 1000°C and 1200°C , and are unglazed.

Firing produces irreversible changes in the body. It is only after firing that the article can be called pottery. In lower-fired pottery the changes include sintering, the fusing together of coarser particles in the body at their points of contact with each other. In all cases the object of firing is to permanently harden the wares and the firing regime must be appropriate to the materials used to make them. As a rough guide, earthenware is normally fired at temperatures in the range of about 1000 to 1200 degrees Celsius; stoneware at between about 1100 to 1300 degrees Celsius; and porcelain at between about 1200 to 1400 degrees Celsius. However, the way that ceramics mature in the kiln is influenced not only by the peak temperature achieved, but also by the duration of the period of firing.

Thus, the maximum temperature within a kiln is often held constant for a period of time to *soak* the wares, to produce the maturity required in the body of the wares.

Plate 3.10 Pottery Ware on Display by the Road side at Pankrono



The atmosphere within a kiln during firing can affect the appearance of the finished wares. An oxidising atmosphere, produced by allowing air to enter the kiln, can cause the oxidation of clays and glazes. A reducing atmosphere, produced by limiting the flow of air into the kiln, can strip oxygen from the surface of clays and glazes. This can affect the appearance of the wares being fired and, for example, some clays containing iron fire brown in an oxidising atmosphere, but green or black in a reducing atmosphere as shown in Plate 3.10. The atmosphere within a kiln can be adjusted to produce complex effects in colour. Proximity to the source of heat may also affect the colour of the wares. Pottery wares become blackened through lack of oxygen (reduction) when they are closer to the source of heat; and brownish (oxidation) when they are further away from the source of heat as shown in Plate 3.10 above. Pottery is a widespread craft activity and is discussed in most anthologies of West African crafts. Amongst the crafts of Ghana, pottery-making is the oldest and the most widespread.

Huber (1959) and Rattray (1927) have studied Krobo and Ashanti pottery respectively. For a long time, earthenware were used for preparing and serving food, fetching and storing water and other liquids, and used for the preparation of traditional medicine, and for other ritual purposes. The

aketekyiwa was especially in great demand by palm wine tappers who used it to collect the sap from palm trees. Even though potters do not know the one who introduced the art of pot making, Pankrono potters learnt the skill from their own mothers. This confirms Rattray's observation that "pot making is a hereditary craft which is passed from mother to daughter". However, Rattray reports the first potter as Osra Abogyo from Tafo, near Pankrono (Rattray, 1927).

Potters used simple tools like corn cobs to give the pots texture, pebbles to smoothen out and make pots impervious and wet rugs to wet the pots to improve workability. A flat ring made of the inside of a palm branch (sometimes made from plastic pipe) is used to scrape excess clay from the insides of the pot. These simple tools are shown in Plate 3.11. The pots are made in two halves from a lump of clay, and the two pieces joined to form a complete pot.

Plate 3.11 Pot Making Tools



The surface of pottery wares may be *burnished* prior to firing by rubbing with a suitable instrument of wood, steel or stone, (shown in Plate 3.11) to produce a polished finish that survives firing. Corn cobs are also used to make the pots smooth before burnishing. It is possible to produce very highly polished wares when fine clays are used, or when the polishing is carried out on wares that have been partially dried and contain little water, though wares in this condition are extremely fragile and the risk of breakage is high.

Pottery-making centres in Ghana include the Krobo, Shai, and Begho centres (Huber, 1959 cited in Browne, 1978); however, the major centre for Ashanti traditional pottery-making is Pankrono. Other minor centres include Obuokrom and Tafo on the Mampong road, Sisirease, Ekwea and Apiadu. Other places producing pottery, but using modern technology are Afari, Nfansi, Kwahu and Abuakwa, producing coolers, mugs and eating bowls (Asanka). Household utensils and ritual objects were made in these centres.

Pankrono pots were famous not only because they enjoyed royal patronage. Its proximity to the Central market and Kejetia, the transport terminal in Kumasi were exploited to advantage. Pankrono potters still make ritual pots for the Ashanti royal court, for the preparation of herbal medicine, and for twin rituals. A stool has been created for the Queen for pottery in Pankrono. Pots from Pankrono were popular even as far as Sekondi in the Western region.

The potters see their craft as a continuation of tradition, and see themselves as custodians of the traditional heritage handed over to them by their mothers and ancestors. The *aketekyiwa*, a small pot used by palm wine tappers was the cheapest but fastest selling pot. The *ahena*, a large pot used to store water, was the biggest and most expensive pot, but was difficult to make and needed the utmost care during firing. However, the adoption of plastic containers by palm wine tappers led to a decline in demand for the *aketekyiwa*.

3.2.4.4 Bead Making

The origins of beadmaking in Ghana are unknown, but the great majority of powder glass beads produced today is made by Ashanti and Krobo craftsmen and women. Krobo bead making has been documented to date from as early as the 1920s but despite limited archaeological evidence, it is believed that Ghanaian powder glass bead making dates further back. Bead making in Ghana was first documented by John Barbot in 1746. Beads still play important roles in Krobo society, be it in rituals of birth, coming of age, marriage, or death. Powder glass beads are made from finely ground glass, the main source being broken and unusable bottles and a great variety of other scrap glasses. Special glasses such as old cobalt medicine bottles, cold cream jars, and many other types of glasses from

plates, ashtrays, window panes – to name only a few – are occasionally bought new, just for the purpose.

Plate 3.12 Bags of Broken Glass and a Box of Dyes for Making Powdered Glass Beads



Modern ceramic colourants, finely ground broken beads, or shards of different coloured glasses from various sources can be added to create a great variety of styles, designs and decorative patterns in many different colours. In addition, glass bead fragments of varying sizes, which have traditionally been used for the manufacture as well as for the decoration of specific types of beads, can now be found in interesting new combinations, and during the past few years in particular, bead makers have taken this tradition yet another step forward by using entire, i.e. whole small beads for making their colourful bead creations.

Beads continue to be treasured jewellery for royalty and for the affluent. It is also used during festivities and on special occasions. Bead making has been described by several authors in various locations in Ghana. In Browne's (1978) study, the following early works on beads in Ghana, which discuss techniques of beads making observed in particular villages were reviewed: Price (1883) and Cardinall (1924) discuss the origin of Aggrey beads of the Gold Coast; Wild (1937) studied Dunkwa beads; Shaw (1945) reported bead making with a bow drill in the Gold Coast, and Sinclair (1939)

looked at methods of bead making in Ashanti. Note the different sizes and shapes of the finished beads on display in Plate 3.13.

Plate 3.13 Asamang Beads on Display



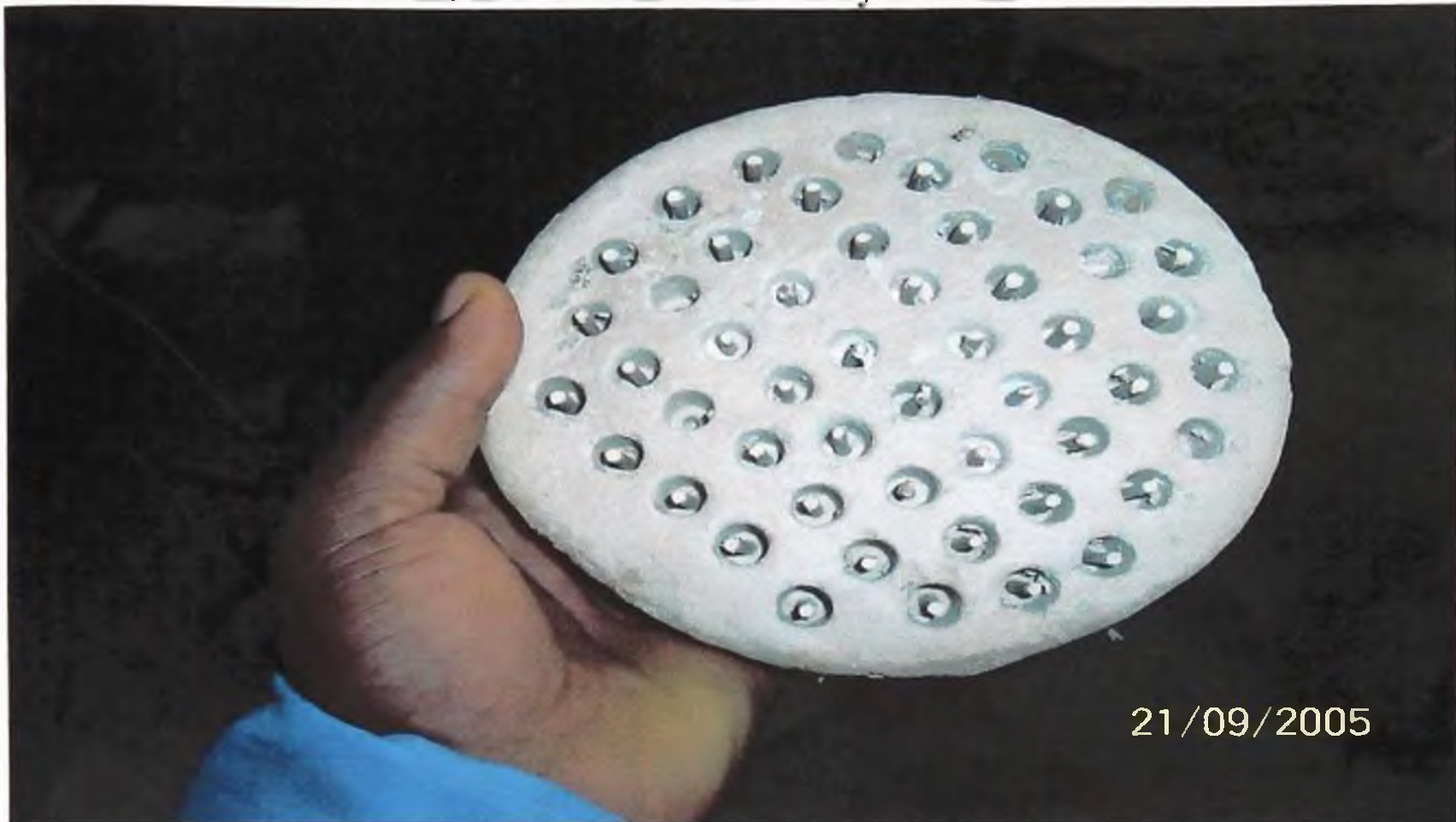
The Krobo of the Eastern region are better known for bead making in Ghana, however, the centre of beads production in the Ashanti region is Asuofia-Asamang, a village off the Barekese road. Other villages in the Ashanti region that make powder glass beads are Pasoro, Daaban, and Asuofia, all in the Atwima Nwabiagya district. According to Rattray (1927) the art of bead making was introduced into Asamang by Osei Kwame, who originally hails from Daaban. However, recently, this activity has declined considerably, and bead making livelihoods have become insecure. It is, therefore, important to find out how the surviving bead makers are coping with the downturn of this particular craft activity.

Krobo and Ashanti powder glass beads are made in vertical molds fashioned out of locally dug clay. Most molds have a number of depressions, designed to hold one bead each, and each of these depressions, in turn, has a small central depression to hold the stem of a cassava leaf. The mold is filled with finely ground glass that can be built up in layers in order to form sequences and patterns of different shapes and colours. Note the vertical and horizontal moulds in Plate 3.14, and the cassava stems in Plate 3.15 at the Asamang Cooperative Beads Factory in the Ashanti region.

Plate 3.14 Horizontal and Vertical Moulds for Making Powder Glass Beads

The technique could be described as being somewhat similar to creating a sand “painting” or to filling a bottle with different-coloured sands and is called the “vertical-mold dry powder glass technique”. When cassava leaf stems are used, these will burn away during firing and leave the bead perforation. Certain powder glass bead variants, however, receive their perforations after firing, by piercing the still hot and pliable glass with a hand-made, pointed metal tool. Firing takes place in clay kilns until the glass fuses.

There are different beads found in Ghana. The most popular are the Krobo “Akoso” beads, Venetian beads or trades beads, and Aggrey beads. The most common colour of Akoso beads is yellow. There are also green, and rarely blue or black specimens. The most prevalent decorations, preformed from strips of hot glass, were applied in patterns of cross-crossed loops, longitudinal stripes and circles. Glass from crushed Venetian beads was used for making the glass powder, and the decorative patterns were made of glass derived from Venetian beads, or from small whole Venetian beads such as the so-called green heart and white-heart beads.

Plate 3.15 Cassava Stems in a Vertical Mould ready to be filled with Powdered Glass

Krobo beads have three distinct styles – the fused glass fragment beads, the bi-cones, and the “*Mue ne Angma*” or “Writing beads”. The fused glass fragment beads are made by fusing together fairly large bottle glass or glass bead fragments. These beads are translucent or semi-translucent and receive their perforations, as well as their final shapes, after firing. The bi-cone type of beads comprise of two halves (usually bicones, occasionally spheres) that are created from pulverized glass. The two halves are joined together in a second, short firing process. The “*Mue ne Angma*” or “Writing Beads” are conventional powder glass beads made from finely ground glass, with glass slurry decorations that are “written” on and fused in a second firing.

“Meteyi” beads are usually yellowish while the “Keta awuazi” beads are blueish and originate from Togo and Keta areas in the Volta region of Ghana and Southern Togo. However, “Meteyi” beads were made by the Ashanti people of Ghana. Longitudinal seams that can often be observed on these beads give evidence that they were made in horizontal molds. Meteyi beads are often ellipsoid in cross section and they have a rough surface on the side which touched the bottom of the mold during firing. They can be opaque yellow, and more rarely, green, blue or white, with stripe decorations in combinations of blue, yellow, white or red. Manufacture ceased during the 1940s. Modern bead

making in Ashanti in Asuofua, Asamang and Daaban produce different styles using the dry powder glass technique.

The traditional technology involved grinding broken bottles into fine powder, first in a cylindrical metal mortar with a metal pestle, then on special grinding stones as shown in plate 3.16. The fine glass powder was then mixed with coloured ground beads and baked in specially made clay moulds in firewood powered clay ovens/kilns. The cylindrical beads were nicknamed '*bankyedua*' after the stem of the cassava leaf, which was usually inserted in the middle of the glass powder to leave an eye in the beads for threading. The beads were then polished on stone to make them smooth before threading. The crafts women performed all the processes and hired labourers for various tasks only when the quantities were large. Sometimes children helped out.

Plate 3.16 Traditional Grinding Stone for Beads Making in Asamang



Today, the broken bottles are milled mechanically with the aid of machines. Special dyes are imported and used to enhance the colour and brilliance of the beads, while a gas kiln (Plate. 3.17) has replaced the firewood powered ovens. Even the smoothening process has been mechanised. However, a substantial part of the beads making process is still done manually. The design and filling of the clay moulds with glass powder and dye, the baking and the finishing processes are all done manually.

Plate 3.17 Traditional Firewood Kiln and a Modern Gas-Powered Kiln

This technology upgrade was possible through an African Development Bank (ADF) grant to build a factory and procure equipment for a co-operative society of beads makers organised by the 31st December Women's Movement (DWM) of the erstwhile National Democratic Congress (NDC) party. With this support, the beads makers were able to increase their production and income. They operated a system where all the inputs were supplied by the 31st DWM and the cost deducted from the value of the end product. This system ensured that the Movement bought a greater proportion of the products for export. However, it denied the producers from getting direct access to the overseas market. In spite of this, the ADF support revived the traditional craft and put Asamang on the National tourism map as the centre of beads making in the Ashanti region. It also attracted tourists and business to the town. Demand from overseas markets, including neighbouring La Cote d'Ivoire and export by the 31st DWM sustained the beads business until recently.

3.3 The Early Economy and Political Administration

Gold, kola nuts, and to a lesser extent, slaves were the trading commodities in Ashanti during the 1800s. These commodities were in constant demand by European merchants and northern Islamic markets alike. European merchants had traded on the coasts south of Ashanti since 1400s for the region's gold and slaves. The Ashanti participated in the Atlantic Slave trade to a lesser degree than

many West African states did. The slaves owned by the royal families were often exchanged for European goods, usually, weapons. Kola nuts, sold largely to northern traders were another important export commodity. Some communities specialised in the manufacture of cloth, pottery, and other goods for local markets. Most Ashanti people lived in agricultural villages and produced their own foodstuffs.

The strategic location of Kumasi as a modal town was decisively exploited for the region's development. Elaborate road maintenance, taxation and surveillance systems were implemented to control, and promote trade. This ensured that all traded goods going up-north or coming down-south along the eight great 'radial roads', (*Nkwantempon*), passed through Kumasi. Specialized agencies were set up to achieve these objectives. There were road inspectors, (*akwanmofour*) to keep the roads in good condition; tax collectors, (*kotokuosoafour*) to collect fines and taxes; treasurers, (*nkontaabuofour*) to keep accounts of revenues and expenditures of gold dust, and a large corps of messengers, (*afenasoafour*) to physically carry information to and from Kumasi on government business. The *nkwansrafour* (road wardens) maintained security along the great radial roads. By this shrewd arrangement, the Ashanti kingdom profited immensely. Thus, till today, apart from gold and agricultural production, trade and transportation seems to be the hub around which the modern economy of Kumasi revolves.

3.4 Tourism in Ashanti

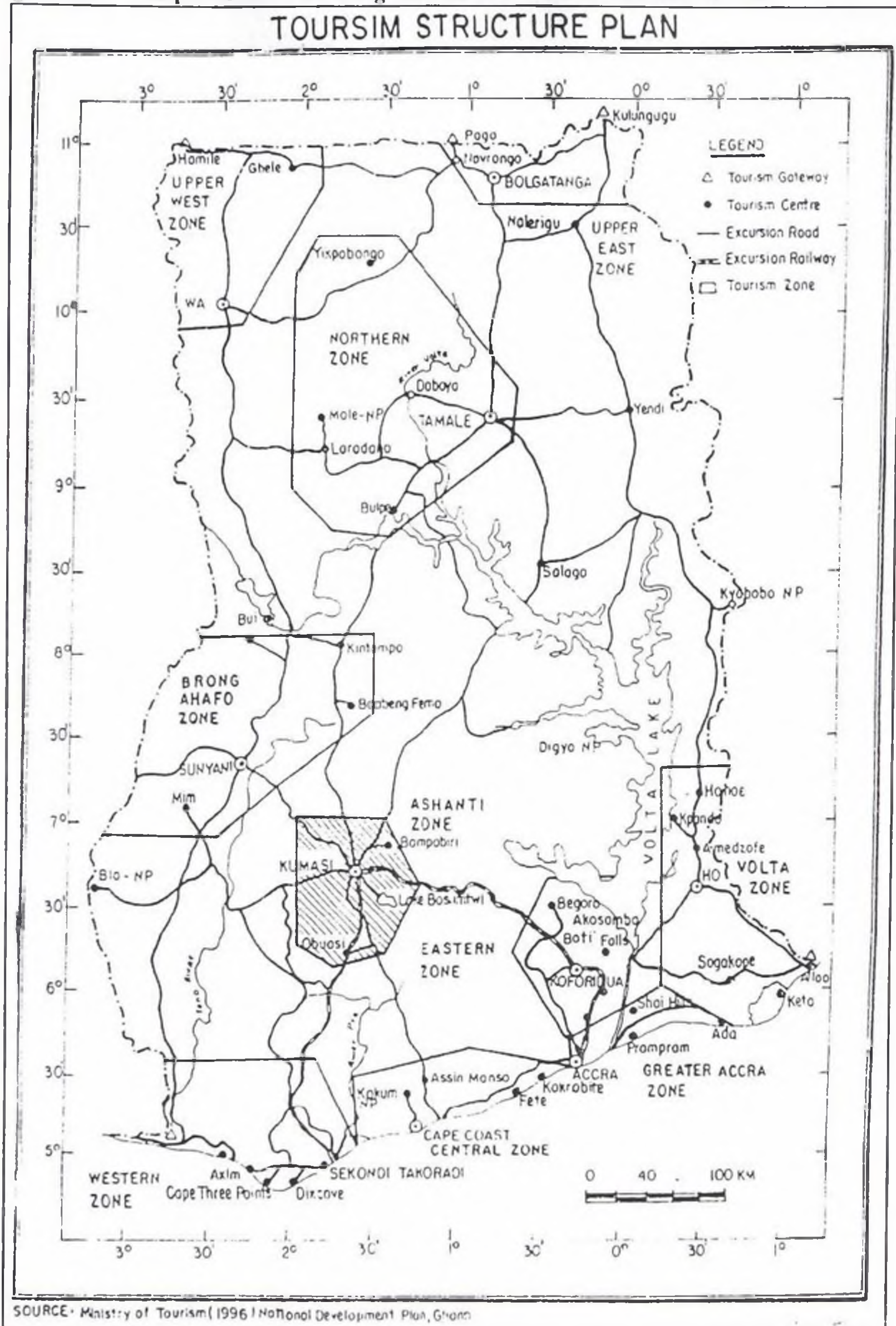
The region is endowed with a variety of rich natural attractions. Some of these include the inland Crater Lake, Lake Bosumtwi, formed by a falling meteorite, and the Bobiri Forest Reserve with its arboretum. The region is home to the Owabi Wildlife Sanctuary, which contains a variety of birds, and the Bomfobiri Wildlife Sanctuary, seasonal waterfalls. There is also the Digya National Park which stretches from Kumawu to Atebubu which serves as habitat for flora and fauna. Other tourist attractions in the region include the Mframabuom Caves at Kwamang, and Atwia Rock Formations. The gold mines at Obuasi are also part of the tourist attractions of the region. These tourism resources fall within the hexagonal region surrounding the Kumasi metropolis, known as the 'Ashanti Tourist

Zone' (ATZ) demarcated as a catchment area for the region's major tourism resources. It is one of the ten national tourism zones demarcated as a focus for the development of tourism resources in each of the ten administrative regions of Ghana (see Figure 3.2).

The cultural attractions of the Ashanti people are illustrated in their material culture and belief systems, and represented in their chieftaincy, inheritance, architecture, technology, and ritual practices. Some of these cultural attractions include the Asantemanso Village, where it is believed the Ashanti's emerged from the earth; Kumawu Town, Kentinkronu Shrine, Adarko Jarchie Shrine, Ejisu-Besease Shrine, the Statues of Kumasi and the Patakro Shrine, which serve as important public monuments with religious and cultural significance.

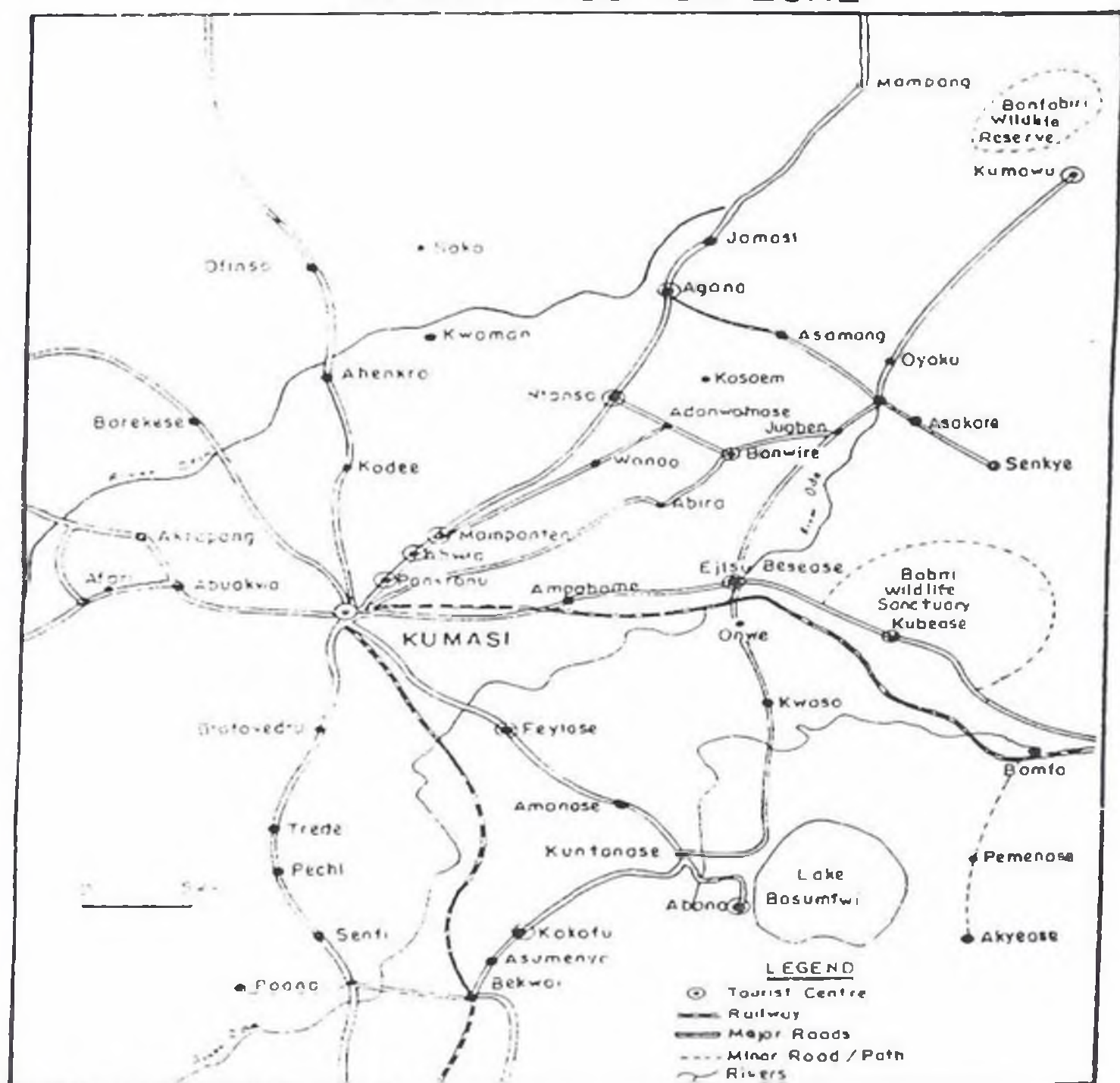
Events form part of the attraction complex of the Ashanti Region and include the *Akwasidae* and *Adaekesee* festival celebrations. The Ashanti's revere their dead and observe elaborate rituals and rites to usher their departed loved ones to the hereafter. Funeral celebrations therefore, form an integral part of the daily lives of the people. It is common to observe people clad in red and black mourning clothes over the weekends to signify a state of mourning. The *Asantehene* sits in state on Thursdays to receive visitors and to solve disputes brought before him. Church and sporting activities are common over the weekends. Exhibitions and other entertainment events are frequently held at the Centre for National Cultural and on university and other tertiary institution campuses in the region. Kumasi is also home to the Fabulous Asante Kotoko football club, which draws a large passionate following.

Figure 3.2 Map of Ghana Showing the National Tourism Structure Plan



The tourist infrastructure of the region is concentrated in the capital, Kumasi. There are star rated and budget hotels, restaurants, and 'chop bars' where local cuisine may be bought cheaply. Transportation, telecommunications, health, shopping and sporting facilities are available. The night life in the Kumasi can be found in the discos, night clubs and cinemas. Due to the skewed distribution of the tourist infrastructure, tourist visitations to peri-urban and rural areas are limited to day trips to these rural areas.

Figure 3.3 Map of Ashanti Region Showing Tourism Zones
ASHANTI TOURISM ZONE

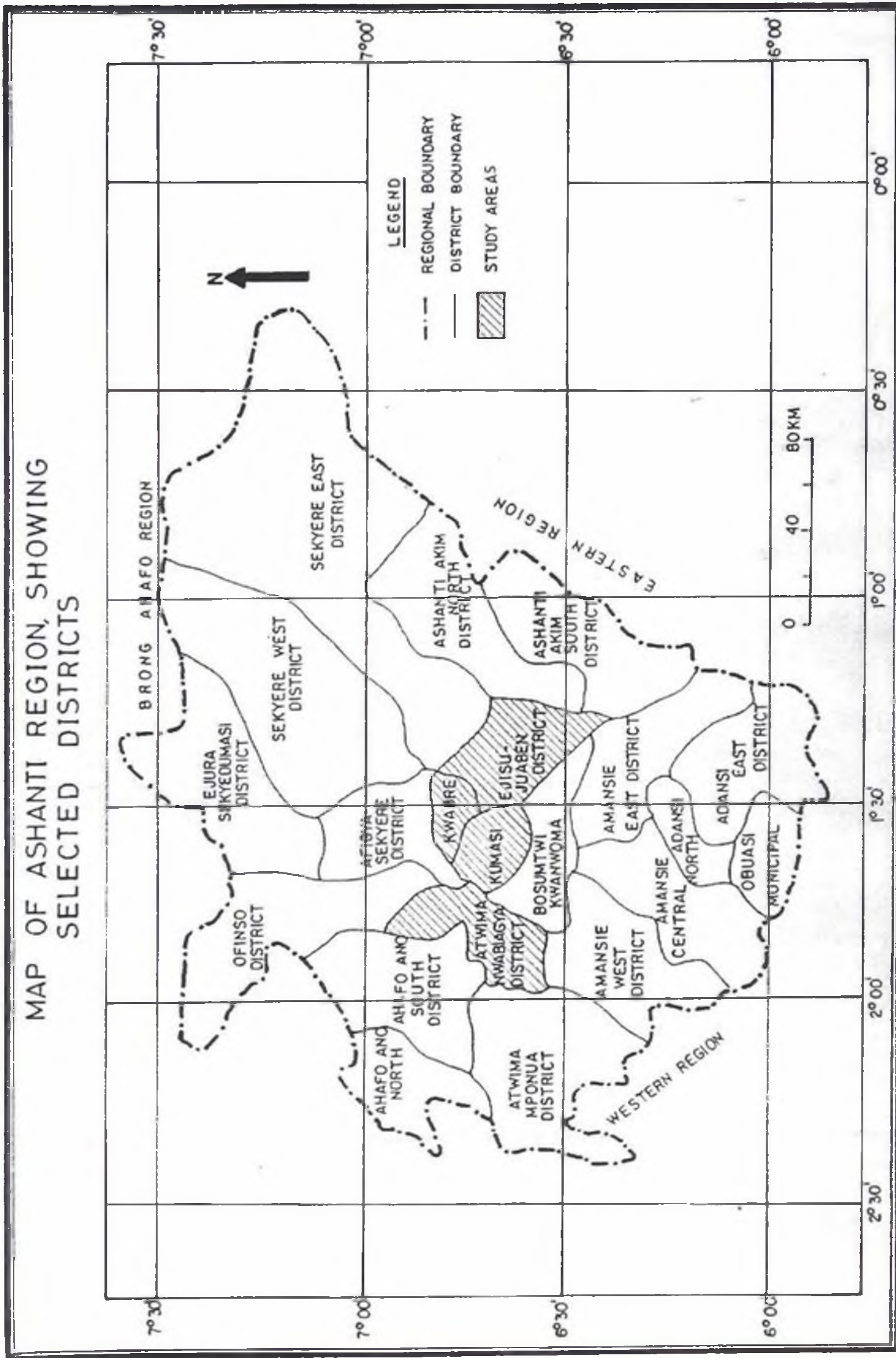


SOURCE: Ghana Tourist Board, 2000

3.5 The Study Area and Craft Villages

The craft villages for the study include Ahwiaa in the Kwabre district, Asamang in the Atwima Nwabiagya district, Bonwire in the Ejisu-Juaben Municipality, and Pankronu in the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly.

Figure 3.4 Map of Ashanti Region Showing Study Districts



SOURCE : Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly - 2005

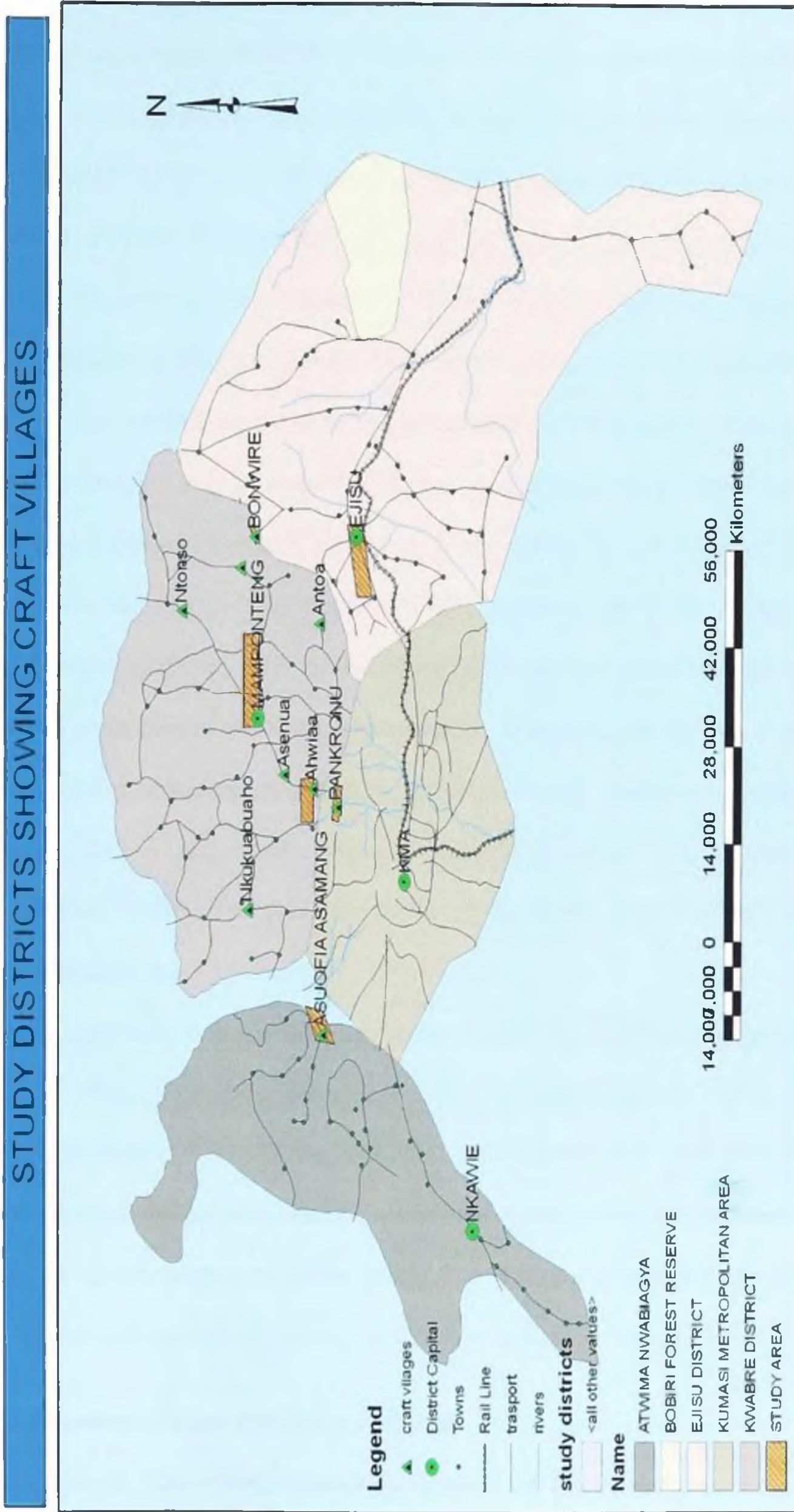
3.5.1 Ahwiaa, Kwabre District

Kwabre District, carved out of the former Kwabre Sekyere District in 1988, is located almost in the central portion of the Ashanti region. It is within latitudes 6° 44' North and longitudes 10° 33' to 10° 44' West. The District shares common boundaries with Afigya Sekyere District to the North; Kumasi Metropolitan Area to the South; Ejisu Juaben District to the Southeast; Atwima Nwabiagya District to the West and Offinso District to the Northwest. The District has a total land area of 246.8 square kilometres constituting about 1.01% of the total land area of Ashanti Region. Kwabre District is part of the Greater Kumasi City region, which is made up of Kumasi Metropolitan Area and the surrounding Districts (See Figure 3.2).

The climate of the district is the wet semi-equatorial type. The predominant vegetation types found in the district are Moist Semi-Deciduous Forest and isolated Grassland. Continuous felling of trees has deprived the district of its valuable tree species and other forest products. Mampong is the district capital, located 14km NE of Kumasi. It has a population of about 164,688 persons (GSS, 2000). The district is 65% urbanised. Other tourist sites include centres of world class weaving and dyeing at Sakora Wonoo and Ntonso, Antoa nature reserve and shrine.

Ahwiaa is located 9km along the Kumasi-Mampong road in the Kwabre district. It is noted for saw milling, wood works and woodcarvings of all shapes and sizes. Wood carving at Ahwiaa specialises in the production of royal crafts including *sesegwa* stools for kings, chiefs and queens, and linguist staffs with various motifs and animals of totemic significance. Ahwiaa is one of the 86 settlements with a population of 19,729 (GSS, 2000). Other villages producing wood carvings in the Ashanti region include Ofoase, Asennua, Buoho, and villages around Jamasi. To exploit some of the district's tourism potential, the District Assembly has lined up certain specific projects and programmes for tourism promotion. These include the construction of modern washrooms for Ahwiaa and Ntonso tourist centres; the construction of a \$250-million craft village for Ahwiaa wood carvers currently under construction; and a grand festival of chiefs and people of Kwabre to showcase the various cultural festivals in the district to tourists.

Figure 3.5 Map of Study Districts Showing Craft Villages



3.5.2 Bonwire, Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly

Bonwire is located about 18km NE of Kumasi in the Ejisu-Juaben municipality. Ejisu-Juaben Municipality is located in the central part of the Ashanti Region. It lies within Latitude $1^{\circ} 15' N$ and $1^{\circ} 45' N$ and Longitude $6^{\circ} 15' W$ and $7^{\circ} 00' W$. It is one of the 26 administrative and political districts in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. The District is known globally for its rich cultural heritage and tourists attractions notably the kente weaving industry. It shares boundaries with the Kumasi Metropolitan Area and Kwabre District to the east, Sekyere East District and Asante Akim North Municipal to the west and the Bosomtwe-Atwima-Kwanwoma and Asante Akim South Districts to the south.

The District stretches over an area of 637.2 km² constituting about 10% of the entire Ashanti Region, with Ejisu as its capital. Currently it has four urban settlements namely, Ejisu, Juaben, Besease and Bonwire. The central location of the district provides enormous opportunity for creating an inland port for Ghana to serve northern section of the country. The district falls within the forest dissected plateau terrain region. It rises from about 240 metres to 300 metres above sea level. The area is generally undulating and is drained by a number of rivers, notable among them being Oda, Anum, Bankro, Hwere and Baffoe. In the rainy season, occasional flooding is experienced in the inland valleys along the river basins. The total population of the district stands at 144,272 (2006) and distributed among settlements.

Bonwire is renowned as the centre for kente weaving in Ashanti even though the craft is practised in several other villages far and near Kumasi. Other kente producing villages in the district include Adanwomase, Wonoo, Ejisu, Juaben, and many surrounding villages. While kente weaving is the main tourist attraction of the district, the shrines at Besease and Adarko-Jachie, the Palace of Nana Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen Mother of Ejisu, Bobiri Forest Reserve and Butterfly Sanctuary, also present some historical and cultural monuments which serve as heritage tourism resources.

3.5.3 Asuofia-Asamang, Atwima Nwabiagya District

Asuofua-Asamang, 25km from Kumasi, is located off the Barekese road in the Atwima-Nwabiagya district. The district lies approximately on latitude $6^{\circ} 75' N$ and between longitude $1^{\circ} 45'$

and 2° 00' West. It is one of the 26 political and administrative districts in Ashanti region. It shares common boundaries with Ahafo Ano South and Atwima Mponua Districts (to the West), Offinso District (to the North), Amansie West and Bosomtwe-Atwima Kwanwoma Districts (to the South), Kumasi Metropolis and Kwabre Districts (to the East). It covers an estimated area of 294.84 sq km. The district capital is Nkawie.

The main handicrafts of the district consist of pottery making, Beads making, wood carving, batik Tie and Dye and basket weaving. There are local ceramic and tile craftsmen at Afari, Esaase and Mfensi. Important traditional and historical tourism sites in the District are the Okomfo Anokye footprints at Nkaakom, beads making sites at Daaban, Asufua and Asamang. Asuofia-Asamang is the centre of beads making in the Ashanti Region. Beads making used to be a major household activity in this town until recently.

The District has an undulating topography with average heights of about 77 metres above sea level, with gentle to steep slopes. The highest points can be found in the Barekese and Tabere areas. The Offin and Owabi rivers are the main rivers of the District. Two major dams, Owabi and Barekese have been constructed across the Owabi and the Offin rivers respectively to supply pipe borne water to residents of Kumasi and its environs.

The District lies within the wet semi-equatorial zone marked by double maximum rainfall ranging between 170cm and 185cm per annum. The major rainfall season is from Mid-March to July and minor season is between September and mid-November. Rainfall, which is unreliable, is not well distributed throughout the year. Temperature is fairly uniform ranging between 27°C (August) and 31°C (March). Mean relative humidity of about 87 to 91 percent is characteristic of the district.

3.5.4 Pankrono, Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly

Pankrono is located 6km along the Kumasi – Mampong road in the KMA. The Metropolis is centrally located in the Ashanti Region and its capital, Kumasi, is also the regional capital. The metropolitan area shares boundaries with Kwabre District to the north, Atwima District to the west, Ejisu-Juaben District to the east and Bosomtwe-Atwima-Kwanwoma District to the south. It covers

about 299 square kilometres of the region.

The metropolis has the wet sub-equatorial type of climate. Temperature and humidity is both moderate. The vegetation falls within the moist semi-deciduous south-east ecological zone. Predominant species of trees found here are *Ceiba*, *Triphochion*, Celtics and exotic species. The soil type of the metropolis is forest ochrosol. This is a very rich soil type, which has made it possible for foodstuff to be grown in the periphery of Kumasi.

Pankronu is home to traditional hand-made earthenware that is specially made for ritual and utilitarian purposes. Old women potters may be observed making these special pots. Also located within the KMA is Ampabame-Krofrom, another royal craft village where traditional gold, silver and brass objects are made with the lost wax method. Elaborate jewellery, gold plated staff crowns, arm bands, necklaces, rings and insignia, anklets used by kings and queens are made in this village.

Kumasi metropolis also has several tourist attractions. These include Centre for National Culture, which provides facilities for recreation and opportunities for study and research in the arts and craft industry in Ghana, the famous Golden Stool and Okomfo Anokye's Sword at Bantama, and the Royal Mausoleum, where the bodies of Ashanti kings were preserved until the late 1850s. There is also the Kumasi Fort and Military Museum, which exhibits relics of Ashanti wars, the two World Wars and Ghana's recent military history. There is the Kumasi Zoo, adjacent to the Cultural Centre, and has on display reptiles, lions, elephants, birds and primates.

The material culture of the Ashanti is a memorial of the past, and a link to the present. It reminds us of the ingenuity, skills and resourcefulness of our forebears. As it becomes increasingly difficult to find things that are truly unique and authentic, handicrafts are one of the few items that reflect authentic local culture in a globalised world. Handicrafts have a deep association with a place, its people, and their ways of life, and a certain period of time. The rejuvenation of craft production in some of the craft villages is therefore, a response to satisfy this need.

In addition to preserving traditional knowledge, skills and technologies, handicrafts production provide jobs and livelihoods to many families and individuals, and satisfies the aesthetic, utilitarian

and spiritual/ritual needs of the local people. The development of tourism has given crafts production and crafts-based livelihoods a great boost as local and international tourists patronise these authentic Ghanaian handicrafts which serve as gift and decorative items and also fulfil practical spiritual, aesthetic and utilitarian purposes. These craft villages have also served as tourist attractions, where tourists have the opportunity to observe the production processes of various crafts items. Thus, while some of the craft villages have found a new lease of life, others are facing rapid decline due to importation of industrial substitutes and other challenges. The next chapters search the literature for the handicraft, tourism and poverty reduction links and examine the perceptions and coping mechanisms of craft entrepreneurs.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Investigating the perceptions and experiences of poverty, coping mechanisms and issues of handicraft production and sales as a sustainable pro-poor livelihood strategy, as well as the policy environment presents a complex research challenge that requires both quantitative and qualitative research approaches and data, as well as desk and field studies. Ronald McQueen and Christina Knussen (1999) call this multi-method and multi-data approach triangulation (McQueen and Knussen 1999:244). Triangulation is the term used to describe the ways in which the reliability and validity of a qualitative study can be assessed. According to Olsen (2004), triangulation involves looking at the research question from several viewpoints. The term reflects the way in which a second point of view on a phenomenon creates a triangle. Useful accounts of the ways in which triangulation can be used are provided by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Tindall (1994).

Triangulation is widely recommended as a way of doing social research (Bryman 1996, 2003; Denzin 1970; Flick 1992; Gilbert 1993). It is a method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data (O'Donoghue and Punch 2003). The most well known form of triangulation, data triangulation, uses multiple data types (e.g. qualitative and quantitative.) to investigate the research question. Triangulation, thus, becomes a series of steps associated with changes in the researcher's conceptual map of the terrain (Gilbert 1993, Bryman 2002; Olsen, 2003).

While triangulation is important, McQueen and Knussen (1999) warn that all participants or researchers do not have to agree or see a situation in the same way. Researchers are encouraged to report divergent opinions, and different interpretations of the same observations and phenomenon to their audience (McQueen and Knussen 1999:244). Finally, analysis of data from triangulation runs the risk of sounding repetitive (emphasis mine).

To unravel patterns and trends of benefits accruing to various craft workers, and to get a deeper understanding of how craft entrepreneurs cope with production challenges and poverty, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and data was employed to satisfy the data requirements of the study, and make findings more robust. Bryman (2003) describes the result of multi-method research strategies as 'convergent validity'. The purpose of triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the credibility and validity of the results (Cohen and Manion, 1986; Altrichter *et al.*, 1996; Denzin, 1978). It is important to note that methodological triangulation might bring about difficulties of interpretation when the epistemological norms and ontological assumptions of different methodological schools are at odds with each other (Bryman 1998). Such deep differences of opinion have been described as 'epistemological chasms' (Walby 2001, cited in Olsen, 2004). However, by focussing on the social origins of conflicting theories rather than their points of conflict, we are able to reach dialogue or debate.

Methodological triangulation, on the other hand, allows researchers to engage with contrasting theories, and to discover in practice what they can and cannot do and show in relation to a particular research question. While data triangulation allows us to reach more complex models, methodological triangulation allows us to compare theories and methodologies by applying them, yielding important information about their practical adequacy (Sayer, 1992). Triangulation, however, implies additional costs in terms of time and money.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to examine crafts workers' livelihood assets and production constraints. Qualitative research methods have often been criticised as subjective while quantitative methods have been extolled for their objectivity (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

However, the design and content of questionnaires, which are considered unbiased are, in fact, a product of the subjectivity of the researcher. In recent times, however, there has been recognition of the need to overcome the dichotomies between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies as it is realised that the two are not entirely divorced from each other (Robson, 2001). It is noted that while quantitative methods could be used to search for trends and patterns, qualitative methods aids our understanding of those trends.

3.6.1 Research Design

The research design for this study began with a desk study to review the tourism, cultural and poverty policies in Ghana in order to determine their effects on the development of the crafts and tourism industry; and qualitative data collection approaches. Initial meetings with representatives from all categories of crafts workers presented great scoping opportunities to interact with the craftsmen. At these meetings the research was introduced to craft entrepreneurs, and issues pertinent to their work were discussed. This is what Mark Hampton describes as a rapid participatory appraisal where participants discussed, debated, and expressed their varied views on poverty and how they experienced it; strategies they adopted to cope with it; and the challenges they had to overcome in the production and sale of their craft products.

Having identified crafts workers who were most vulnerable, views were elicited on how their economic and non-cash livelihood benefits (jobs, income, training, linkages, and information) could be enhanced to build their capacity in order to make crafts production a pro-poor activity. Examination of the results of these early approaches (pre-test) formed the basis of design of other research instruments and choice of field methods.

Participants were also guided to identify the poorest of the craft workers along the benefits continuum, using an adaptation of the Participatory Wealth Ranking (PWR) and CASHPOR House Index (CHI) methodology (Simanowitz et al. 2000). These are participatory and visual micro credit poverty targeting tools developed by Anton Simanowitz, Ben Nkuna, and Sukor Kasim (2000). The PWR is a method where community members identify and rank poor people and places (suburbs) in

their own community based on local standards and criteria.

This method yields general but context specific information on the community's perception of poverty, how to identify a poor person and a list of poverty causing factors. The CHI, uses external housing conditions as a proxy for poverty, and can be very effective in conditions where there is a consistent relationship between poverty and housing conditions. It is an indirect and visual method that is used to make inferences about the poverty status of respondents by scoring the housing materials (walls, floors, roofing, etc.) and the services available, on site, at the respondents' dwelling unit.

Both methods are context specific. PWR relies on detailed knowledge of a community itself, and is unlikely to work in contexts where the community is weak, or where there are high levels of conflict or mistrust. Similarly, the CHI relies on there being a strong correlation between housing conditions and poverty. Though useful, the findings may not be generally applied to all communities studied, as they are context specific. Even though participants disagreed on whose work was more difficult, they were unanimous on who derived the 'least' and the 'most' benefits from the craft enterprise.

This method was adapted into the questionnaire, and data on it was collected by observing and/or asking (depending on the place of interview) respondents specific questions about their dwelling units and services available to them. Additionally, a self-ranking exercise of poverty status was also carried out to see how respondents ranked themselves (poor, neither poor nor rich, or rich/wealthy). However, some sensitive issues could not be explored using direct approaches.

Focus group discussions and interviews were employed to find out how craftspeople perceived and experienced poverty in the study villages. As poverty issues were considered sensitive, the vignette approach was adapted and used in sections of the focus group discussion guide to provide a less personal and, therefore, less threatening way of exploring poverty issues, and to explore the range of actions that respondents were likely to take (coping mechanisms) in response to the hypothetical scenarios they were presented with (Barter and Renold. 1999).

Vignettes have been widely used as a complementary technique alongside other data collection methods (see Hazel 1995; Hughes 1998). They can be employed either to enhance existing data or to generate data not tapped by other research methods (such as observation or interviews). Vignettes were adapted into sections of the questionnaire to elicit coping strategies to production challenges and hypothetical scenarios of hardship.

They can also be concrete examples of people and their behaviours on which participants can offer comment or opinion (Hazel 1995:2). These are short scenarios in written or pictorial form, intended to elicit responses to typical scenarios (Hill 1997:177). Finally vignettes may be stories about individuals, situations and structures which can make reference to important points in the study of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes (Hughes 1998:381).

The researcher paid attention to the different ways vignettes may be employed. They were not used as a self-contained method, but as an adjunct to other research techniques. This is reflected in how the story is presented, and at the stage in the data collection process they are introduced; and how responses are structured. Nevertheless, vignettes generally serve as interpretation of actions and occurrences that allows situational context to be explored and influential variables to be elucidated. They also clarify individual judgements, often in relation to moral dilemmas; and aid discussion of sensitive experiences in comparison with the 'normality' of the vignette.

Finch (1987:105) describes vignettes as "short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond". However, as Finch (1987:113) cautions, "asking about what a third party 'ought' to do in a given situation is not the same thing as asking respondents what they themselves think they ought to do". Vignettes in the questionnaire were, therefore, directed at the individual respondents.

3.6.2 Data Collection

3.6.2.1 Sources of Data

In order to achieve the stated objectives, the study made use of both primary and secondary data sources (Table 4.1). Primary data were acquired through field surveys. The methods employed

included questionnaire administration, interviews, discussions and observations. Secondary data is an inexpensive, fast and less demanding means of obtaining information as compared to primary data. It is information that has been collected or published previously and is available for use by others. Primary data can be relatively expensive, but the delays and cost of primary data can be minimised by supplementing it with secondary data.

In this study, secondary sources included tourism policy information from Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Affairs (MOTDA), non-traditional export and handicraft data from Export Promotion Council (EPC), cultural and poverty policy information from the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), census reports from the Ghana Statistical Services (GSS), and Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs and National Culture at the national level. At the district and regional levels, district background information and development data were obtained from the Kwabre and Atwima Nwabiagya district assemblies (KDA and ANDA), Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly (EJMA), and the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA). Data were also obtained from the National Board for Small-Scale Industries (NBSSI), the Ashanti Regional Administration, and Ghana Tourist board (GTB), National Cultural Centre (NCC), and Aid to Artisans, Ghana (ATAG), all in Kumasi.

Table 3.1 Sources of Primary Data and Methods of Data Collection

Source of Data	Method of Data Collection	Type of Data
Craft entrepreneurs	FGD Interview Guide Questionnaires In-depth interviews and Case Stories	Qualitative and Quantitative
Community members (non-craft workers)	FGD Interview Guide	Qualitative
In-school youth in craft villages	Questionnaires FGD Interview Guide	Quantitative and Qualitative
Opinion leaders and Assemblymen	In-depth Interviews	Qualitative
Officials at Regional and District levels, and other institutions	FGD Interview Guide Questionnaires In-depth Interviews	Quantitative Qualitative

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Additionally, some data for the research were obtained through desk research. A search for relevant information on handicrafts, tourism and poverty was carried out using books, magazines, journals, published and unpublished conference and workshop reports and research findings. Various search engines (www.scholar.google.com, www.metacrawler.com, and others), electronic

encyclopaedia (www.wikipedia.com, Encarta encyclopaedia), and some databases on poverty and pro-poor tourism (Pro-poor Tourism Info Sheets and Bulletins) were consulted on the internet. Reserved documents and original early reports on culture, tourism and handicrafts were consulted, both on the internet and at various libraries in Ghana, Norway and the UK. The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) library was particularly useful. Personal discussions were also held with crafts development experts in Kumasi (ATAG) and at the London Metropolitan University. Only relevant aspects of secondary data were included in the research.

A reconnaissance survey was carried out in August 2005 in order to observe and gather relevant information and data to enhance selection of craft villages from the selected districts for the main field study. The main field survey started in March 2006 and ended in October 2006. Additional follow-up visits to the study communities were carried out in June 2007. Three of the selected crafts communities (Bonwire, Ahwiaa, and Pankrono) were revisited in April 2008 for some data on youth participation and non-craft making residents in the craft villages. All the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher in order to have first hand information of the issues at stake. Eriksen (1999) has pointed out that a principal requirement in fieldwork consists of trying to take part in local life as much as possible. This is basic for fieldwork whether or not it is supplemented with other techniques.

The researcher made use of some field assistants for the administration of the craft entrepreneurs' questionnaire, and for taking notes during group discussions. Twi-speaking graduate students and teaching assistants were recruited from the Department of Geography and Rural Development, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. A two-day training workshop was organised for the field assistants before the administration of questionnaire schedules. Specific topics covered during the training exercise included study objectives, sampling methods, field courtesies and how to ask questions, and an in-house mock questionnaire administration to agree on a uniform translation from English to Twi. Getting access, note-taking and transcription, hands-on familiarisation with the digital recorder was also covered. A pre-test of the questionnaire in one of the

craft villages provided an opportunity to clarify issues, and to update the questionnaire. The pre-test also gave us an idea about how long it took to administer a questionnaire. A few changes were made to the questionnaire (rephrasing some questions and introducing filters and sub-questions) after the pre-test.

Asante Twi was the main language for this study. However, Ewe and English were also employed where necessary. Language was not a problem, and no interpreters were used. The researcher grew up in the Ashanti region and has a deep understanding of Ashanti culture. Both the interviews and group discussions were done in the local *Twi* language. However, FGD with *Ewe* migrant weavers at Bonwire was done in English and in the *Ewe* language, which the researcher understands and speaks fluently. Interviews with officials were done in the English language.

The researcher asked all the questions in the interviews and moderated all the group discussions, employing the use of a digital voice recorder to record proceedings, and to avoid interruptions, but taking occasional notes and probing for explanations and meanings of local jargons. However, the field assistants took notes as back up for group discussions. However, the in-depth interviews were done only with the use of the digital voice recorder so as to ensure privacy and confidentiality for interviewees. The researcher took more notes during interviews.

3.6.2.2 Sample Design

A multi-stage sampling procedure was adopted to select craft villages from Kumasi and its surrounding districts. The sample frame of the study was made up of five districts of the Ashanti region. Discussions with officials and information from district assembly profiles revealed that there were many villages producing handicrafts in Kumasi and surrounding districts. However, following Rattray (1920) only those craft villages that were established to produce royal crafts (historical centres) were purposively selected from the list of craft villages for this study. Care was taken not to select more than one village from a particular district.

Through reconnaissance visits to the historical centres of royal craft production (Bonwire, Awbiaa, Asamang, Ampabame Krofofrom, Pankrono, and Ntonso) and initial discussions with craft

workers, the researcher observed a substantial decline in craft activities at Pankronu and Asamang, while Bonwire and Ahwiaa had an appreciable level of craft activity. Men predominated in the production and marketing of crafts at Bonwire and Ahwiaa, while at Pankronu and Asamang, crafts were the domain of women. Four locations were, therefore, purposively selected to reflect male and female crafts, and flourishing and declining craft activity from the list of royal craft villages.

These contrasts were deemed important for investigation to examine the scope for pro-poor craft tourism and to identify the factors that have contributed to the demise or survival of craft production. It was also imperative to find out if gender of entrepreneurs or socio-cultural elements (traditional economic controls and religious restrictions, taboos and discrimination) had anything to do with survival or collapse of craft activities. Table 3.2 presents a distribution of communities surveyed by geographical location, type of craft produced, gender of people predominantly engaged in the craft activity, and distance of craft village from Kumasi.

Table 3.2 Location and Distance of Craft Villages from Kumasi

District/Location	Craft Village	Type of Craft	Predominantly	Distance from Kumasi
KMA	Pankrono	Pottery	Women	6 km
Kwabre DA	Ahwiaa	Wood carvings	Men	9 km
Ejisu-Juaben MA	Bonwire	Kente weaving	Men	29km
Atwima Nwabiagya DA	Asamang	Beads making	Women	25km

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

A sample is used as a substitute for the population. It should thus represent the characteristics of that population as closely as possible. Thus, the first step in the sampling exercise was to identify the population from which the sample was to be drawn. It was easy to identify and count all the active craft workers at Asamang (four) and Pankrono (six) because of the reduced activity levels, at the latter and the small size of the former. However, it was much more difficult to do the same at Ahwiaa because many of the carvers worked in the forests where they could find preferred tree species.

There were a few places in the town where carvers and finishers worked under trees, sheds and in the alleys between the houses. There are shops along both sides of the road, which passes through the town where finished items are displayed for sale. At Bonwire, one can find, at least, a loom in every other house. Weavers and finishers worked under make-shift sheds made from palm branches,

under trees, in front of houses, and in private and group production centres. Kente shops with colourful kente and kente products can be found along both sides of the town streets. Purposive and random sampling was employed. Craft communities were purposively selected while individual craftspeople were randomly selected using a 20 percent random sample at Ahwiaa and Bonwire, but 100 percent coverage of all active craftspeople at Pankrono and Asamang due to their rather small numbers. Even though the number of craftspeople at Asamang and Pankrono combined are insignificant for any statistical analysis per se, they add up to the aggregate samples from Ahwiaa and Bonwire.

Discussions with district assembly officials and craft workers themselves during the preliminary survey revealed that there were about 350 – 450 full-time craft workers at Bonwire, and about 300 – 400 full-time craftspeople at Ahwiaa. Generally, however, all people deriving some or all of their livelihoods from wood carvings was estimated at 2,000 at Ahwiaa while that for kente was put at about 3,000 inhabitants in Bonwire. Even though kente weaving is practised in other villages like Adanwomase and Sakora Wonoo, many of these weavers sold their kente cloth to merchants at Bonwire. Like Bonwire, Ahwiaa was also the major marketing centre for wood carvings from villages like Asennua, Yonso and Apaa, all in the Kwabre district.

Individual craftspeople were selected for administration of the questionnaire through the use of the simple random sampling technique. To be selected however, individuals must be actively engaged in making or finishing crafts (artisan) or selling finished crafts products (merchant) as a full-time or part-time activity. Both employees and owner managers of crafts businesses were sampled. At Bonwire and Ahwiaa, non-craftspeople were recruited to participate in group discussions to obtain alternative views on some of the issues.

Craft workers were interviewed at their places of work (at home, workshops, in shops, and in the bush/forest) so as to make use of the practical context, and observe the processes of craft production and sales. Thus, the study involved an element of participant observation in many respects. In each of the craft villages studied, a local guide who was either the chairman or other well-known craftspeople was recruited to facilitate access and to assist in recruiting participants for group

discussions. At the district assemblies, the District Co-ordinating Directors or District Planning Officers played this role.

Many of the craft villages have become dormitory towns for commuters who reside in the craft villages but were not involved in the craft activity. Thus, those who resided in craft villages but were not involved in craft work were completely excluded from the surveys. Junior secondary school pupils at Bonwire, Ahwiaa and Pankronu were interviewed on their school compounds, while only a few were interviewed at the craft workshops.

A total of 204 questionnaires were administered to 138 craft workers face-to-face because many of them were illiterate. However, four DA officials and two other stakeholders opted to complete the questionnaires at their own convenience. Some pupils were guided to complete the questionnaires while some were completed through the interview method. A total of 150 people participated in 16 group discussions made up of craft workers (8 FGDs), non-craft worker community members (2 FGDs), district assemblies (2 FGDs), in-school youth (1 FGD), and initial panel discussions (3 FGDs) in the preliminary field study. There were 24 in-depth interviews with various stakeholders and 8 case stories of (4) poorer and (4) well-off craft workers.

Table 3.3 Research Instruments and Sample Size in Study Villages

Data Collection Tools	Bonwire (Ejisu-Juaben M/A)	Ahwiaa (Kwabre D/A)	Pankrono (KMA)	Asamang (Atwima NDA)	Row Total
Preliminary Survey Craft workers' forum	14 – craft workers	16 craft workers	10 craft workers		40
Questionnaires for: Craft Workers In - school youth D/As & Others	69 – crafts workers 30 – in-school youth 1 – D/A official	59 craft workers 30 – youth 1 – D/A official	6 craft workers 1 – KMA official 1 – GTB official 1 – NCC official	4 craft workers 1 – D/A official	204
FGD Guides for: Craft workers, Non-craft workers D/A staff, In-school Youth	11 – weavers 10 – migrant weavers 8 – shop owners 10 – locals 8 – D/A staff	6 – carvers 8 – finishers 6 – dealers 8 – locals 6 – D/A staff	8 – Potters 15 – school youth	6 – Bead makers	110
In-Depth Interviews with:	2 – craft workers 1 – assemblyman 1 – D/A staff 1 – NCC staff 1 – crafts leader	2 craft workers 3 assemblymen 1 – D/A staff 1 – GTB staff 1 – crafts leader	2 – craft workers 1 – assemblyman 1 – D/A staff 1 – NBSSI staff	2 – craft workers 1 – assemblyman 1 – D/A staff 1 – ATAG staff 1 – informant	25
Column Total	167	148	47	17	379

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Overall, three hundred and seventy nine (379) people participated in this study as shown in table 3.3 above. This was made up of 251 crafts people, 75 in-school youth in the crafts villages, 18

ordinary community members, 22 metropolitan, municipal and district assembly staff, and 13 other stakeholders. However, due to the decline in craft activities in Asamang and Pankrono, majority of participants were from Ahwiaa and Bonwire.

3.6.2.3 Survey Instruments

a) Questionnaires

Questionnaires are an inexpensive way to gather data from a potentially large number of respondents. They are also easy to administer confidentially, especially, if participants are to respond honestly (Munn and Drever 1999). In spite of the qualitative nature of this study, especially, in Pankrono and Asamang, questionnaires were employed to corroborate the findings. In this study some of the questionnaires were targeted at active craft entrepreneurs in the selected craft villages. There was a questionnaire for in-school youth in selected craft villages, and an open ended questionnaire for officials of district, metropolitan and regional offices. The questionnaires contained both close ended and open ended questions, and were designed to gather both quantitative and some qualitative data. Open-ended sections of the questionnaire were used to corroborate findings of in-depth interviews and focus groups.

Craft workers' questionnaires elicited information on the basic characteristics of the respondents and their household composition, of craft production and marketing dynamics, sources of credit and target markets, production and marketing constraints and problems faced. There were also questions on consumption patterns during 'good' and 'bad' times, income and expenditure, employment status and the range of benefits derived from craft work. Information on housing materials, tenancy status and available services were also collected to aid the calculation of the CASHPOR House Index. Respondents' experiences and self ranking of poverty status were also explored. The section on vignettes explored the range of actions and decisions craft entrepreneurs took (or would take) given various scenarios to measure coping mechanisms and attitudes.

A five-level Likert Scale (Likert, 1932) was used to gather information on concerns and reactions to various issues relating to sustainability of craft production and participation in decision-

making in the craft villages. A likert scale is a psychometric scale commonly used in questionnaires where respondents specify their level of agreement to a statement. The range of answers on the Likert scale were first explained, and then verbally delivered. The degree of agreement or disagreement gave more scope for understanding the varying shades of opinion, which is deemed superior to questions using the dichotomous scale of yes/no (Dawes 2008). Finally data on the physical assets of respondents were collected using a dichotomous scale.

The interview method was used in verbally delivering questionnaires so as to minimise non-response rate which is a characteristic with this method. Secondly, most of the crafts workers were illiterate and cannot complete the questionnaires on their own. These closed questions were explained to respondents when they were in doubt, however, some of the questions on perceptions and attitudes were left open-ended to give respondents enough latitude to express themselves. Multiple choice responses were provided, with an 'other, please specify' option for additional responses. These responses were later re-coded for data entry and analysis.

To understand how the craft business is organised, and the perceptions, experiences and coping mechanisms of craft workers to poverty, qualitative methods were employed to get a deeper insight and understanding from the craft workers' own standpoint. Their narrations of their motivations to start their businesses, their successes, failures, constraints and challenges in the craft industry and their future aspirations were studied with qualitative methods.

b) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus groups have a long history in market research, and more recently in medical research (Powell & Single, 1996). They have been defined variously in the literature. Powell *et al.* (1996:499) define a focus group as a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research. Thus, focus groups were employed to organise the discussion of poverty issues and other subjective issues (Kitzinger, 1994), as a collective activity (Powell *et al.*, 1996), and social events (Goss & Leinbach, 1996). It also facilitates group interaction (Kitzinger 1995).

The main purpose of using focus groups in this study was to draw upon respondents' perceptions, attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and experiences of poverty, and to identify from their own points of view, which craft workers were poorer or better-off. It was also to gather information about the coping mechanisms various craft worker groups adopted, and reactions in a way which would not be feasible using other methods, for example observation, one-to-one interviewing, or the use of questionnaires. These attitudes, feelings and beliefs may be partially independent of a group or its social setting, but are more likely to be revealed via the social gathering and the interaction which being in a focus group entails (Gibbs, 1997).

Care was taken in recruiting members of the focus groups. Within the Ashanti cultural context, younger people are shy to express themselves completely in the presence of older people. Efforts were made to achieve a considerable homogeneity in age and other socio-economic differences. Efforts were also made to explain questions, state the purpose of the sessions and the intended use of data. There were follow-up probes to promote debate and get a deeper insight. Polling was sometimes used to make sure everybody contributed to the discussions, and to prevent few participants from dominating the discussions. In spite of the many advantages of FGDs, as with all research methods there are limitations.

Some busy craft workers were reluctant to participate in the group discussions. As craft production was already gender specific, gender homogeneity of groups was achieved with little effort in the selected craft villages. Perceptions of poverty, experiences and coping mechanisms were discussed: how a poor and a rich person is identified, causes of poverty, identification of a minimum amount of income necessary to sustain an individual for basic needs per month, participation in craft work, production and marketing problems, issues of discrimination and power relations, as well as the benefits and challenges of handicraft production for individuals and communities were also discussed. An additional FGD was held with migrant Ewe weavers at Bonwire after the researcher learnt about their presence during discussions with kente merchants.

Non-craft worker community members in the selected craft communities also participated in separate discussions to discuss all the above issues, except those on production challenges. Officials of the Kwabre and Ejisu-Juaben district assemblies also participated in group discussions on poverty perceptions and what the assemblies were doing to make craft production a pro-poor activity. The researcher moderated in all interviews and used a digital voice recorder to record group discussions. Permission was sought from all focus group discussants to tape record the discussions. Field assistants took notes during the discussions.

c) In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are very detailed interviews and a means of explaining and understanding relationships that can only be obtained by more extensive quantitative approaches (Johnston *et al.*, 2002). It allows the researcher to study subjective meanings and motives in addition to more quantifiable attributes that can be tapped by structured questionnaires. In-depth interviews are particularly appropriate for documenting life histories and for identifying how craft workers cope with poverty and manage their businesses. They are appropriate where the subject of research is confidential or highly sensitive, like the issues under consideration.

In this study, purposively selected men and women who were either successful or still struggling in the crafts business were interviewed in-depth. Officials of relevant institutions and district assemblies were also interviewed in order to obtain their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and feelings about poverty and pro-poor tourism as an approach to poverty reduction in craft villages. Efforts of institutions to assist craft workers were also discussed. Some of the interviewees declined permission to tape record the interview. In those few situations the researcher tried as much as possible to take notes using the subjects' language and expressions.

d) Participant Observation

Participant observation is a highly effective method in qualitative research in general and in-depth study in particular. It also involves visits to the people or the community under study and focuses on non-verbal means of acquiring information. This entails looking, listening, recording and taking

notes as respondents go about their daily craft work, and share their experiences. Participant observation is a field method closely associated with anthropology, and was made popular by the works of Malinowski (1929) and Franz Boas in the urban research of the Chicago School of Sociology. In many respects, this fieldwork used participant observation but fell short of living with the craftsmen and women and participating in their daily activities. The researcher established good rapport with all the craftsmen and women, and was allowed access to their shops and work spaces and even in the bush where some of them worked, with the facilitation of a local guide.

In this study, the communities selected were visited several times not only to interact with crafts entrepreneurs, but to observe the processes involved in the production of various crafts selected for this study. Visits were also made to carvers who operated in the bush at three locations (Buoho, Yonso near Jamasi, and a forest near the Mampong escarpment). Foase carvers who were not part of this study were also visited to observe differences in product lines and business organisation. A key informant at Offinso was also interviewed to obtain in-depth understanding of the factors responsible for the collapse of the bead making business at Asamang, and to verify information provided by bead makers who claimed this key informant used to be the Women's Organiser of their now, defunct co-operative.

Photographs of crafts men and women, some of their products, and infrastructure at various stages of completion were taken to give a more complete and a visual account of craft production. The researcher also observed the haggling process between merchants and tourists. Some of these photographs are included in the report to aid understanding, as a photograph captures information more accurately, and does not suffer from vocabulary limitations.

3.6.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative methods are especially useful in the generation of categories for understanding human phenomena and investigation of interpretation and meanings that people give events they experience. It is a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of subjects' daily activities. The use of qualitative methods allows subjects to convey to the

researcher their situation from their own perspective, and in their own words. The researcher tries to position him or herself in the situation of the respondents in order to understand and interpret opinions, motives, emotions and social processes better.

The group dynamics is empowering for some participants as they are given the opportunity to inform and educate the researcher about a particular phenomenon. For others however, this could be intimidating if they are shy or not eloquent enough to articulate their views clearly. Thus, qualitative research is sensitive to the human situation and involves an emphatic dialogue with the subjects studied (Kvale, 1996). While qualitative data places emphasis on description and discovery, quantitative analysis is done by using descriptive and inferential statistics.

Applying Ryle's (1968) distinction between 'thin' vs. '*thick*' *description* (roughly, the *description* of an observed event vs. *description* of the meaning of an observed event) to the narratives that respondents give, researchers are able to relate to the relevant level of 'thickness' that participants themselves give to their situation. The emotional content or tone of the response can tell a considerable amount about the feelings and interpretations of any particular informant.

Multiple voices in qualitative research may also help researchers to achieve a degree of depth, flexibility, richness and vitality often lacking in conventional questionnaire-based interviews. They may also help uncover not only what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did. This can aid a deeper understanding of the dynamics of a craft-based livelihood, and the value systems and assets that shape respondents' perceptions and coping mechanisms.

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative analytical methods were employed. For the quantitative analysis, descriptive techniques (mean, medians, and variance, frequencies and cross tabulations) were used to provide rules for combining the variables in an optimal way using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS Version 16). These were done after all open-ended data were re-coded. Graphs and charts were drawn using Microsoft Excel to assess the proportions and percentages of data and to give a visual impression of the data. Descriptive techniques included

frequencies and percentages, using chi-square.

The chi-square test of statistical significance is a series of mathematical formula which compare the actual observed frequencies of some phenomenon with the expected frequencies to find out if there are no relationships at all between the two variables in the larger population. Thus, chi-square tests actual results against the null hypothesis and assesses whether the actual results are different enough to overcome a certain probability due to sampling error. In a sense, chi-square is a lot like percentages; it extrapolates a population characteristic (a parameter) from the sampling characteristic (a statistic) similar to the way percentage standardises a frequency to a total column N of 100. But chi-square works within the frequencies provided by the sample and does not inflate (or minimise) the column and row totals. The propositions were not statistically tested.

The dynamics of crafts production and poverty within and between different craft villages will be compared using cross tabulations to find out the mean differences and similarities between artisans and crafts merchants in order to test the significant differences between these groups of craft entrepreneurs. The P-Values in statistical probability testing are the probability of obtaining a result at least, as extreme as the one that was actually observed, assuming that the null hypothesis is true. The fact that p-values are based on this assumption is crucial to their correct interpretation. Schervich (1996) and Stern and Smith (2001), subscribe to the view that the *lower* the p-value, the *less* likely the result, assuming the null hypothesis, so the more “significant” the result, in the sense of statistical significance –in this case we use a p-value of 0.05, corresponding to a 5% chance of an outcome that extreme, given the null hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that the idea of *more* or *less* significance is only being used to illustrate the point being made. The result of a test of significance is either “statistically significant” or “not statistically significant”; there are no shades of gray.

The use of P-Values is widespread; however, such use has come under heavy criticism due both to its inherent shortcomings and the potential for misinterpretation. Critics of p-values point out that the criterion used to decide “statistical significance” is based on the somewhat arbitrary choice of level (often set at 0.05). It is necessary to use a reasonable null hypothesis to assess the result fairly. The

choice of null hypothesis entails assumptions. Schervich (1996) and Stern and Smith (2001) lists about seven common misunderstandings about p-values (see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/p-value>).

Qualitative analysis focused mainly on transcribing the tapes and field notes and finding the similarities and differences of the perceptions and experiences as well as the coping mechanisms of crafts workers in the various craft villages to better explain the percentages and proportions that the quantitative analysis provided. These were done with the objective of gleaning meanings, and drawing relationships between various aspects of the data. Recorded tapes were transcribed and key findings highlighted on all the major themes and issues that were raised. This information complemented what was realised from the questionnaires and helped to tease out the nuanced understandings of poverty and the motivations that energised the actions and decisions of craftsmen and women, and their coping mechanisms.

3.7 Problems of Data Collection

A number of problems were encountered during the fieldwork. First, the full sample size could not be achieved due to respondent fatigue and unwillingness of some craft merchants to participate. Most craft merchants were not as cooperative as artisans, leading to more emphasis on the artisans. However, it was also difficult to recruit artisans to participate in the group discussions due to their busy schedules. The researcher had to offer incentives (refreshments and transport) to get them to agree to participate. Due to the lengthy nature of the questionnaire, refreshments (Kalypo fruit juice) were offered mid-way through the interviews to sustain their enthusiasm.

There were instances where some respondents who had initially agreed to be interviewed refused to continue after some time. This was partly due to the time consuming nature of the questionnaire (between one hour and an hour and thirty minutes). Some others also interrupted the interviews when tourist buses arrived, and failed to return to complete the interview. As a result, some of the questionnaires were rejected during data entry because they were incomplete.

Many of the craftsmen and women were not comfortable discussing their incomes. However, they were less hesitant in discussing their expenditures. Some earned the equivalent of less than two

dollars a day, with many earning more. It was difficult to compute the actual incomes of craft workers as most of them explained that their incomes were not regular and that they did not pay themselves a salary. For them, there was no difference between working capital and personal income as all earnings were sometimes ploughed back into the business or invested in some other business. Some respondents understated their incomes while others were not willing to talk about how much they earned. Income data was found to be lower than expenditure data and was excluded from the analysis due to its unreliability.

There were some technical hitches with the recording equipment. The digital voice recorder failed to record two of the interviews, leaving the researcher with only the field notes. Again, some of the transcriptions done by one of the note takers were found to be inconsistent with the voice recording. These had to be done all over again as some of the information were not accurately transcribed. An interviewee also declined to give consent for tape recording the conversation. The researcher relied on what he could remember from notes prepared after the conversation.

It was difficult to contact some of the district assembly officials and assemblymen for interviews. It involved a lot of driving to district capitals to locate them. Some of them opted to complete the questionnaires themselves, but misplaced the instruments and made excuses. Several trips were made to follow up on these officials and to provide them with new questionnaires. Some officials who participated in the first round of interviews at Nkawie had been transferred, and were not available during a follow up. The process had to be restarted resulting in delays. However, through perseverance the researcher finally managed to interview some of them.

In spite of the problems encountered during the data collection exercise, it must be emphasised that quality was not compromised. About thirty (30) craft workers questionnaires were found to be incomplete, while twelve (12) contained inconsistencies and were discarded.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has examined the historical and socio-cultural background of the Ashantis. It has presented the geographical background to the study area, and examined the characteristics of the

districts and selected villages which continue to produce the crafts of Ashanti. Together, the natural resources, traditional practices and religion, history, political administration, social organisation, economy and culture - embodied in the visual and performing arts - continue to fascinate and attract many people all over the world. The chapter has defined the crafts produced in this region and located the study area within the regional context.

This study has employed multiple research methods to gather both qualitative and quantitative data on poverty perceptions, experience and coping mechanisms, as well as craft production dynamics including production challenges and coping strategies. The small sample size is based on the total estimated number of active craft workers in the purposively selected crafts communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOURISM, HANDICRAFTS AND POVERTY REDUCTION POLICIES IN GHANA

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focussed on the methodology of the study, and discussed the study area. This chapter analyses government development policy with a focus on handicrafts, tourism and poverty reduction. It highlights the evolution of tourism, handicrafts and poverty reduction policies in Ghana from colonial and post-colonial times to the present, and examines the linkages between them. The chapter also tries to find out whether or not there is a mismatch between policy, implementation and reality, and to determine whether the specific objectives of the policies try to unlock opportunities for poorer artisans to participate and benefit significantly from the tourism related handicrafts business.

The main question this chapter seeks to answer relates to whether or not the cultural, tourism and economic policy environment has unlocked opportunities for craftspeople to derive enhanced economic, non-financial and other livelihood benefits in the crafts villages on Ghana. Further, the question as to whether or not the policies unlock opportunities and increase economic benefits; enhance non-financial livelihood impacts; and, enhance participation and partnership/linkages with other sectors shall be posed and answered?

4.2 Development Policy and Planning in Ghana since 1945

Policies broadly set boundaries to what can be done in any field, and invariably create or remove impediments to effective management and development of institutions and sectors for which they are formulated. A concise account of Ghana's economic history and development policy planning is contained in the preface and introduction to the current Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II (2006-2009) by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC, 2005). All the details of this background needs not to be repeated here as several references have already been made to it elsewhere in this study. However, the following features are noted to set the tone for the discussion which follows (NDPC, 2005:1).

The Post-War Gold Coast (1945-1957) was a model colony of the British Empire endowed with a relatively advanced infrastructural network and social service institutions in health and education. The first long-term development plan (1920-1930) in the history of the colony was written in the 1920s by Governor Gordon Guggisberg. Even though the recession of the Second World War prevented the full benefits of the plan to be achieved, the Gold Coast emerged as one of the biggest holders of reserves in the Sterling Area System.

Development planning during the colonial period was concerned with putting in place the infrastructure and bureaucracy necessary to exploit and transport the country's natural resources to overseas metropolitan centres. It paid no attention to handicraft and tourism development. Post independence development planning pursued various paths to secure socio-economic independence and to transform and modernise the newly independent country.

Ghana's economy, which is largely agriculture based, has in the past been characterised by high rates of inflation, continuous depreciation of the cedi, dwindling foreign reserves, an excessive public debt burden and fluctuating growth. Extensive implementation of liberalization and adjustment policies in the 1980s produced some growth in services and mining but did little to induce and sustain growth in agriculture and manufacturing. Both growth and incomes remained stagnant, resulting in deepening poverty. Although general poverty levels decreased in the 1990s, certain areas of Ghana experienced growing and deepening incidence of poverty, with evidence of intensification of vulnerability and exclusion among certain social groups.

Ghana has therefore, gone through a tradition of rapid development and recession during the colonial era; economic buoyancy and high expectations during the post colonial era; economic stagnation and political instability during the 1970s and 1980s; economic recovery and stabilisation of the late 1980 and 1990s; had declared itself insolvent by joining the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative to get some respite from loan repayment and debt servicing pressures, leading to macro-economic rehabilitation of the economy and poverty reduction at the turn of the millennium. Today, Ghana is on the course towards achieving a middle-income status with the current GPRS II.

However, a major challenge facing Ghana's development since independence has been the inequitable distribution of development, and the persistence of poverty. From the early 1960s, there has been the formulation, adaptation, adoption and implementation of various policies, concepts and programmes, all aimed at finding solutions to a vulnerable mono crop economy that was hinged on unstable world prices for its primary products. This was to promote growth and development, and to unravel the poverty enigma. To this end, many programmes, focussed on various economic, social, and political sectors received prominence on the development planning agenda but have yielded mixed results.

Government has experimented with industrialisation and import substitution, mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture, export promotion, structural adjustment programmes (SAP) with an accompanying programme of action to mitigate the social cost of adjustment (PAMSCAD), and trade liberalisation without much success. Politically, multi-party democracy, decentralisation, good governance and the rule of law continue to be experimented with. Other development programmes include rural development and urban regeneration, private sector support and presidential special initiatives (PSIs), educational and health reforms, and tourism development, which are all aimed at socio-economic growth. These efforts have achieved some successes but have failed to create the social, economic and political conditions that are necessary to unlock opportunities to ensure a decent standard of living for the majority of Ghanaians and poorer members of society. Data from the Ghana Living Standards Surveys illustrates this claim as presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Indices of Poverty by Main Economic Activity

Economic Activity	1991/1992	1998/1999	2005/2006
Public sector employment	34.7	22.7	7.8
Private formal employment	30.3	11.3	10.1
Private informal employment	38.6	25.2	17.1
Export farmers	64.0	38.7	24.0
Food crop farmers	68.1	59.4	45.5
Non-farm self employment	38.4	28.6	17.0
Non-working	18.8	20.4	13.3
All Ghana	51.7	39.5	28.5

Source: Computed from the GLSS 1991/1992; 1998/1999; and 2005/2006

The previous policy on poverty reduction, Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I), issued in March 2003 reflected a policy framework that was directed towards achievement of anti-poverty objectives of the UN's MDGs. The GPRS II intends to introduce a shift of strategic focus from poverty reduction to wealth creation. However, the current blueprint for poverty reduction is captured in the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II, which focuses on accelerated and sustainable growth; poverty reduction, promotion of gender equity, protection and empowerment of the vulnerable and excluded within a decentralised democratic environment. While GPRS I emphasised poverty reduction programmes, the GPRS II emphasises growth inducing policies and programmes as a means to wealth creation and poverty reduction. GPRS II is, therefore, anchored on continued macroeconomic stability, accelerated private sector led growth, vigorous human resource development and good governance and civic responsibility. Thus, the central goal of the new policy is to: "accelerate the growth of the economy so that Ghana can achieve middle-income status within a measurable planning period".

Tourism and handicraft issues are not specifically targeted and emphasised in the policy document. They are, however, captured under section 3.4 (developing additional sectors to support growth). Tourism is acknowledged as a young and expanding industry which now accounts for almost four percent of GDP, with a 12% annual growth rate. With a comparative advantage in heritage assets and eco-tourism, and a major potential for investment, the policy envisages tourism becoming Ghana's main foreign exchange earner in the near future. This will be possible only after upgrading the weak infrastructural base of the industry, and improving the marketing, health and safety services, and creating loss and recovery facilities.

The broad policy focus in the poverty document is to: "realise the potentials of the sector by making Ghana a competitive and quality tourism destination while preserving the country's cultural, historical and environmental heritage". The key policy interventions and strategies to be pursued are to promote tourism as a major source of domestic revenue by reducing credit constraints of operators, especially, women entrepreneurs; enhancing tourism services and standards; classifying formal and informal tourism establishments; and enhancing the capacity of the human resources in the hospitality

industry. The policy seeks to foster national cohesion and re-distribute income by promoting domestic tourism by encouraging Ghanaians to preserve and appreciate national heritage for wealth creation in local communities.

By developing sustainable eco-tourism, cultural and natural heritage sites, sustainable development and management of coastlands, and enforcing measures to reduce waste and anti-social practices, the policy hopes to promote sustainable and responsible tourism to preserve historical, cultural and natural heritage. Finally, by providing technical assistance and other opportunities for micro enterprises of rural and urban crafts procurers, and improving the quality and marketing of their products the policy hopes to promote the crafts industry for the tourist trade and export.

There is now evidence demonstrating the successes as well as the failures of tourism as an entry point to social and economic development. There is also a growing awareness that many countries and their communities have not achieved those social and economic objectives due to environmental degradation, social disruption, unanticipated costs to local governments and rising cost to residents. Distressingly, the poor often do not receive benefits of tourist development for a number of reasons which would be explored in this thesis. Thus, in spite of the positive effects tourism has recorded in many destinations, poverty persists in many destination areas in the developing countries. However, a new thrust of the tourism discourse is an engagement with poverty reduction and development linkages.

Within the area now considered as Ghana, there were over fifty (50) ethnically based states existing as separate social formations, each with its own unique culture, traditional social structure and handicrafts. Ghanaian culture is, therefore, a blend of all the cultures of its peoples. We can, therefore, describe Ghana as a unified nation with a cultural diversity. However, much of the culture and crafts skills were passed down from generation to generation without any documentation. Besides Rattray's study amongst the Ashanti (Rattray, 1927), the colonial period saw no efforts at developing a policy for cultural and handicraft development. This was to change during the post independence years with the pioneering effort of Professor J.H.K. Nketia who fashioned out a cultural policy document for Ghana

in 1957. His efforts have been acknowledged in the forward to the present National Policy on Culture. His proposals were adopted by the UNESCO, but were shelved for 26 years until 1983, when the first elaborate work on the cultural policy was undertaken by Asiedu Yirenkyi, the Secretary for Culture and Tourism under the PNDC regime. Thus, Ghana had no policy on handicrafts during the colonial and post colonial periods.

A National Commission on Culture was established in 1990 by PNDC Law 238, but in spite of a series of revisions and a discussion of the draft policy at cabinet level, it remained a draft policy document until 2001. Today, through many years of deliberations and public discussions, Ghana now has a National Policy on Culture (2004).

4.3 The Tourism Policy and Poverty

After a fairly lengthy period in which Ghana's tourism and cultural resources were largely overlooked or undervalued as developmental assets, increased travels to developing countries in the 1960s raised hopes for economic benefits to be derived by destinations in Ghana (Wyllie, 1990). Consequently, the importance of tourism in Ghana's economy has assumed greater influence over time.

Over the years, several approaches to tourism development have emerged in Ghana. Asiedu (2004) observes that prior to the mid 1980s tourism development in Ghana was lethargic and generally lacking in vigour and foresight. This period did not produce any policy focus on tourism development, let alone, one that may be described as pro-growth or pro-poor. The immediate post independence period saw 'state involvement' in tourism development during the Nkrumah era. In this period, there was the establishment of some public institutions including the National Tourism Organisation (NTO), the State Hotels Corporation, a national airline, and national parks.

A number of government and donor sponsored studies were also undertaken (especially, in the 1970s and 1980s) on the industry to aid decision-making. These include the Obuam Committee Report of 1972, which identified the tourism resources of the country, through to the Long-Term Tourism Plan of 1995. Other scholarly research on tourism by researchers and graduate students of universities in

Ghana, and the identification of the tourism agenda for the future have been captured in a paper on *Tourism in Ghana – Reflections on Development Trends* (Asiedu, 2004:26-35).

Along with global trends at this time, Ghana adopted the traditional approach and justification for tourism development by showing a concern for its contribution to Gross National Product and employment. The industry's overall impact on the economy was estimated by looking at the effect of tourism expenditures through direct, indirect and induced spending using a multiplier effect approach. Tourism growth was most often measured (by the Ghana Tourist Board, GTB) through increases in international arrivals, length of stay, bed occupancy, tourism expenditures and the value of tourism spending. However, none of these measures provided any means of determining the scale of the impact on the poor or even the trends which result from overall growth or decline on the poor.

While in the literature there are references to the importance of tourism in the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), developing countries, rural and marginalised areas there is very little consideration of the impact of tourism on the poor (Jamieson et al., 2004:2). Moreover, until the enactment of PNDC Law 116 of 1985, a sequel to the Structural Adjustment Programme of 1983, there was virtually no comprehensive tourism policy to guide tourism development in Ghana. Whatever existed prior to 1985 were reports of studies commissioned by government and world bodies, and legislations which emanated from other sectoral policies that dealt with the country's natural, cultural and heritage resources, which formed the basis of key policy direction to manage Ghana's tourism attractions (Keben, 2004).

Available data indicate that Ghana ranks 10th in terms of tourist arrivals in Africa and is considered a serious emerging market with great potentials on the continent. Presently, tourism is the biggest growth industry in Ghana with an enviable 12.0% growth rate per annum. It generated about 183,192 jobs in 2006 and yielded about 984.8 million US dollars (NDPC, 2007). However, it is uncertain how many of these jobs were taken up by poorer members of society. And, it is not clear what proportion of these jobs and income came from the crafts sector. The case for tourism development as a way of bringing about economic development in a region or country has generally

been made in general terms with a focus on economic modernisation and economic growth. The assumption has been that any tourism development will eventually benefit the poor through the “trickle-down” effect. There can be no doubt that tourism development does employ those in the lower social and economic classes but there is a growing body of evidence that tourism development enriches local elites, international expatriate companies and generates low paying and low status employment. In addition, poorly planned and managed tourism can destroy ecological systems, raise the cost of living for local people and damage social and cultural traditions and lifestyles.

In Ghana’s 50 years of development, a public sector-led tourism industry has emerged, dominated by regulatory and legal policy frameworks designed to facilitate the lead role of the state in tourism business, management, administration and strategic development. Until recently, those engaged in tourism development had not sought to demonstrate the impacts of tourism on poverty reduction – the focus of policy had been on macro-economic impact and its potential to bring economic growth to poor and marginalised individuals and communities rather than on measuring and demonstrating specific impacts on poverty.

The focus of most interventions in the development community has now shifted from identifying ways in which economic growth can contribute to overall development to a much more specific focus on the reduction of poverty. There has been a growing realisation that economic growth alone may not necessarily reduce poverty and that policy commitments to reduce poverty can only be achieved if there is a specific and concerted effort to reduce inequality through creating enhanced opportunities for the poor to participate in tourism and to raise their well-being.

Within tourism planning and development, there has also been a growing realisation that tourism development may not be alleviating poverty and that pro-poor tourism policy and practices must be developed. A clear manifestation of this new policy focus at the international and regional level can be seen in the policies and programmes of various international organisations such as the WTO, ESCAP, and ADB. For this to happen, the private sector need to be encouraged to take a lead role in tourism development, as it is acknowledged as the engine of growth. However, for a long time,

Ghana's tourism policy objectives continued to place a high premium on international arrivals and departures and revenues from related taxation. Additional focus has been on hotel classification, travel agency, tour operators, and tourism transport licensing; foreign currency restrictions and stringent visa regimes. The importance of handicrafts to tourism, and tourism's role in poverty reduction also needs to be enhanced through a deliberate policy focus. This is important in order to ensure that the largely unorganised and informal handicrafts sector, participates effectively in the tourism industry, and that policy is not biased against poorer enterprises and individuals in the industry whose livelihoods depend on the cultural enterprises that are related to the tourism industry.

The millennium development goals are the most recent and explicit statement of this commitment with an explicit focus on reducing the numbers of the people living in extreme poverty (defined as those living on less than 1USD per day). It is widely recognised in the literature that poverty is multi-faceted. The poor have low incomes and lower levels of consumption than those who are not living in poverty. The poor are characterised by their lack of purchasing power in the market and by human underdevelopment, they are generally socially excluded and have minimal access to education, health and other forms of social welfare enjoyed by others in their society who are not poor; they suffer relative deprivation and are generally marginalised in the decision-making processes. They generally lack marketable skills and have few employment opportunities. The poor lack access to savings and capital and generally experience high levels of vulnerability to changes in market conditions. The result is that their basic needs are not met and do not have a state of well-being. Their condition is sometimes referred to as "ill-being". A broader focus to tourism related poverty reduction is important because it emphasises the multi-faceted nature of poverty and the relevance of looking at the broad range of impacts which tourism may have on livelihoods (Jamieson 2004:2-3).

4.3.1 Implementation of the Tourism Policy

The main goal of the current long-term tourism strategy is to: "safeguard tourism development in order to maximise benefits from tourism and, at the same time, minimise any negative consequences that might arise in the industry's development" (GOG, 1995: 48-49). There are a number of specific

objectives designed to achieve this goal, which is also relevant to the handicrafts sector, and may be used for unlocking opportunities for ordinary Ghanaians to benefit from tourism related enterprise.

There are nine specific objectives of the tourism policy. They include: enhancement of economic benefits through encouraging greater spending and establishment of strong linkages between tourism and other economic sectors; provision of facilities that meet minimum standards of sanitation, safety, comfort and service and are properly licensed; bringing socio-economic benefits directly to local communities and the national economy; conservation and development of attractions that ensures international best practise with adaptations to the Ghanaian situation; effective and systematic education and training of manpower to man public and private positions in the industry; education of the general public and identifiable groups on the economic opportunities in the industry; taking steps to avoid duplication; effective monitoring of tourism impacts and better implementation of tourism plans, and mobilisation of necessary financial resources; and adapting development and marketing approaches to global trends.

In theory, these objectives recognise the multi-sectoral nature of the tourism industry and the need for collaboration and linkages between the tourism and other sectors for a concerted approach to socio-economic development. This is necessary because it is not just tourism policy that influences the development of the industry in any particular destination. Elements within the national poverty reduction programme need to enhance pro-poor growth. Ensuring that the national policy framework supports Pro-poor Tourism requires collaboration amongst: 1) Regional economic policies, rural regeneration policies, trade policies and local land-use planning that include a realistic assessment of the potential for tourism, and identified ways to develop it at priority sites; 2) A national economic policy framework that includes realistic assessment of comparative advantages of tourism; and 3) Coherence and effective institutional linkages between the tourism ministry and economic development ministries (PPTP, 2004).

Good policy must be followed by good implementation. This requires the development of tourism regulations that: do not discourage development unnecessarily; are not biased against the

poorer (and less connected) entrepreneurs; and maximise opportunities to encourage or require operators to incorporate pro-poor measures into their business practice. Policy formulation needs to be all inclusive to ensure success. In practice, however, it was found out that all policy matters were dealt with at the national level, while the largely under-resourced and under-staffed regional offices of the Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), were charged with implementation of the plans and strategies. Selected districts and the metropolitan assembly, as well as the Centre for National Culture (CNC) and the Regional Tourist Board report the absence of a district tourism development plan or an implementation strategy. Craftsmen and women also had no representation on their community development boards.

Secondly, the tourism policy identifies the provision of facilities to meet minimum standards of sanitation, health and safety among others, but the reality is that many destinations lack basic tourist specific infrastructure to ensure this objective. It is only recently that government has embarked on building receptive facilities at selected locations. Even though a toilet facility has been put up at Bonwire as part of the Export Production Village (EPV) craft centre, the facility cannot be used because the municipal assembly and the craftspeople could not provide pipe-borne water at the site. There were no toilet facilities in the other craft villages of the Ashanti region, and tourists in need of these facilities have had to rely on private homes with these facilities, or used the ill-maintained and largely insanitary public places of convenience, where they were available.

Linkages between tourism and other relevant sectors like agriculture, the hotel industry, handicrafts and souvenirs, and building and construction among others are weak, unexamined and are neither promoted nor fostered. Many hotels and restaurants, for example, import a greater part of their foodstuffs, vegetables, furniture and interior decorations from abroad. However, sourcing them locally would stimulate business, create employment and generate incomes that can sustain livelihoods, with ripple effects on the general national economy. There are opportunities in developing linkages between the agricultural and handicraft industries and the hotel and catering industries. But this has been overlooked for too long. There is a great potential for a 'win-win' partnership from which these industries would benefit greatly.

Tourism development and facilities seem to be created to cater for the anticipated 'high spending' incoming international tourists. Domestic tourism, though encouraged, is little promoted or supported. Consequently, tourism infrastructure seems to be concentrated along the southern half of the country, and in urban centres in capital cities. The situation in Kumasi is no different. Most of the hotels and other tourist infrastructure are located in the city. Tourists, therefore, make day trips to the crafts villages and return to Kumasi. This pattern of development defeats the objective of 'bringing socio-economic benefits directly to local communities' and the national economy.

Besides watching craftsmen at work and buying handicrafts, there seems to be nothing else to engage tourists and make them spend money in these crafts villages. Development of a hands-on training programme of activities for tourists on how to make various handicrafts; short video documentaries that explain the history, processes, meaning and significance of the handicrafts, as well as the various uses to which these royal crafts can be put have the potential of generating additional incomes for the communities, offering an enjoyable activity that tourist would be willing to pay for. Proceeds from these programmes would be useful in providing required infrastructure which will be of benefit not only to tourists, but to local people too.

There have been major policy changes since 1990 (Medium-Term Plan, 1992; Long-Term Plan 1995; and the 5-Year Strategic Action Plan, 2002) but Keben (2004) is of the view that the regulatory framework and specific tourism legislations have remained static, out of tune with best practices worldwide, and do not seem capable of either enhancing the achievement of goals set out in the strategic plan, or dealing with the new challenges and opportunities that globalisation and urbanisation have brought about. Consequently, over a period of three decades, a wide gap has developed between current policy and archaic legislation through which the former must be implemented (Keben, 2004). There are obvious weaknesses and inadequacies in both the tourism policy and associated legislation in Ghana. These weaknesses derive from policies being non-responsive, and legislations being obsolete and poor in agenda setting processes that should guide the focus, content and scope of both policy and legislative enhancement. A review is now in progress.

Another area that shows a mismatch between policy and reality relates to the lack of information and understanding of the tourism system, and of the economic opportunities in the industry. This lack of understanding is two-way, as noted by Jaitly (2001) in her assessment of Indian handicrafts. Many of the Metropolitan and District Assembly officials in Kumasi were not aware of the 24, 389km² Ashanti Tourism Zone (ATZ) demarcated by the Ministry of Tourism in 1996, and contained in the Integrated National Tourism Development Plan for Ghana (INTDP, 1996–2010), which demarcates a tourist development zone containing most of the region's tourist attractions.

The policy objective of avoiding duplication and confusion does not seem to be well implemented, as there seems to be little collaboration between the Ministry of Forestry and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Culture and Tourism ministries. There are inadequate and no provision of waste disposal facilities at many tourist areas including craft villages. Existing forestry policies seem to favour large, often foreign based timber firms to the disadvantage of smaller operators and carvers who use hand-held tools to produce handicrafts. There is an unsustainable level of timber extraction by big timber and logging companies. Carvers have exploited certain tree species almost to extinction around the carving villages. They now travel further afield to harvest these tree species for their work. There are no efforts to replant those tree species.

Governments have a critical role to play in setting the framework under which tourism develops and in shaping its impacts on poverty reduction. Even though the poverty reduction potential of tourism appears to be recognised, it is poorly articulated and managed. The focus of the policy has been on the macro-economic benefits of tourism including: employment, economic growth/GDP contributions, foreign exchange earnings and private sector investment. While these might seem laudable, poverty reduction requires more than these macro level impacts. It is not just growth that is needed, but growth that specifically benefits poor people and their livelihoods – pro-poor growth.

The future of the tourism industry lies in cultural industries and enterprises. A well-planned and authentic handicraft sector offers a brilliant opportunity to generate wealth that can sustain livelihoods and reduce poverty in crafts villages and the nation at large. The Strategic Action Plan is silent on

handicraft issues, and with no budgetary allocation. Clearly, the handicrafts sector has not featured prominently in the tourism policy, and has operated in a policy vacuum over the years. Poor people and their needs seem not to be adequately considered on the government's tourism development agenda.

4.4 The Cultural Policy and Poverty

Issues that relate to handicrafts and its development are captured in Chapter V (Heritage Assets) and Chapter VI (The Cultural Industry) of the National Cultural Policy. Issues considered under the Heritage Assets include galleries and craft centres, handicrafts, museums and monuments, forest reserves, National Parks and recreational facilities; festivals and special events, religion, and traditional medicine. The policy also deals with economic development, crafts and rural industry, tourism, mobility of people within Ghana, foods, clothing, and gift shops. The relevant sections of the policy document is evaluated and discussed to identify any mismatch between policy, implementation and reality, and to find out how pro-poor the policy is.

The broad objectives of the Cultural Policy are captured in sections 3.1 and 3.2 of the policy document and seeks, inter alia, to: “document and promote Ghanaian traditional cultural values; to ensure the growth and development of our cultural institutions and make them relevant to human development, democratic governance and national integration; and to enhance Ghanaian cultural life and develop cultural programmes to contribute to the nation's human development and material progress through heritage preservation, conservation, promotion and the use of traditional modern arts and crafts to create wealth and alleviate poverty” (NCC, 2004:10).

A number of specific objectives have been set to achieve these goals. The relevant specific objectives include section 3.2.4, which seeks to create awareness amongst Ghanaians about the contemporary relevance of their traditions and cultural heritage and assist local communities to mobilise their cultural resources for human and material development. Section 3.2.8, seeks to promote the arts by: i) enhancing the status of artists and artistes, ii) identify, develop and reward creative talent, and iii) make artistic products contribute to wealth creation both for creative individuals and the

nation as a whole. Section 3.2.11, seeks to undertake and promote research to create a database on culture for policy makers, academics, administrators, artists and artistes, embassies, foreign visitors and all other interested persons. Next, section 3.2.12, seeks to maximise the capacity of the cultural sector to develop and promote the economic aspects of culture in order to enhance Ghana's image as a culture tourism destination; and finally, section 3.2.13, seeks to create positive linkages between all cultural institutions, thereby ensuring synergy in all cultural activities and maximising the benefits of the limited resources available to the cultural sector.

Clearly, this is a well-thought out and well written holistic policy. Although the policy adopts a holistic approach to culture, it recognises that not all aspects of culture and cultural processes can be regulated by policy. Unlike other policies, a 'Culture Fund' has been established to finance the implementation of the policy, but the details of how this fund is administered are beyond the scope of this study. The policy recognises that cultural goods and services are an integral part of the national economy.

4.4.1 Implementation of the Cultural Policy

In its implementation in section (4.4.3), the policy proposes tax relief and other measures to make creativity and cultural entrepreneurship thrive so that they may contribute to wealth and employment generation. However, there were no reports of tax relief among crafts entrepreneurs studied. Some crafts entrepreneurs even complained of expensive export duties and scanning fees for their exports. The policy also recognises the cross-cutting character of culture by detailing the linkages of culture with various sectors of national development.

The policy identifies galleries as repositories for the display of works of art and encourages each regional and district capital to have at least one gallery, and each community, a craft centre for the promotion of crafts. With the exception of Pankrono, all the other crafts villages studied had crafts centres which were operational, or were almost completed but not inaugurated. The establishment of design studios and other facilities for training and apprenticeship of artists and craftsmen and women are to be promoted. This exists in the College of Art in the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and

Technology and other National Vocational and Technical Trainings Institutes, but needs further support and funding.

On handicrafts, the policy gives recognition to crafts as valuable material heritage which forms a valuable part of our historical and contemporary culture. It recognises the economic and cultural roles of craftsmen and women in national development, and calls for adequate provision to be made for the identification, documentation, preservation, development and promotion of their works. To this end the National Commission on Culture, in collaboration with other relevant bodies, institutions and agencies are charged to: a) foster the preservation and development of craft skills and the documentation of the indigenous technology employed in their creation; b) enhance the status of the Ghanaian artist/craftsman and woman by protecting their rights and promoting their works. However, there is more to be done to realise these objectives. The internet-based database on the cultural resources and handicrafts of the various regions do not seem to be complete and are rather sketchy. While there is a national annual music awards programme, there is none for other artisans like carvers, weavers, potters and bead makers. The awards scheme needs to include other categories.

The policy requires appropriate legislation to be enacted to ensure the protection of designs and creations of Ghanaian craftsmen. But to date, the intellectual property rights of artisans continue to be disrespected. Many artisans and crafts entrepreneurs in Bonwire and Ahwiaa complained of the wanton disrespect of their intellectual property rights through copying by colleagues and foreign business entities. However, their products and creations continue to remain unregistered and unpatented. Perhaps, the 'collective property rights' and 'crafts district' ideas espoused by Moreno, Santagata and others (2004) need to be studied further and adapted for adoption to address this problem. Universities can facilitate this process so that artisans derive due rewards for their creativity and talent.

In spite of the support for the establishment and development of sustainable craft villages, craft shops and training facilities, some of the crafts, villages and livelihoods in the Ashanti region and other places in Ghana have been allowed to deteriorate to the extent that craftsmen and women have had to find alternative livelihood sources to survive. The National Commission on Culture is to collaborate

with traditional authorities to ensure that taboos and prohibitions that affect the participation of women in aspects of traditional handicrafts are outlawed. In this regard, the Ejisu-Juaben Municipal Assembly executed a project to train some women weavers at Bonwire, but none of those women are active in weaving today. It is still believed that it is a taboo for women to weave, and many women fear they would be barren if they sat in a loom. This represents one of the ways culture and craft production has changed (or remained static) over time.

The policy recognises that economic development is human centred, and requires culture to occupy the centre stage in every national development planning. To this end, programmes are to be put in place to recognise the economic viability of the arts and promote and sustain them through grants, loans and other forms of assistance. There is to be support for indigenous technology research to promote local self-sufficiency in the production and manufacturing of basic necessities of life. However, the only bank that was found to advance loans to crafts entrepreneurs was the Prudential Bank. The other banks in Kumasi do not seem to have any specific programmes for crafts entrepreneurs in the region. Some of the craftsmen also take undue advantage of programmes and default in repaying loans given to them by district assemblies. According to some kente merchants who took loans from Ejisu Juaben Municipal Assembly and did not pay back, the amounts were too small, and the timing was such that they saw it as a reward (chop money) from government for voting them into power.

The policy recognises tourism as a major industry that depends on the buoyancy and attractiveness of the unique expressions of culture in Ghana. Tourism has, therefore, been identified as a means by which the wealth of cultural products and values are shared with the rest of the world towards the promotion of our common humanity and global understanding. This also has the potential to generate wealth and to alleviate poverty in local communities. However, more needs to be done to strengthen collaboration between the tourism ministry and the commission on culture to organise joint programmes, share information and expertise, and take steps to neutralise the negative impacts of tourism on society.

Programmes such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), the Presidential Special Initiative on Textiles and export promotion drives through the Export Development and Investment Fund (EDIF), have given support to original indigenous designs and creations in clothing and hairstyle to be encouraged, preserved and developed on the contemporary Ghanaian and international fashion scenes. More can be done through collaborative research between academia, the industrial sector and fashion design institutions, to promote Ghanaian fashion products as a vital contribution to the national economy and identity.

To promote national identity, institutions like the Universities, the Judiciary and legislature are not only encouraged to adapt local design and patterns in their regalia, uniforms and paraphernalia, but they should use regalia, uniforms and paraphernalia that are made completely in Ghana. It is only through this patronage that small and medium scale indigenous clothing industries can be assisted to develop and grow. More needs to be done to assist crafts SMEs to improve their marketing strategies and increase their presence on the world market. Additionally, the wearing of Ghanaian clothes should not be restricted to Fridays only. They should feature prominently in our schools, banks and at state functions.

Finally, the policy seeks to encourage Ghanaians to develop the culture of exchanging gifts of locally produced cultural objects, and to offer support and encouragement to entrepreneurs who operate gift shops and markets in and outside Ghana for artistic and cultural products through appropriate agencies. Crafts entrepreneurs should be encouraged to create craft items appropriate as gift items for events like Valentine's Day, Mother's Day, Father's Day, Easter, Christmas and other occasions like weddings, christening and graduation. University departments could adopt specific kente patterns and colours, specific wood carvings as awards and plaques to reward achievement. This drive has the potential of sustaining the livelihoods of many families who derive their well-being from cultural industries.

In practice, however, the cultural policy seems to be more concerned with chieftaincy issues more than it is with handicraft matters. While festivals and music have received considerable attention,

handicrafts promotion and development seems to be lost in the affairs of the cultural commission. The important linkage between culture and tourism and the potential for economic and poverty reduction is clear in the policy document, but there seems to be no mechanisms put in place for achieving this objective.

4.5 The Nexus of Tourism, Cultural and Poverty Policies

In the wake of globalisation and economic restructuring, many countries and communities are struggling to redefine and rebuild their economies. However, a critical examination of past developmental programmes and policies, including tourism plans and strategies reveal that they have been focussed extensively on economic growth, to the neglect of poverty and the welfare of poor people. These programmes and policies may be considered as '*pro-growth*' and not '*pro-poor*'.

The role of policy in maximising the poverty impact of tourism needs to be looked at seriously, and pursued vigorously in order to create the necessary conditions for poverty reduction to occur through wealth creation and pro-poor growth that reduces inequalities. The formulation of policies must, therefore, be informed by a dispassionate assessment of internal and external forces in the industry. This must then be followed by good implementation through legislation to reflect policy goals.

This observation calls for the coordination relevant sectoral policies towards a harmonisation of objectives and strategies so as to prevent duplication and to focus efforts towards efficiency and the nurturing of the various sectors of the tourism industry. Due cognisance also needs to be taken of the global, regional and sub-regional development pacts so that Ghana's tourism adapts practices that are sensitive to global best practice and conventions. The Revised National Tourism Policy document of Ghana (December, 2005) identifies various factors that relate to: (a) absence of a supportive and conducive policy environment, (b) dearth of quality tourism products and services, (c) inadequate implementation and co-ordination of a clear national marketing strategy for the industry, (d) limited investment in tourism enterprise development and lack of access to long-term finance, and (e) an ill-structured tourism administration characterised by a lack of clarity over roles and responsibility of the

Ministry of Tourism (MOT), Ghana Tourist Board (GTB), and Ghana Tourist Development Corporation (GTDC). (MOT, 2005).

Politically, there is insufficient government support, in terms of progressive actions that allow handicrafts and tourism to grow to a higher level and until recently, tourism was not treated as a national priority. There is also inadequate knowledge and awareness of craft businesses (its requirements, socio-economic benefits, financial returns etc.) among policy and decision-makers, especially, at the DAs surveyed in the Ashanti region.

Considering the Legal/Policy Framework, there is absence of comprehensive and conducive policy guidelines, and investment incentives, and most tourism related legislation is outdated (stemming from 1960s and 1970s), and is incompatible with modern tourism requirements. The Strategic Action Plan is silent on handicrafts and does not have any programmes and targets set for its development. Enforcement of regulations, certificates, licensing, etc, is weak, and the legal mandate for management and administration of handicrafts and tourism resources is fragmented; i.e., spread over various ministries, departments and public agencies. Many crafts businesses are not registered and do not have EIA certificates, though they have lower entry requirements. Entry barriers for tourism also exist in the form of delays in registration of enterprises due to the heavy bureaucratic processes that need to be followed.

The policy environment does not seem to be fully conducive for the socio-economic potentials of tourism to unfold. There is, therefore, inadequate knowledge and awareness of tourism among private sector financial institutions and potential investors, and limited interest amongst financiers and investors to get involved in tourism. There is also inadequate knowledge and awareness of tourism among local communities and the general public. Crafts entrepreneurs are unable to access support from programmes designed for them. Safety and security concerns also loom large with increases in robbery, road accidents, visitor harassment, food safety and hygiene problems, and credit card fraud. However, one could argue that many of these issues are also general societal problems that are not attributable to tourism alone. They can therefore be tackled through a broader national development

framework, which could involve tourism stakeholders. There is lack of planning gain, and limited attention paid to gender issues in tourism and crafts development.

The tourism and cultural policies identify poor marketing as a serious bane of tourism and crafts development in Ghana. There is inadequate implementation and co-ordination of a clear national marketing strategy for the industry. On the international scale, Ghana has no clearly defined image abroad as a tourism destination. Ghana is not yet seen as an obvious vacation destination, and international knowledge of its attractions is limited. On the local micro level too, crafts dealers do not adopt even the rudimentary marketing tools available. They, therefore, thrive on pure luck and the expectation of the arrival of tourists in the crafts villages. There is, therefore, a keen competition to make a sale, leading to harassment of tourists. Domestic tourism is still limited.

Investment in tourism enterprise development is limited due to lack of access to long-term finance. Only a few small entrepreneurs with the resources and skills have been absorbed into the industry's vertically integrated structure. However, many small entrepreneurs in the crafts villages rely on own savings, loans from family and friends to set up their businesses. The private sector financial institutions so far do not consider handicrafts a viable sector and, therefore, provide only short term loans at relatively high interest rates. There is currently no specific government fund for tourism specific infrastructural development.

The Ministry of Tourism has no budget for tourism infrastructural development, nor does it have direct control over a number of key tourism resources such as wildlife, forts, castles, slave markets, museums and monuments, and craft villages. Management and control of these resources lies with other ministries, departments and public agencies. There is also a lack of effective national, regional and local structures for the development, management and promotion of the tourism and crafts sectors. District and metropolitan assemblies lack the requisite manpower with capability to deal effectively with tourism and crafts development issues.

Overall, there seem to have been no real process of involving people in the development and implementation of policies. Often, the policies and institutional arrangements have been predetermined

by funding agencies. Frequently, the outputs of various projects overlap, are ill informed about requirements for effective local impact, and fail to address the issue of economic leakages. Without the involvement of small-scale, local tourism stakeholders in policy development, there has been no real way for policies to incorporate their needs and priorities.

Those who remain in the crafts business are frustrated with low sales volumes. They, therefore, compete fiercely for customers. Most artisans do not even get to hear about particular schemes made for them, and when they do, they cannot cope with the complex procedures to avail its benefits. Their skills, which, have evolved over thousands of years are being dissipated and blunted, and the youth in these villages do not want to join the crafts sector. If these shortcomings are not decisively addressed, the sector may be doomed to extinction, especially, with the unbridled importation of factory produced kente, beads and other culturally unauthentic craft items including plastic cowries from China into the country. These business practices have the potential of killing the local traditional crafts. The challenge now is to engage stakeholders in a process of developing tourism and crafts development policies that spread the benefits of tourism to a wider cross-section of society.

This policy challenge requires a vision of crafts and tourism as an avenue, not just for economic development, but also for social development, rural transformation, sustainability and conservation. Rather than create new niches, it requires a change in the overall approach. Despite the potentiality of the tourism industry, and the handicrafts sector in particular, for wealth creation and poverty reduction, several factors limit their effectiveness to play a more meaningful role in the national economy and society, and prevent the unlocking of tourism's positive impacts to be felt in the national, regional and local economies.

4.6 Discussion and Summary

4.6.1 Discussion

A constantly recurring theme that needs mention is the multi-sectoral nature of the tourism and crafts industries. Despite its direct links with tourism, it is unclear where the crafts sector belongs, and which ministry takes full responsibility for crafts development. This situation creates difficulties for

policy making, as harmony is difficult to achieve, with aspects of tourism and handicrafts issues contained in the environment, trade, rural development, forestry, poverty reduction and cultural policies. With such difficulties, issues were superficially treated in these allied policies without a coherent and unified strategic policy guidance which addressed the issues in a comprehensive manner. However, it is important to note that a national tourism strategy, without a parallel craft strategy is a missed opportunity and could mean millions, even billions of cedis to the national economy.

The tourism policy identifies the crafts as an important sector for employment creation and poverty reduction but does not elaborate on how these were to be achieved. The strategic action plan does not contain any objective for realising these and no budget has been allocated for the realisation of the job creation and poverty reduction potentials identified by the tourism policy. This observation applies to the policy on culture and the GPRS II. The policies also do not address how the human capitals of craftspeople were to be enhanced, as most of them have low educational attainment. Policies were inadequate, lacked a pro-poor outlook and adequate implementation.

Support programmes have stressed on giving financial assistance to SMEs. However, it must be recognised that financing alone is not enough to achieve sustained competitiveness. What the crafts businesses need is 'Business Development Services' (BDS), which includes all forms of SME support services, including training, consulting, technical and managerial assistance, marketing, physical infrastructure and policy advocacy. BDS interventions are specifically aimed at helping micro and small enterprises to overcome market imperfections and inadequate access to technology, and to operate more competitively and with efficiency in domestic and global markets. There must also be public-private sector dialogue and linkages. A favourable investment framework cannot be provided by the market, the firms, donors or the government acting independently. This requires a partnership between all the stakeholders as demonstrated by the South African pro-poor tourism success stories (Ashley et. al, 2006). Other pro-poor tourism success stories may be found on PPTP and ODI websites.

It is only when the capabilities of poorer crafts workers are enhanced, to derive cash and non-cash benefits; when steps are taken to reduce negative impacts on them or to bolster their abilities to

deal with such negativities when they occurred; when efforts are directed at facilitating their effective participation in the handicrafts business; and when an enabling policy environment for handicrafts production and sale is created, that craft operations would become less exploitative and pro-poor. Only then would it become a viable and equitable activity that is capable of sustaining livelihoods of the various categories of workers in the craft villages in the Ashanti Region and elsewhere.

There is, therefore, an urgent need for policy to foster not only an enabling environment for the crafts to thrive, but also to anticipate future challenges to the tourism industry in general, and the handicrafts sector in particular so as to design programmes and strategies to harness their combined synergy to protect the livelihoods of the poor and vulnerable handicrafts entrepreneurs. It is strongly believed that only a 'pro-poor tourism policy' is capable of delivering on the economic and environmental viability and sustainability of the industry, while at the same time making provisions to offset the effects of negative practices that compromise the profitability and sustainability of the craft business.

Burama Sagnia and others have noted that creative cultural assets and rich cultural resources found in abundance in all developing countries, based on human creativity, could be transformed into economic value and a source of economic development. The opportunities for employment creation, export expansion, value creation, and technological upgrading and wealth generation have gone unrealised in developing countries, and effective national policies on creative industries can make a difference (Sagnia, 2005).

4.6.2 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the tourism, cultural and poverty policies in Ghana (Objective one) and has presented a critical analysis of their effects on the development of the crafts in the tourism industry and on poverty reduction. It has also provided some insights and direction for policy makers, tourism and crafts stakeholders on ways in which processes and policies can deliver greater opportunities for livelihood benefits, economic gain and ownership by all stakeholders, including the poor and marginalised in the crafts villages of the Ashanti region.

The chapter concludes with the identification of the potentials of policymaking and its scope for generating pro-poor growth in local level tourism and crafts enterprises, and how this can influence poverty reduction efforts. It makes a case to use tourism and cultural policy to create economic opportunities for the poor to participate effectively, and significantly benefit from tourism, while removing obstacles that hinder effective participation and benefits. Finally, it makes a case for empowering the poor to deal with negative impacts when they occur. The next chapter examines the vulnerability background in the various crafts villages and identifies the various capitals of crafts workers and the challenges they try to overcome to secure desirable livelihood outcomes.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRAFTS PRODUCTION LIVELIHOODS, AND CONSTRAINTS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined some of the relevant policies which affect craft peoples' work and the extent to which they unlock opportunities for them to increase economic and other livelihood benefits. Following the analytical framework and the conceptual and geographical concepts and antecedents discussed in chapter three, this chapter examines the vulnerability contexts of crafts production in the study area and how these affect livelihoods and well-being. The livelihood assets of craftspeople, including some of their social and demographic characteristics and how they use these to achieve desirable livelihood outcomes are examined. Finally, craft production constraints are specifically examined along with their implications for participation, formation of partnerships and linkages.

5.2 Vulnerability Context and Natural Capital for Crafts Production

Crafts production in Ghana has gone through cycles of boom and burst. Changes in traditional religious beliefs and culture, fashion, tastes for manufactured goods, certain local and global events, travel patterns, market and tourism trends have all resulted in 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' conditions for crafts production. These local and global changes have far reaching negative and positive implications for the security of craft-based livelihoods, and the well-being of craftspeople.

Discussants in focus groups, assemblymen, community members, the youth and district assembly officials in the craft villages in this study provided information on the context of craft production by narrating the 'cultural changes' that have occurred resulting in the changing fortunes of craft production. Specific local and global events that have affected craft production, livelihoods and well-being negatively were reported in all the craft villages studied. Analysis of the narratives confirms the second proposition (proposition 2) that: "crafts-based livelihoods in some villages have become precarious as a result of decline or virtual collapse of production due to dwindling markets and local support". It also confirms the assumption that there has been some level of cultural globalisation in

some of the traditional craft-making villages in the Ashanti region along with worsening security of livelihoods that are based on craft production.

5.2.1 Local and Global Shocks and Trends

Local artisans, craft merchants, community members and opinion leaders in the craft villages reported that before craft making became an important economic activity, farming and hunting were the mainstay of the people. Except Pankrono and Ahwiaa, which have been engulfed by urban activities, some subsistence level farming activity still goes on in the other craft villages. However, discussants reported that craft production had become precarious and craft-based livelihoods, vulnerable. Identified factors responsible for vulnerability include reduction of tourist visitations since terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001 (9/11), introduction of factory produced rayon yarns, higher educational attainment of the youth, changes in taste and recently, the importation of factory produced fabrics that look like kente, the use of plastics and urbanisation.

Traditionally, kente has been woven mainly by men. However, women played a significant role by spinning raw cotton into yarns, dyeing yarns into desired colours and sewed strips together to form large cloths and assisted in the marketing of the cloths. Today, factory spun yarns have replaced hand-spun yarns, and they come in different colours; sewing machines are being used to sew strips of kente together. Therefore, women whose sustenance depended on spinning, dyeing and sewing have had to rework their livelihoods to survive. Many have taken to selling kente, petty trading and farming.

Participants at Bonwire, Pankrono and Ahwiaa noted that as more and more youths got educated, they shied away from becoming weavers, potters and carvers, and refused to assist in carrying out the family business. This situation has resulted in shortage of skilled artisans at Bonwire and Pankrono today, which affects production levels negatively. At Pankrono, there were only four active potters and two pot sellers. Young women and girls did not know how to make pots, and were not interested in learning the skills. Generally, the youth saw the local craft industry as work for illiterates, school drop-outs and older people. Even though a justification of the proposition that: “the long-term sustainability of the crafts industry is threatened by the shortage of some raw materials and

skilled artisans” based on the relationship between raw material shortages and the long-term sustainability of the industry may be weak, raw material shortages contributed in no small measure to production difficulties at Awhiaa and Pankrono. Young people participated in the crafts business but did not intend to remain in the industry.

As the traditional religious, cultural institutions and the domestic needs for which utilitarian and ritual crafts were produced become de-emphasised through religious conversions, western-style governance and the emergence of more durable household goods and tools, continued production of crafts today depends and survives on patronage by the chieftaincy institution and tourist demand. However, certain local and global events were mentioned as creating unfavourable conditions for crafts production and craft-based livelihoods and associated well-being.

Discussants at Awhiaa and Bonwire mentioned reduced tourist visitation since 9/11 and the importation of manufactured fabrics with imitated kente designs as having a negative impact on volumes of sale and earnings. The demise of the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM) and the civil war in La Cote d’Ivoire were also mentioned by Asamang beads makers as being responsible for decline in bead production, while urban pressures and modernisation (the use of plastics and aluminium household utensils) were identified at Pankrono as being responsible for decline in pottery production and pottery-based livelihoods and well-being. Thus, local and global changes affect crafts production and livelihoods. However, crafts production and sale in Ashanti has a gender dimension.

A system of traditional restrictions has been systematically imposed by craftsmen in the predominantly male crafts villages to exclude women from participation in particular crafts deemed to have sacred or religious significance. For example, at Awhiaa, women of child bearing age were not allowed to touch the stool of a king or chief, let alone, carve it. While pot making using the traditional method and technology at Pankrono, and selling beads in the market at Asamang were considered dishonourable for men, a closer examination reveals a covert attempt to prevent women from the production of certain crafts, and to some extent, migrants from participating in the sale of the more important and, perhaps, more lucrative craft items. Thus, the crafts production arena in some of the

villages does not favour female and migrant crafts workers. This finding confirms/supports the third proposition that “the way crafts production is organised does not ensure equitable rewards to women and those skilled artisans at the lower levels of the value chain in the crafts villages”. For craft production to become a pro-poor activity, such barriers need to be removed for equal opportunities for females, and for the disadvantaged migrants.

While these local and global changes and trends described above provide a partial explanation of the arena and context of craft production, and an insight into the agency of craftspeople, it is necessary to closely examine their socio-economic and demographic characteristics in order to gain a fuller understanding of the opportunities and challenges of making a living through crafts production. It is important to recognise the influence of certain arena specific elements on the agency of craftspeople to effectively cope with arena-imposed difficulties and opportunities to make a living.

5.3 Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Craftspeople

5.3.1 Human Capital

Key characteristics of the individual craftsperson such as gender, age, marital status, ethnic group, levels of education, among others, constitutes their human capital. Human capital appears in the analytical framework (Fig. 3.2) as a livelihood asset, which is a building block or means of achieving livelihood objectives. As indicated earlier, in addition to being of intrinsic value, human capital is required to make use of any of the other four types of assets (natural, financial, social and physical capital). Human capital is, therefore, a pre-requisite, though not solely responsible, for the achievement of positive livelihood outcomes.

The craftspeople were made up of independent and contract carvers, wood sculpture finishers and merchants; independent and contract weavers, kente finishers and merchants; potters and pot sellers; and bead makers and sellers. Specific variables used to measure human capital include gender, age, marital status, ethnic group affiliation, levels of educational attainment and ability to read, household size, skills and how it was acquired, number of years one has worked in the crafts business, length of stay in the craft community, and one’s religious affiliation. These elements of human capital

form a key part of their livelihood assets.

Table 5.1: Craft Worker Categories in the Selected Craft Villages (%)

Category of Craft worker	Community Name				Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang	
Artisans	71.0	66.1	50.0	0.0	65.9
Craft Merchants	29.0	33.9	50.0	100.0	34.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

For convenience and clarity of presentation, various artisans who were involved in the **production** and **finishing** of particular crafts were put together and designated “artisans”, while all those involved with mainly **selling** or **marketing** were designated “crafts merchants”. Overall, 91 artisans constituting 65.9 percent and 47 crafts merchants constituting 34.1 percent of the sampled population participated in this study as shown in Table 5.1. This shows the spatial spread of artisans and crafts merchants across the selected crafts villages. However, the employment status of craft workers in the crafts villages is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Employment Status of Craft Workers across Study Communities

Craft Community	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
Bonwire	41.2	49.0	52.8	50.0
Ahwiaa	58.8	51.0	33.3	42.8
Pankrono	0.0	0.0	8.3	4.3
Asuofia-Asamang	0.0	0.0	5.6	2.9
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Table 5.2 presents the status of crafts workers in the crafts communities, which shows that there were no contract workers at Pankrono and Asuofia-Asamang. Similarly, none of the workers were engaged in a family business at the same places. This information reflects the level and importance of crafts production at the selected communities as only a vibrant and viable business would warrant the engagement of artisans or workers on contract. Overall, 17 respondents, constituting 12.3 percent worked for family members while 49 respondents constituting 35.5 percent worked on contract basis. However, 72 respondents (52.2%) were self employed across the study communities. As noted earlier, it was observed that crafts activities at Pankrono and Asamang were at the verge of total collapse. As mentioned earlier, craft production in Ashanti is largely unorganised and can be described as an informal economic activity (Yankson, 1992). The activities take place in homes (home-based), in front of houses, in workshops by the roadside and in make-shift workshops. Trees, sheds and open

spaces served as workshops while finished goods were sold in wooden kiosks and metal containers by the roadside in the craft villages. Interviews were, therefore, conducted with the active crafts persons at their various places of work as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Place of Interview by Craft Communities

Place of interview	Community Name				Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang	
Workshop	69.6	57.6	16.7	100.0	63.0
Home	10.1	3.4	83.3	0.0	10.1
Shop/Store	20.3	39.0	0.0	0.0	26.8
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

In order to make sure of the category in which to place craftspeople, questionnaires were administered where they worked. Overall, 63 percent of respondents were interviewed at their workshops, while 26.8 percent were interviewed at their shops/stores. Only 10.1 percent of the craftspeople were interviewed in their homes. Interviewing craftspeople at their work premises also afforded opportunities for the researcher to observe the production activities and to verify responses.

a) Gender

Males made up a substantially greater proportion (89.9 percent) of the craft workforce than females (10.1 percent). However, only 4.4 percent of all females were in actual production, with 21.3 percent in sales and marketing of crafts products. There was a male predominance of the crafts industry at Bonwire and Ahwiaa, while females predominated at Pankrono and Asamang. Overall, there were more male artisans than merchants on one hand, and more female merchants than artisans in the crafts industry on the other. The prevalence of males may be explained by the choice of crafts villages. The nature of craft activities in these villages were such that there were more male craft workers than females as shown in table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Gender of Respondents

Gender	Community Name				Artisans	Craft Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Male	98.6	93.2	0.0	25.0	95.6	78.7	89.9
Female	1.4	6.8	100.0	75.0	4.4	21.3	10.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

A strong relationship was established between gender and participation in certain crafts, and whether one participated in production or marketing of a particular craft as shown in Table 5.4. Traditional restrictions, expressed in taboos concerning carving and weaving were found to be responsible for this pattern. Women, however, participate in selling these crafts. There is a gender specialisation in particular crafts, which accounts for the skewed figures for males and females.

Table 5.5 Employment Status of Crafts Workers by Gender

Gender	Work for Family Member	Contract Worker	Self Employed	Total
Male	94.1	98.0	83.3	89.9
Female	5.9	2.0	16.7	10.1
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

While there is some debate surrounding female entrepreneurship and the role of the female entrepreneurs (Carter and Cannon, 1988; Hakim, 1988), female craftspeople preferred being their own bosses (self employment). Data in table 5.4 confirms this observation. Generally, group discussants in Bonwire noted that many of the female kente traders were itinerant traders who targeted office workers in Accra, Kumasi and other big towns and cities with their wares. However, the age of craftspeople show a different picture.

b) Age

Age can influence the amount and quality of labour, and the productive capacity of craftspeople. Generally, Pankrono potters and Asamang bead makers were the oldest craftspeople sampled, even though some of them did not know their exact ages. They also were the group that produced the least volumes of craft items. Craft merchants were relatively older than artisans in all the communities surveyed, with the over 65 year olds forming about 14.3 percent of all craftspeople.

Table 5.6 Age Cohorts of Respondents

Age groups	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Craft Merchants	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
18 – 27	47.5	47.6	0.0	0.0	53.9	25.6	44.1
28 – 37	31.7	30.6	33.4	0.0	28.6	34.1	30.5
38 – 47	7.2	6.8	0.0	25.0	6.6	8.4	7.2
48 – 57	2.8	3.4	0.0	25.0	2.2	6.4	3.5
58 – 67	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.1	1.4
68 – 77	1.4	0.0	16.7	25.0	1.1	4.2	2.1
78 – 87+	5.8	11.9	50.0	25.0	6.6	19.1	10.8
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

This age differential can be explained by the fact that self-employment becomes inviting as one approached middle age. This may be due to potential craft entrepreneurs reaching a capital threshold and being able to afford the start-up cost of a new venture only later in life. It is also likely that it is only later in life that artisans might have accumulated sufficient knowledge and experience of the trade to try going into business alone. About 80.9 percent merchants said they started working as artisans first before becoming craft merchants. Overall only 13.0 percent craftspeople started their businesses as merchants. The situation in Asamang was slightly different as bead makers participated in both the production and marketing of their product. Table 5.6 shows the age differentials between the craft villages and between artisans and craft merchants respectively. The youngest craftspeople sampled was 18 years old while the oldest craftspeople did not know how old she was.

Spatially, there were more of the younger artisans at Bonwire and Ahwiaa than at Pankrono and Asamang. Within the craft industry, however, there were relatively more of younger artisans and older merchants. This observation has implications for the survival of handicrafts activities at Pankrono and Asuofia Asamang, as the existing stock of artisans has become elderly. Low levels of self-employment amongst lower age groups reflect difficulty of establishing any enterprise without sufficient funds or experience. Overall, 81.8 percent of crafts people were aged 47 years and below.

The participation of over 65 year olds may reflect those who were reluctant to retire; had no pension and could not afford to retire. All the artisans at Pankrono were over 65 years old. This situation signals the extinction of traditional pottery production. Again, only two middle aged women were involved in selling pots. Traditional pottery making at Pankrono and bead making at Asamang are bound to die out if the youth do not get involved actively. However, Meager (1991) has shown that the propensity of younger males to enter self employment is 4 times that of similarly aged females, but data for this study does not allow this to be well demonstrated as there were only a few young women. This is a limitation of the study but reflects the reality on the ground.

Information from Table 5.6 indicates that if the younger generation does not get involved, and if traditional pot makers and bead makers are not supported, these crafts, which have already become

very vulnerable, may go into extinction in a few years. Families that have depended on these activities have had to seek out alternative livelihoods for survival. Females and the elderly were seen to be more vulnerable to worsening welfare levels than males and the youthful artisans across the craft villages. The effect of marital status on self employment is considered next.

c) Marital Status and Household Size

Marital status and household size influenced the amount of labour available for production, and the ability to leverage labour of other household members. The amount and quality of labour varied according to household size and marital status. Generally, self employment rate was much lower for single people (34%) than for other categories. Marriage seems to provide support in establishing a successful craft enterprise with spouses as partners, and children providing much needed labour, free of charge.

Table 5.7 Marital Status of Crafts Entrepreneurs by Locality

Marital Status	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Currently married	33.3	42.4	33.3	75.0	27.5	59.6	38.4
Living with partner	10.1	10.2	0.0	0.0	11.0	6.4	9.4
Not in union currently	56.5	47.5	66.7	25.0	61.5	34.0	52.2
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Overall, 38.4 percent craftspeople were currently married; over nine (9.4) percent were in consensual unions while 52.2 percent were not in any marital union currently. According to carvers at Ahwiaa, it was becoming increasingly difficult to get married, and marriages were breaking up due to economic hardship. Table 5.7 shows the spatial variation in the current marital status of craft entrepreneurs within the crafts industry in the Ashanti region.

There were more married craft merchants (59.6%) than artisans in the industry. However, a few (7.2 percent) craftspeople said they had been in a former marriage, while 14.5 percent said they had ever lived with a man or woman in a consensual relationship. About three percent were currently widowed, while 2.2 percent were divorced, and 2.9 percent separated. While more of the single artisans lived alone, many of the married craftspeople lived with their spouses. In all, 35.0 percent respondents said they lived with their spouses. About 53.6 percent of respondents had ever given birth.

However, 76.6 percent merchants had children compared to 41.8 percent artisans. However, 10.9 percent said they had ever lost a child.

Table 5.8 Household Sizes in Craft Villages and amongst Crafts Entrepreneurs

Household size	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Single person	42.0	40.7	0.0	0.0	47.3	21.3	38.4
2 to 5 persons	37.6	44.1	33.4	0.0	36.3	44.7	39.2
6 to 9 persons	17.3	15.3	66.7	50.0	16.5	25.6	19.5
10 persons & over	2.8	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	8.4	2.8
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Household sizes ranged from a single person household to one of sixteen persons. There were 38.4 percent single person households which constitutes over a third of all households in the study area. However, 47.3 percent of the artisans lived alone as many of them were single or might have migrated and had left their spouses behind. Craft merchants seem to have bigger household sizes as shown in Table 5.8. Overall, 29.0 percent household members were dependant extended family members.

From the Table, it is clear that there would be more labour available to craft merchants than artisans. They could obtain more labour or financial and material contributions from spouses, children and other dependants for their businesses. Depending on their earning abilities, such bigger households stand a better chance of survival than smaller or single person households. However, bigger household sizes can also be a burden if there is only one bread winner on whose productive capacity the whole family depends. Thus, household size is seen both as an asset and also as a liability in terms of human capital in the search for a sustainable livelihood. Additionally, the quality of the household members, in terms of their health status, gender, skill levels, age, education and earning ability were taken into consideration. Changes in household size (birth /death), and its composition (male/female, employed/unemployed) also affected human capital as a livelihood asset.

d) Ethnic Group

Majority (76.1 per cent) of craftspeople sampled were indigenous people from the craft villages. However, 23.9 percent were migrants from other places in Ashanti, Volta, Greater Accra,

Brong Ahafo, and Western regions as shown in table 6.9. However, there were no migrant craftspeople in Asamang and Pankrono. This may be due to the reduced level of craft production, and unattractiveness of pottery and bead making.

Table 5.9 Participation of Migrant Craftspeople in Craft Production

Migrants' region of former abode	Community Name				Artisans	Craft Merchants	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Other Ashanti town	7.2	22.0	16.7	0.0	13.2	14.9	13.8
Brong Ahafo	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.1	1.4
Western	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Volta	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.8	0.0	5.8
Greater Accra	2.9	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
From craft village	75.4	74.6	83.3	100.0	73.6	80.9	76.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

From table 5.9 it is clear that while Bonwire and Ahwiaa have attracted new artisans into their communities within the last 5 years, no new artisan has settled in Pankrono or Asamang to make pots or beads within the same period. Within the Ashanti crafts industry however, 26.4 percent were migrant artisans while 19.1 percent were migrant crafts merchants. This situation has implications for authenticity as Ewe craftsmen and craftsmen from other tribes are now producing royal and tourist crafts in the Ashanti region. This is similar to the Nevaho in South West America – an iconic group – who employ other ethnic groups to produce “Nevaho” “art”.

Craftspeople have lived in the crafts villages for varying lengths of time. While 10.1 percent arrived in the crafts villages less than a year ago (new migrants), over half of them (52.9 percent) said they have lived in the crafts villages all their lives. However, 37 percent have been living and working in the crafts industry for up to thirty years now. Better business prospects (41.8 percent), and higher prospects of finding a job (45.5 percent) were some of the reasons why migrant artisans moved into Bonwire and Ahwiaa. This supports the first proposition that: “the development of tourism and renewed interest in crafts production ... has provided jobs and incomes (livelihoods) to some craftspeople and their families in the Ashanti region”.

In spite of the general slump in crafts activities in the region, 76.8 percent craftspeople intended to stay in the crafts villages indefinitely, while a few (6.5 percent) said they would stay from between 1 and 6 years. However, 16.7 percent of the respondents said they did not know how long

they would stay in the craft villages. New entrants into the handicrafts business, it must be noted, have the potential to preserve the skills to ensure survival of the crafts in the crafts villages concerned.

However, some level of out-migration was observed at Ahwiaa, where, independent carvers have moved out of the town in search of tree species suitable for their work. Some of the independent carving families were visited at Yonso and Jamasi near the Atwea Mountains on the Mampong Escarpment. As wood sources get depleted, they move on to new places they can find trees with ease, and to avoid encounters with forest guards and the police.

Table 5.10 Native Language of Respondents

Native language of respondents	Community Name				Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang	
Twi	84.1	94.9	100.0	100.0	89.9
Ewe	15.9	3.4	0.0	0.0	9.4
Bono	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Majority of craftspeople (90.6 percent) were interviewed in the local *Twi* language; while 5.8 percent were interviewed in *Ewe*, and only 3.6 percent in the English language. Table 5.10 captures the native languages spoken by craft workers across the crafts villages and within the crafts industry.

e) Levels of Educational Attainment and Ability to Read

Generally, the level of education attained by the entrepreneur has long been seen as a crucial factor in determining the actual entry into self employment and, thereafter, the longer term success of the venture. However, workers in the handicrafts business did not possess higher educational qualifications but were skilful and functional at their work nonetheless. However, 92.8 percent said they had been to school and had some formal education. Education is a strategic livelihood asset which is critical in the use of the other livelihood assets. Only a few of the participants had basic formal education. At Ahwiaa, 98.3 percent craft workers said they had ever been to school while only 33.3 percent of pot sellers at Pankrono reported any formal education.

Within the industry, however, 94.5 percent artisans and 89.4 merchants reported ever attending school. Spatially, Table 5.11 shows that Bonwire and Ahwiaa had more literate crafts workers than the other craft villages. However, while only 16.6 percent crafts people have completed secondary

education, a comparison between artisans and merchants in the crafts enterprise reveals that more merchants have had secondary education than artisans. Analysis of the educational attainment of artisans and merchants revealed that 19.1 percent crafts merchants had senior secondary education compared to only 15.4 percent artisans, as shown in table 5.11.

Table 5.11 Educational Background of Craft Entrepreneurs

Highest Educational Level Completed	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
None	5.7	3.4	66.7	50.0	5.5	12.8	7.9
Primary	78.2	76.3	33.4	50.0	98.1	68.2	74.6
Secondary	15.9	20.3	0.0	0.0	15.4	19.1	16.6
Tertiary	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Even though 92.1 percent of craftspeople claimed they had had some formal education, not all of them could read and write. Overall, only 35.5 percent said they could read easily. Almost forty percent (39.9%) said they could read but with difficulty, while 24.6 percent admitted they could not read at all. Within the industry, 44.7 percent merchants and 30.8 percent artisans said they could read easily while 25.3 percent artisans and 23.4 merchants said they could not read at all. Spatially, 75.0 percent craftspeople at Asamang and 66.7 percent at Pankrono said they could not read at all. This reveals that craftspeople in Pankrono and Asamang had the least formal education and ability to read and write. With this handicap, there is a high probability that many of them do not keep records, and would need assistance to understand written information. Crafts peoples' capacity to communicate effectively (literacy and numeracy skills) needs to be enhanced if they are to reach a wider market and take advantage of intervention schemes.

To succeed in the handicrafts business, artisans and especially, crafts merchants must have relevant market information and be on top of changing trends in designs and colour schemes, as well as local and global market trends, and new items of tourist appeal. Generally, carvers and weavers carved to specifications dictated by the crafts merchants. Such information was not readily available to all crafts workers, and was jealously guarded by those who had access to it. A few merchants had foreign contracts to supply various handicrafts pieces. They also got feedback from store attendants

about which craft items were in greatest demand.

f) Skill Levels and How Acquired

Skills have been identified as an important component of human capital, and a livelihood asset which is used to obtain various levels of welfare. Remuneration from labour depends a lot on one's skills, and the position one operates from on the value chain. It is difficult to measure skill levels without an aptitude test of any kind.

Table 5.12 Surviving and Declining Handicrafts in Ashanti region

Type of Crafts	Artisans	Craft Merchants	Total
Wood carving	42.9	42.6	42.8
Kente	53.8	42.6	50.0
Beads	0.0	8.5	2.9
Pottery	3.3	6.4	4.3
Total	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The absence of any organised way to determine proficiency levels made it difficult to categorise crafts workers' levels of proficiency or craftsmanship. However, this study tried to determine the skill levels of craftspeople by asking them a series of questions relating to the kind of crafts that respondents were involved in, their working experience, previous work, where craft skill was acquired, mode of skill acquisition and duration, previous employment and other skills.

Kente seems to be the most important craft item in the Ashanti region today as 50 percent of all active crafts entrepreneurs were involved in either making (53.8%) or selling (42.6%) it. The next important craft item was wood carving, employing 42.8 percent of all craft entrepreneurs. The low figures for bead making and pottery reflect low critical mass that is necessary to ensure viable production and sustainable livelihood and well-being. The rather low levels of involvement are also indicative of a decline in the number of people who patronise these handicrafts.

Table 5.12 shows that wood carving may not be a lucrative business anymore as there were almost equal numbers of artisans and sellers. This situation has implications for ability to obtain economic quantities of wood sculptures on time and on total turnover. There seems to be as many wood carving sellers as there are producers, implying a saturation of the industry. With saturation, it becomes more difficult to make a sale as more people migrate to the more lucrative aspect of the

business, and competition becomes keen. The relatively fewer people operating at the lower levels of the production chain implies fewer skilled artisans and difficulty in obtaining large quantities on time.

A similar situation is slowly creeping in at Bonwire, necessitating recruitment of migrant weavers to augment the shortfall in the stock of competent weavers. As expected, many people are interested in only the money they can derive from selling handicrafts without getting interested in acquiring the requisite skills of making them. However, many artisans have complained about the poor rates paid by craft merchants who do not participate in the actual production but derived more benefits.

Table 5.13 Work Experience of Crafts Entrepreneurs in Ashanti craft villages

Work Experience	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Less than a year	5.8	3.4	0.0	0.0	5.5	2.1	4.3
1 to 5 years	27.5	22.0	0.0	0.0	23.1	23.4	23.2
6 to 10 years	21.7	52.5	33.3	25.0	36.3	34.0	35.5
11 to 15 years	21.7	18.6	0.0	25.0	17.6	23.4	19.6
16 to 20 years	11.6	1.7	0.0	0.0	9.9	0.0	6.5
21 to 25 years	4.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.1	2.9
26 to 30 years	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
31 to 35 years	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
36 to 40+ years	4.3	0.0	66.7	50.0	3.3	12.8	6.4
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

While a few artisans and merchants were new in the crafts enterprise, many others had built their lives around crafts production and sales. Table 5.13 shows the length of time respondents have been involved with handicrafts in the study villages and within the industry. Generally, majority (70.9 per cent) of craftspeople in Bonwire have been in the kente business between one and twenty years, while 93.1 percent of Ahwiaa crafts people have been in the business for between one and fifteen years. Only a few weavers (4.3 per cent) and bead makers (50 per cent) compare to the Pankrono record. The table also shows that there has been no new interest in pot making for some time now. Most potters have been making pots for over 40 years.

Various skills are required in the production and sale of the different craft items under study. In the past, the same person performed all the tasks necessary to transform raw materials into functional and aesthetic crafts. However, different people now perform different aspects of craft production, especially, at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. While some craftspeople specialised in particular aspects of the craft production process, others had multiple skills in two or more aspects of the production process.

Table 5.14 Craft Skills of Entrepreneurs

Type of craft skill	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Make handicrafts	60.9	25.4	66.7	50.0	61.5	14.9	45.7
Finish handicrafts	5.8	20.3	0.0	0.0	15.4	4.3	11.6
Sell handicrafts	20.3	28.8	33.3	0.0	6.6	57.4	23.9
Sell craft inputs	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	1.4
Make and finish	2.9	1.7	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.2
Make and sell	7.2	1.7	0.0	50.0	5.5	6.4	5.8
Finish and sell	1.4	15.3	0.0	0.0	4.4	12.8	7.2
Finish and sell inputs	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Make, finish and sell	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Table 5.14 shows the number of crafts people with production, finishing and marketing skills across the selected craft villages and within the craft industry in the Ashanti region. The Table shows that there was more specialisation, and division of labour in the craft production processes at Ahwiaa and Bonwire than what pertains at Asamang and Pankrono. This situation also implies more job opportunities at Bonwire and Ahwiaa for skilled and unskilled labour.

Table 5.15 Number of Years Spent in Learning Craft Skill

No. of years spent learning skills	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Up to 6 months	40.6	54.2	66.7	100.0	46.2	55.3	49.3
Up to 1 year	33.3	15.3	16.7	0.0	28.6	14.9	23.9
Up to 2 years	11.6	13.6	16.7	0.0	11.0	14.9	12.3
Up to 3 years	8.7	6.8	0.0	0.0	8.8	4.3	7.2
Up to 4 years	1.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
Up to 5 years	4.3	6.8	0.0	0.0	3.3	8.5	5.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Overall, only a few (6.6 per cent) artisans sold handicrafts while 14.9 percent craft merchants knew how to make various craft items. At Bonwire (1.4 per cent) and Ahwiaa (1.7 per cent), some people had made it their business to sell logs and finishing inputs like sanding paper, polish, potassium permanganate, yarns and threads close to the weavers and carvers as additional income earning activity.

Craftspeople have spent varying lengths of time acquiring these skills. The situation across the crafts villages and within the industry is summarised in Table 5.15. Generally, many people (49.3 %) became proficient in the various crafts by the end of the first six months. However, to become a master craftsman required a longer time with practise. It is important to note that 63.0 percent of

craftspeople had not done any other work apart from the craft business. Only 37.0 percent of them said they had done some other work before entering the craft business.

Table 5.16 Mode of Skill Acquisition in Selected Craft Villages and within Craft Industry

Mode of skill acquisition	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
From parents and siblings	63.8	27.1	100.0	75.0	47.3	55.3	50.0
Through apprenticeship	15.9	16.9	0.0	25.0	19.8	8.5	15.9
Learnt on the job	20.3	52.5	0.0	0.0	31.9	34.0	32.6
From art teacher (school)	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.1	1.4
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The open workshops, homes and shops also served as training grounds for new artisans and craft merchants. Anyone with a keen eye and interest could pick up the skills of craft making from any of the crafts villages. About a third (32.6 percent) of all craftspeople learnt their skills on the job. However, more than half of all craftspeople learnt the skill at home from parents and other relations who were involved in a particular craft, or were apprenticed to a master craftsman that taught and supervised the trainee until they became proficient. The trainee worked for the master during the period of training and may remain to work for the master or set up their own business after the apprenticeship. Table 5.14 shows how craft entrepreneurs acquired their skills. Overall, 98.6 percent of all craftspeople acquired their skills informally, while only a few (1.4 per cent) acquired theirs through formal vocational training institutes.

With migrant craftspeople moving into some Ashanti crafts villages, it was necessary to find out where they acquired their craft making skills. Most of the migrant weavers at Bonwire come from the Volta region and brought along not only their weaving skills but some of the equipment and technology which is slightly different from the local ones in Ashanti. It was observed that the looms used by the Volta region migrant weavers had a little pulley that made the weaving easier.

Table 5.17 Place of Skill Acquisition

Where craft skills was acquired	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Bonwire	81.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.7	40.4	40.6
Ahwiaa	0.0	98.3	0.0	0.0	41.8	42.6	42.0
Pankrono	1.4	0.0	100.0	0.0	3.3	8.5	5.1
Asamang	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	6.4	2.2
Other places	17.2	1.7	0.0	25.0	14.3	2.1	10.0
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Some migrant carvers at Ahwiaa also had learnt their skills elsewhere. Table 5.17 summarises where entrepreneurs acquired their crafts skills in the selected crafts villages. It is important to note from Table 5.17 that the craft retains a significant amount of originality and authenticity as over 75 percent of craft workers said they acquired their skills from the study craft villages. Wood carving tools were also quite portable and could be transported with ease. Individually, the contribution of craftspeople operating micro and small enterprises to the economy may be insignificant but collectively they make a substantial contribution to the economy. Apart from creating jobs, craft SMEs provide products to specialised markets too small for large companies; they also provide an outlet for entrepreneurial individuals.

Finally, it must be noted that high levels of human capital can substantially add to social and financial capital not only for direct productive activities including craft production, but it can also ensure that the best decisions are taken at the right time. It can also be a means to achieving a higher standard of living and better quality of life and welfare.

5.3.2 Financial Capital

Financial capital is made up of the incomes, savings, work in progress (unfinished craft items) and the stock of finished work which have not been sold out yet. Banks and other non-financial institutions and credit schemes define the structure of financial capital. Apart from Asamang, which did not have any financial institution, all the other craft communities had, at least, a rural bank in or close to the community.

Table 5.18 Sources of Credit to Craft Entrepreneurs in Selected Craft Villages

Sources of credit	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Bank	27.5	22.0	0.0	25.0	20.9	29.8	23.9
Susu	7.2	1.7	16.7	0.0	5.5	4.3	5.1
D/A and NGOs	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
Own savings	8.7	15.3	0.0	0.0	8.8	14.9	10.9
Employer/Clients	4.3	8.5	16.7	0.0	8.8	2.1	6.5
Friends & Relations	4.3	15.3	0.0	25.0	12.1	4.3	9.4
Different sources	24.5	22.1	0.0	0.0	24.2	17.1	21.8
None	23.2	15.3	50.0	50.0	19.8	25.5	21.7
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

However, over half (54.4 percent) of the craft entrepreneurs sought credit from the non-bank sector. They relied on their own savings, on friends and relations, employers and clients and a combination of 'susu' and other non-financial sources for credit. A sizeable proportion (21.7 percent) of the sampled population said they did without any form of credit, working from hand to mouth as it were. Table 5.18 shows the sources of credit available to craft entrepreneurs spatially and within the craft industry.

Income is the main component of financial capital. However, it was problematic to compute incomes of craftspeople as their earnings were not regular. They themselves did not think in terms of a weekly, monthly or annual income. Even though efforts were made to compute their earnings, the income data from this study was not reliable to make any meaningful analysis. Many craft entrepreneurs also declined to comment on their incomes. Some of them explained that they did not earn a regular fixed income. Their earnings depended on the availability of jobs, and the volume of sales. As tourist demand was seasonal, craft merchants must earn sufficient income during the peak season to offset a decline in patronage for the remainder of the year. This cyclical demand pattern had obvious implications for earnings and well-being. Many respondents had, of necessity, to take up second jobs in order to make ends meet.

Table 5.19 Number of Craftspeople with Second Jobs

Do you have a second job	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Yes	29.0	33.9	0.0	100.0	19.8	55.3	31.9
No	71.0	66.1	100.0	0.0	80.2	44.7	68.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Some craftspeople have had to look for extra jobs within or outside of the craft industry in order to earn enough to meet their household needs. Overall, 31.9 percent said they did extra work while 68.1 percent relied on earnings from crafts for all their needs. It was, therefore, important to find out what proportion of craft peoples' incomes came from craft activities and from other sources. This situation results in many craftspeople becoming underemployed or unemployed during the tourist off-peak season. However, a close examination of the proportion of income derived from craft activities from Table 5.20 shows that migrants and craftspeople operating at the production stage of the value

chain were hardest hit.

Table 5.20 Percentage of Income from Craft Activities

Percentage Craft Income	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
100 percent	73.9	72.9	33.3	0.0	75.8	57.4	69.6
80 – 99 percent	10.1	10.2	33.3	50.0	8.8	19.2	12.3
60 – 79 percent	13.0	8.5	0.0	50.0	7.7	19.1	11.6
40 – 59 percent	1.4	6.8	0.0	0.0	3.3	4.2	3.6
20 – 39 percent	1.4	1.7	16.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.2
Below 20 %	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Overall, 69.6 percent craftspeople said they derived all their incomes from the production and sale of craft items or by providing craft services. The proportion of total income derived from crafts is summarised in table 5.20. Comparatively, craft merchants had more time to engage in additional income earning activities than artisans. While 42.6 percent craft merchants earned additional income from their second jobs, only 24.2 percent artisans could do the same due to tight work schedules, and the time consuming nature of weaving, carving, and pot making.

The second hypothesis which states that: “there is no significant relationship between the status of craftspeople and the level of economic benefits they derived from the business” was tested. Information from table 5.20 was cross tabulated with the employment status of craftspeople and the chi-square and p-values derived. The results are presented in tables 5.21 and 5.22.

Table 5.21 Employment Status by Level of Benefits Derived from Crafts Business

Level of Benefits	Works for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
100 percent	70.6	75.5	63.3	69.6
80 to 99 percent	5.9	8.1	16.7	12.3
60 to 79 percent	17.7	8.2	12.5	11.6
40 to 59 percent	5.9	4.0	2.8	3.6
20 to 39 percent	0.0	4.1	1.4	2.2
Below 20 percent	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.7
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The Pearson chi-square value calculated for this hypothesis was 18.410 with a p-value of 0.300, which is over and above the set significance level of 0.05. This means that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected at the set significance level, meaning there is no significant relationship between employment status and level of economic benefits derived by craftspeople.

Table 5.22 Chi-Square Tests for Employment Status and Benefits Derived

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)	Decision
Pearson Chi-Square	18.410 ^a	16	0.300	Hypothesis 2 is Not significant.
Likelihood Ratio	17.423	16	0.359	
Linear-by-linear Association	0.001	1	0.979	
N of Valid Cases	138			

a. 22 cells (81.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.12.

Source: Based on table 5.19, Field Survey, 2006.

The test summary is presented in Table 5.22. However, it was difficult for some craftspeople to support themselves on the basis of a single business activity (crafts and / or non-craft) or full time wage employment. Craftspeople, therefore, engaged in other activities to make ends meet. Remittances from children working elsewhere and support from relatives were the main source of income for old potters at Pankrono, while at Asamang, bead making was no longer a sustainable livelihood activity; they all had to do other things to survive. Table 5.23 shows other sources of income for craftspeople.

Table 5.23 Additional Sources of Income

Other sources of income	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Salary/ wages	1.4	0.0	0.0	25.0	1.1	2.1	1.4
Farming	10.1	0.0	0.0	50.0	1.1	17.0	6.5
Remittances	7.2	15.3	66.7	25.0	14.3	12.8	13.8
Investments	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Trading	5.8	5.1	0.0	0.0	5.5	4.3	5.1
Transport	1.4	5.1	0.0	0.0	1.1	6.4	2.9
Not applicable	73.9	72.9	33.3	0.0	75.8	57.4	69.6
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Besides remittances, farming activities were the most important source of additional income for both artisans and craft merchants in the region. To further determine the financial status and ownership of the craft businesses, respondents were asked whether they worked for a family member, on contract, or were self-employed.

Table 5.24 Nature of Employment and Status of Craft Entrepreneurs in Study Area

Nature of employment	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Family business	11.6	16.9	0.0	0.0	7.7	23.4	13.0
Contract worker	34.8	42.4	0.0	0.0	49.5	8.5	35.5
Self employed	53.6	40.7	100.0	100.0	42.9	68.1	51.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Table 5.24 shows the nature of employment and status of craft entrepreneurs, and forms the basis for the test of the hypothesis that: “there is no relationship between the status of crafts workers and their self assessed (self-ranked) poverty status” when this information is cross tabulated with data in Table 6.7 in chapter six. However, while 13.0 percent respondents operated family businesses (some of them as store attendants), many (35.5 percent) were contract workers. Many of the contract workers operated as freelance artisans and as contract merchants for absentee shop owners, taking contracts from all who required their services. However, more than half (51.4 percent) of all craftspeople were self-employed artisans and merchants. Table 5.25 presents information on the status of the various artisans and crafts merchants surveyed.

Table 5.25 Employment Status of Artisans and Craft Merchants

Craft worker Category	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
Artisans	35.3	89.7	56.9	65.9
Crafts Merchants	64.7	10.2	43.1	34.1
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Kerr, (1990) has noted the job creation potential of the crafts industry in rural and urban areas. However, as craft production expands, specialisation emerges and leads to new jobs for local people. While some craftspeople performed most of the tasks associated with their work, hiring additional hands sparingly, others employed casual and semi-permanent labour as and when the need arose, and for as long as there was work to be done as shown in table 5.26.

Table 5.26 Job Creation in Selected Craft Villages and Within the Crafts Industry

Job creation	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Employed others	49.3	49.2	33.3	75.0	46.2	55.3	49.3
Do not employ	50.7	50.8	66.7	25.0	53.8	44.7	50.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Overall, 49.3 percent crafts workers employed people to assist with their craft activities while 50.7 percent did not employ any additional hands for their work. Table 5.24 shows the level of job creation across the selected crafts villages and within the crafts industry in the Ashanti region. From figure 5.7, it is evident that while 46.2 percent of artisans created employment opportunities in the craft villages, craft merchants created more employment (55.3 percent). On average, crafts merchants

created more jobs than artisans. There is, therefore, a great potential for self employment and job creation in the handicrafts sector. However, it is important to test the hypothesis that (hypothesis 2) there is no relationship between craft workers status and economic benefits derived. One of the ways to ascertain economic benefits is to examine the job creation effect of different categories of craftspeople. Table 5.27 illustrates this adequately.

Table 5.27 Level of Job Creation by Status of Craft Workers

Use of Hired labour	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
Employed others	47.1	36.7	58.3	49.3
Do not employ	52.9	63.3	41.7	50.7
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100(138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Due to the specialisation in the crafts production value chain today, different aspects of the production process are now being performed by specialised artisans and day labourers. No individual artisan or crafts merchant can claim independence from this interconnected and interdependent system. One may need assistance, even if temporarily, and may engage services from raw material procurers, creation and design specialists, and finishing specialists. One may even need assistance with sales, distribution and finance. This situation makes the elements of the craft production system interdependent. However, it was the self employed artisans and crafts merchants who were the drivers of change in the crafts communities. They did this by engaging the services of contract workers and mobilising the labour of family members and other skilled and unskilled persons for crafts production.

Implications of the data suggests that building the capacity of the self employed artisans and craft merchants would result in relatively higher job opportunities for community members than what can be expected from contract workers. However, a better alternative (pro-poor) approach would be for artisans and craft merchants to collaborate in forming a more viable and stronger business unit that can benefit from their combined skills, expertise and financial resources. The Chi-Square test value for employment status and job creation was 5.480 with a P-Value of 0.065, which is over and above the 0.05 significance threshold. The null hypothesis is, therefore, accepted implying a decision of 'not significant', hence no significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 5.28 Use of Family Labour in the Crafts Industry across Selected Villages

Use of family labour	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Yes	23.2	13.6	33.3	75.0	16.5	29.8	21.0
No	76.8	86.4	66.7	25.0	83.5	70.2	79.0
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Some of those craftspeople who did not employ people said they made use of family labour in the running of their businesses. From Table 5.28, only 21.0 percent of all craftspeople used family labour, however, potters and bead makers were the greatest users of family labour. Craft merchants also used more family labour in their businesses than artisans. Children were also seen weaving bracelets at Bonwire and polishing wooden sculptures at Ahwiaa. While some of them spent incomes from craft work to buy shoes and clothes their parents would not buy for them, others claimed they gave some of their earnings to their parents.

Table 5.29 Mode of Payment for Labour in Selected Crafts Villages

Mode of payment for labour	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Cash	34.8	44.1	0.0	50.0	39.6	34.0	37.7
Kind (Specify)	5.8	5.1	16.7	0.0	7.7	2.1	5.8
Unpaid family labour	8.7	0.0	33.3	50.0	3.3	14.9	7.2
Not applicable	50.7	50.8	50.0	0.0	49.5	48.9	49.3
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

There was a mix of methods of payment for work done across the study area. While some crafts people paid cash (37.7 percent), others effected payment in kind (5.8 per cent). However, it appears family labour in Ahwiaa is paid for either in cash or in kind as shown in table 5.29. Potters at Pankrono also did not pay cash for any assistance they got for their businesses as they relied heavily on unpaid family labour. Examination of the mode of payment for labour also gives an indication of the level of craft development in the various craft villages studied. Highly developed systems make for specialisation and the use of the monetary economy, while less sophisticated craft industries still made use of the non-cash economy and relied mostly on unpaid family labour. The situation at Pankrono is most instructive as potters hardly paid for services in cash.

Table 5.30 Level of Satisfaction with Craft Earnings

Level of satisfaction	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Very satisfied	88.4	50.8	16.7	25.0	64.8	72.3	67.4
Satisfied	5.8	30.5	66.7	75.0	20.9	21.3	21.0
Dissatisfied	4.3	16.9	16.7	0.0	12.1	6.4	10.1
Very Dissatisfied	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Generally, most (88.5 percent) craftspeople said they were satisfied with earnings from their businesses, as only 11.5 percent said they were dissatisfied with what they earned. Bonwire craftspeople were particularly satisfied than those at Ahwiaa. Table 5.30 shows how satisfied craftspeople were with their earnings across the selected craft villages and within the crafts industry. However, table 5.31 shows the relationship between the employment status and satisfaction levels, which relates to benefits from the crafts enterprise.

Table 5.31 Employment Status and Level of Job Satisfaction

Level of satisfaction	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employment	Total
Very satisfied	70.6	59.2	72.2	67.4
Satisfied	17.6	16.3	25.0	21.0
Disappointed	11.8	22.4	1.4	10.1
Very disappointed	0.0	2.0	1.4	1.4
Total	100 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)
Summary:				
Satisfaction	88.2	75.5	97.2	88.5
Disappointment	11.8	24.4	2.8	11.5
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Generally, the self employed artisans and craft merchants reported more satisfaction levels than the other workers along the value chain. The chi-Square value for status and satisfaction was 15.077 and a p-value of 0.020, which is significant at 95 percent confidence level. The second null hypothesis is, therefore, rejected and the alternative hypothesis accepted. However, female craft workers were more dissatisfied with their earnings than their male counterparts as shown in table 5.32.

Table 5.32 Levels of Satisfaction by Gender and Marital Status

Level of satisfaction	Some Key variables					Total N= 138
	Male	Female	Married	Consensual union	Not married	
Very satisfied	71	35.7	66.0	76.9	66.7	67.4
Satisfied	17.7	50.0	24.5	7.7	20.8	21.0
Disappointed	9.7	14.3	7.5	15.4	11.1	10.1
Very disappointed	1.6	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.4	1.4
Total	100.0 (124)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (13)	100.0 (72)	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

By cross tabulating satisfaction levels with respondent's key variables it was found out that more females and artisans were less satisfied with their earnings than their male and merchant counterparts. This is shown in tables 5.30 and 5.32. However, it seems the crafts business is a lucrative one as only a few craftspeople said they were dissatisfied with their earnings. Generally, those who earned more were more satisfied than those who earned less. Men, craft merchants and Bonwire craftspeople were the most satisfied as they earned more comparatively. Financial capital was, however, tied to the social system and access to information and markets.

5.3.3 Social Capital and Access to Information

Social capital was made up of the network of people with whom an individual craftspeople had established reciprocal social ties which were exploited during times of stress and hardship. It determined how 'connected' or 'networked' an individual was, and included formal and informal relationships with colleagues, employers, clients, kin and friends. Membership of formal and informal professional, social and religious associations were also part of the social capital that was exploited to gain access to information and markets. Access to information also depended on the level of human, social and financial capital. Craft people's social capital was part of their livelihood assets which they used in combination with other assets to achieve desirable livelihood outcomes. The most important social capital was found to be the relationship with family and friends. This was not surprising as the extended family system, where active links were maintained with parents and grandparents, siblings and cousins, friends and even neighbours. These social links were still prevalent in many rural communities. Kente merchants were of the view that having a relation or a friend in a strategic position in an institution which influences one's business was advantageous.

Table 5.33 Religious Background

Religious background	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Muslim	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.1	1.4
Traditional religion	1.4	1.7	33.3	0.0	1.1	6.4	2.9
No religion	8.7	15.3	16.7	0.0	11.0	12.8	11.6
Christian	85.5	81.3	50.0	100.0	86.8	78.7	84.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Furthermore, membership of religious organisations (churches, mosques and shrines) also constituted social capital for many craftspeople in the craft villages studied. It was also observed that migrants from the same region and language group rallied together and helped one another with information, soft loans and job opportunities. The religious backgrounds of craftspeople are captured in table 5.31. There were over 84 percent of Christians among the craftspeople sampled for this study.

Market and business information, favours and assistance were sought not only from friends and relations, but from Christian and Muslim brothers and sisters; from clients and employers with whom individuals had established relationships of trust; and from colleagues and members of associations to which craftspeople belonged. However, not all craftspeople belonged to the few craft associations in the villages as shown by table 5.34.

Table 5.34 Membership of Craft Associations

Membership of craft association	Community Name				Artisans	Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Member	14.5	47.5	16.7	75.0	24.2	42.6	30.4
Not a member	85.5	52.5	83.3	25.0	75.8	57.4	69.6
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Generally, craft workers were not interested in belonging to associations as only 30.4 percent said they were members of associations. The relatively higher association membership at Asamang may be explained by the fact that beads production was organised as a cooperative society of December 31st Women's Movement project.

However, from Figure 5.8, more of the craft merchants were association members compared to the artisans. Thus, in terms of association membership, crafts merchants were better connected than artisans. The third hypothesis that: "there is no significant relationship between employment status and participation in decision-making ..." was tested with the following results shown in Table 5.35.

Table 5.35 Employment Status and Membership of Associations

Association Membership	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
Yes	5.9	6.1	23.6	15.2
No	94.1	93.9	76.4	84.8
Total	100.0 (17)	199.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The self employed in the craft villages once again demonstrated a relatively higher level of commitment to being members of associations. Contract workers clearly need assistance in this area as the data demonstrates. Besides not being members of crafts or community associations, crafts workers were without any social security or insurance cover. This has grave implications for their future financial security and poverty as discussed in the literature (Jenkins, 1994; Parker, 2004). It has been found that self-employment, even if it forms only part of a working career, can put people's future financial security at risk, as people with punctuated work histories, with periods of employment, unemployment and self employment are more likely to be pushed into the poorer group of self employed workers.

The Pearson Chi-Square Value was 8.222 with a P-Value of 0.016, which is within the significance threshold of 0.05. The null hypothesis is, therefore, rejected, implying a significant relationship between employment status and association membership. The better connected craftspeople were able to fall on their network of friends, relations and associates to get ahead of the competition for relevant information and business opportunities. With better organisation, self employed artisans and crafts merchants were more strategically positioned to benefit from any support interventions than their artisan counterparts.

5.4 The Craft Value Chain and Production Challenges

The value chain model describes the different value adding activities that connects a company's supply side with its demand side. Value chain analysis is, therefore, an analytical framework for decomposing the production process to identify value added at each stage of the production process – supplier, manufacturer, distributor, retailer and customer. Table 5.36 shows the value chain of crafts chosen for this study. The chain begins at the bottom of the table.

In this study, value chains of different complexity were identified in the crafts villages as shown in table 5.36. The production processes in the villages may be simply categorised into a) creation/design, b) production/finishing, and c) sales/marketing. Generally, craftspeople operated at specific, or multiple stages/levels of the value chain. To some extent, there were few modifications and

adaptations of old designs and patterns in wood sculptures at Ahwiaa and kente weaving at Bonwire.

Operators at each level of the value chain were either self employed entrepreneurs, or worked as employees of self employed entrepreneurs.

Table 5.36 Value Chain in Craft Villages in the Ashanti region

Level in craft value chain	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang	Remarks
Consumers:					
Local patrons	Reduced	Reduced	Negligible	Negligible	Virtual collapse of crafts at Pankrono and Asamang.
Foreign and local tourists	Reduced	Reduced	N/A	N/A	
Craft Merchants:					
Local on-selling (retail)	Available	Available	Low key	Low key	Merchants stock craft products from other places.
Export (distribution)	Available	Available	N/A	N/A	
Finishing (polish/design)					
Contract Finisher	Available	Available	N/A	N/A	Finishers are part of the production stage.
Independent Finisher	Available	Available	N/A	N/A	
Production (Artisans):					
Contract Artisans	Present	Present	N/A	N/A	Artisans sometimes engage labourers for certain tasks, or use family labour.
Independent Artisans	Present	Present	Present	Present	
Migrant artisans	Present	Present	N/A	N/A	
Raw Material Suppliers					
Natural raw materials	N/A	N/A	Negligible	N/A	Unsustainable use has led to depletion of natural sources.
Factory produced inputs	Available	Available	N/A	Available	
Creators / Innovators					
Adaptations	Negligible	Negligible	Absent	Absent	Artisans/Merchants complain about copying by others.

Source: Fieldwork, 2006. (*Not Available = N/A)

Table 5.36 shows elements in the traditional value chain analysis (primary activities) that contribute directly to getting goods and services to the customer – inbound logistics, production, outbound logistics, sales and marketing. This includes procurement, manufacturing, sales and marketing, and delivery to buyers. This is the push approach to supply chain management. However, a detailed exposition on supply chain management is beyond the scope of this study. The following sections examine each of the links in the craft production value chain.

5.4.1 Handicraft Design and Creation Phase

Creation or conception phase in the value chain of cultural based goods is a key phase. This activity is a combination of creativity and expertise/skills of the crafts-person. Products were, therefore, imbued with intellectual property. However, innovations and adaptations of older designs were slow to emerge. Copying of designs and innovations robs creators of their investments. Creators and originators of new ideas did not register their works, and did not hold any intellectual property rights (patents, copyrights or trademarks) over their creations. Many crafts people were, therefore, not

encouraged to spend time and resources in trying out new ideas. Crafts merchants and artisans explained that when the new idea sold, other crafts people copied it in no time. However, if it did not sell, they bore the cost of time and scarce resources spent on it alone. It was difficult to determine who owned property rights as different people worked on products from conception to consumption.

Due to this problem, many genres of craft products were identical, and lacked that masterpiece quality of craftsmanship which was possible only by painstaking and time consuming effort. Moreover, orders had tight delivery deadlines which had to be met. In an effort to beat deadlines, quality was compromised, leaving consumers dissatisfied with some of the products. Craft merchant groups also noted that only a few tourists and buyers would pay for masterpieces. Such well-crafted items were, therefore, made only by special order when the price was right. This partially explains Grabum's 'inwardly' and 'outwardly' directed crafts concept explained in section 2.2.10 above.

5.4.2 Production and Finishing Phase

5.4.2.1 Sources and Cost of Raw Materials

At the base of the value chain were raw material suppliers (wood/logs, yarns, and finishing inputs like mansion polish, dyes, sandpaper, potassium and other chemicals) at Ahwiaa and Bonwire. There were no raw material suppliers at Pankrono and Asamang. Raw material supply is a recent phenomenon, which was in response to the increasing importance of craft activities in some of the craft villages on one hand, and difficulties in finding production inputs, and the friction of distance involved in obtaining inputs from distant sources, on the other.

Table 5.37 Sources of Raw Materials and Other Inputs for Craft Production

Source	Percent	Sources	Percent	Sources	Percent
<u>Bonwire: N= 69</u>		<u>Ahwiaa: N= 59</u>		<u>Pankrono: N=6</u>	
Locally in town	87.0	Locally in town	52.5	Locally in town	66.7
Kumasi	4.3	Kumasi	1.7	Nfensi .	33.3
Locally and from Kumasi	4.3	Sekyere/Atwima District	1.7	Total	100.0
Accra and Tema	2.9	Mampong District	28.8	<u>Asamang: N = 4</u>	
Kpetoe (Volta region)	1.4	Ahafo Ano South district	5.1	Kumasi	100.0
Total	100.0	Volta region	1.7	Total	100.0
		Tema (Greater Accra)	3.4	<u>Overall: N=138</u>	
		Locally and in Kumasi	1.7	Locally in towns	68.8
		Kumasi and Sekyere Dist	3.4	Elsewhere	31.2
		Total	100.0	Total	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The sources of raw materials for production are summarised in Table 5.37. Cotton and rayon yarns for weaving in Bonwire were locally obtained within the town and from Kumasi. However, some weavers bought their supplies from Tema in the Greater Accra region. Due to depletion of preferred species, trees were now obtained from forests in other districts. Trees were obtained from unreserved and reserved forests at Mankranso, Mampong, Jamasi, and Offinso, and from sawmills in Ahwiaa and elsewhere, while finishing supplies were obtained locally, and from Kumasi. Clays were locally obtained, while firewood was obtained from Ahwiaa sawmills. Overall, 68.8 percent craftspeople obtained raw materials from the craft villages.

The cost of raw materials for the production of various crafts is shown in Table 6.30. The cost/price of raw materials ranged from those that were freely accessible, to those that craftspeople had to pay for. Cotton yarns were cheaper than rayon. Depending on the quality and where one bought supplies, a piece of cotton yarn costs between ₵3,500.00 and ₵6,000.00 cedis⁷, (now GH₵0.35 and GH₵0.60), while rayon yarns cost between ₵5,000.00 and ₵8,000.00 cedis, (now GH₵0.50 and GH₵0.80). Kente designers paid between ₵250,000.00 and ₵3,000,000.00 cedis (now GH₵25.00 and GH₵300.00) for kente, depending on the quality, to make garments and other accessories. Potters did not have to buy clay for their work, however, they bought firewood. On average, potters spent about ₵20,000.00 (GH₵2.00) cedis on firewood per cycle of production (about 20 pots). Broken bottles were also easily obtainable from the breweries in Kumasi. A bag of broken bottles cost GH₵0.50 cedis per crate and GH₵3.00 cedis per bag. These prices, however, fluctuated regularly.

Table 5.38 Prices of Raw Materials and Inputs in the Selected Craft Villages

Price of raw materials (GH₵)	Per Cent	Price of raw materials (GH₵)	Per Cent	Prices (GH₵)	Per Cent
Bonwire: N= 69		Ahwiaa: N= 59		Pankrono: N=6	
Cotton/Rayon (0.35 – 0.80)	72.5	Trees (Free, 1.00 – 20.00)	39	Clay (free)	50.0
Shuttle (1.00)	2.9	Stools (5.00 – 30.00)	3.4	Cooler (2.00)	16.7
Thread/Yarn (0.60 – 0.70)	10.1	Carvings (1.00 – 30.00)	25.4	Pots (variable)	33.3
Kente(25.00 – 300.00)	11.6	Mansion polish 0.30 – 0.70	16.9	Total	100.0
Miscellaneous (e.g. wax)	2.9	Potassium (0.20 – 0.50)	5.1	Asamang: N = 4	
Total	100.0 (69)	Lemon (0.10 – 0.20)	3.4	Broken bottles (0.50 – 3.00)	25.0
		Miscellaneous (sandpaper)	6.8	Chemicals/Dyes 10.00 – 20.00	75.0
		Total	100.0 (59)	Total	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Trees obtained from farmers cost only ₵2,000.00 Cedis or GH₵2.00. The same tree obtained from the Forestry Commission cost ₵200,000.00 or GH₵20.00. Sometimes, trees were obtained free of charge from farmers who wanted them removed from their farms, or were obtained from the forests illegally without permit. However the trees are acquired, they are felled and cut into pieces measuring two to three feet or more in length. The size depends on the kind of craft object it was going to be used for. Log suppliers' cost included the cost of renting a chainsaw (or labour to chop the tree with an axe), transportation cost, and their time. These logs were sold to craft merchants who engaged contract carvers to turn them into craft items. However, some merchants and independent carvers procured their own trees for their work.

5.4.2.2 Labour and Cost of Production and Finishing Craft items

Production is the next level of the value chain. This includes finishing of craft items for the market. Crafts people's cultural knowledge and mastery of traditional techniques of making particular crafts, and the skills of finishing them to an acceptable quality that meets consumers' standards and tastes were valuable at this stage. Skilled artisans (weavers, carvers, potters and beads makers) and finishers (sand papering, wood designing and polishing; stitching and kente designing) performed these tasks. The context was dominated by entrepreneurs of local origin who worked as individual artisans, and as small cooperatives whose members worked independently. Unskilled labour and children were sometimes engaged for particular tasks during the finishing stages of production. Children and women were, however paid lower rates than adults and males, because their work required further touch ups for a perfect finish.

Majority (76.1 percent) of the artisans who produced the crafts were locals from the crafts villages, and a few migrant artisans (23.9 per cent) as shown in chapter five. As most entrepreneurs desired to move up onto the marketing side of the crafts business, the number of skilled weavers and carvers has declined. The declining number of skilled weavers and carvers was made worse by the waning interest of the local youth from making a career in weaving and carving. These shortages have

⁷ The cedi was redenominated in 2008. ₵10,000.00 is now equivalent to GH₵1.00; ₵1,000.00 = GH₵0.10.

necessitated recruitment of migrant weavers and carvers to augment the number of artisans in these communities. Pottery and beads making were at the verge of collapse. However, a limited number of old practitioners remained in the pots and beads business, albeit at a much diminished scale.

Earnings in the craft industry were low, irregular and unregulated. Wages were low and working conditions poor. Artisans found it difficult to find contracts, and craft merchants did not adhere to payment schedules agreed with artisans. Many craftspeople were without jobs for long periods, and even those who had contracts or jobs were underemployed. The calculation of craft people's income was problematic as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Craftspeople themselves do not think in terms of a weekly, monthly or annual income. Attempts to estimate their incomes were necessarily chaotic.

Weavers and kente designers in Bonwire and carvers and finishers at Ahwiaa worked independently, or on contract basis. They produced and sold their own craft items, or were contracted to produce craft items at a price per piece. Thus, artisans were paid for each craft item produced or finished. Independent weavers were able to buy their own yarns for kente production. They sold the finished product to the kente merchants or on the open market. While contract carvers and finishers at Ahwiaa were provided with raw materials and inputs, their counterparts at Bonwire charged an all inclusive sum to weave the kente cloth. Part of the contract sum was, therefore, received before work commenced. Independent carvers, weavers and finishers, however, had to procure their own raw materials or inputs. Rates paid to artisans, and prices were not fixed, but depended on one's negotiation skills. Contract carvers, weavers and finishers, on the other hand, were paid for providing the service.

The production capacity and the earning ability of artisans were limited by the lengthy production and finishing processes involved in producing quality craft items. While some of the crafts products were easy to make, and in no time, others were seen to be difficult and time consuming. Table 5.39 and 5.40 shows some of the traditional craft perceived by craft people to be easy or difficult to make.

Table 5.39 Easy to make Craft Items

Bonwire	%	Ahwiaa	%	Pankrono	%	Asamang	%
Single weave – plain	89.8	Smaller items	42.4	Aketekyiwa	66.7	Ntwitwamu	25.0
Female cloth	2.9	Unity 3-Head	6.8	Esen	33.3	Akosombo nkania	25.0
Double W, no design	2.9	Oware	1.7	Total	100.0	Katawodieso	50.0
Others	4.2	Masks	5.1			Total	100.0
Total	100.0 (69)	Profiles	15.3				
		Fertility dolls	23.7				
		Shadows	1.7				
		Others	3.4				
		Total	100.0 (59)				

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The ‘single weave’ kente cloth was the very basic design which was no longer in demand nowadays. Weavers called it many names such as *awhepan*, *yendihene kwa*, and *adzavor* (ewe). In the ‘double weave’ category, the one with no design was adjudged the easiest. Smaller carved objects were seen to be easier to make than bigger ones both in Pankrono and Ahwiaa. The more difficult to make crafts reported are presented in table 5.40.

Table 5.40 Difficult to Make Craft Items

Bonwire	%	Ahwiaa	%	Pankrono	%	Asamang	%
Double weave (design)	17.4	Unity 19-Head	69.5	Ahina	100.0	Bodom	75.0
Edwene si edwene so	65.2	Stools	8.5	Total	100.0	Senkyi Bridge	25.0
Tsakpasu/enkyiriawia	4.3	Bigger items	8.5		(6)	Total	100.0
Others	2.8	Human face	3.4				(4)
Total	100.0 (69)	Figurines	1.7				
		Stools & unity	3.4				
		Others	5.1				
		Total	100.0 (59)				

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

The most complex designs were sometimes called “triple weave” or “design upon design”, a literal translation of *edwene si edwene so*. The complexity of designs and the quality of yarns used in their making are such that they exude quality and do not fade. They are arguably the best quality and most expensive Ashanti kente one can find in Bonwire or anywhere else in the Ashanti region. Such complex designs and the time it took to complete a unit affected their large scale production. Table 5.41 shows how long craftspeople thought it would take them to produce or sell 100 units of their products.

Table 5.41 Production capacity and Rate of Turnover for 100 units of handicrafts

Time take to produce or sell 100 crafts units	Community Name				Artisans N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
No response	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Up to 2 weeks	0.0	8.5	0.0	25.0	4.4	4.3	4.3
1 to 2 months	1.4	40.7	0.0	75.0	14.3	31.9	20.3
3 to 4 months	8.7	44.1	66.7	0.0	27.5	23.4	26.1
5 to 6 months	15.9	1.7	16.7	0.0	11.0	6.4	9.4
7 to 8 months	30.4	0.0	16.7	0.0	15.2	17.0	15.9
9 to 10 months	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
11 to 12 months	24.6	1.7	0.0	0.0	15.4	8.5	13.0
1 to 2 years	14.5	1.7	0.0	0.0	8.8	6.4	8.0
Over 2 years	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

From table 5.38, it is evident that the processes involved in producing crafts, and the lengthy turnaround times did not make it easy for people to deliver on large orders. Artisans had a low production capacity and merchants, a low turnover rate. This affected earning abilities and the volume of business that one expected to carry out within a specified period. To achieve the necessary volumes, craft merchants mopped up production from different artisans. This brought about variations in quality and design of craft items, and did not auger well for uniformity in quality and standardisation.

5.4.3 Exhibition, Marketing and Sales Phase

In order to make a living from crafts production, crafts people needed to sell their products or services (skills) regularly, realise a viable income from each sale and to be assured of regular sales in the future. Craft production on its own was not seen as tourism until the craft items were sold. Strictly speaking, craft merchants organised the natural and human resources (raw materials, skilled and unskilled labour), the finance and information necessary to produce the craft product. They also undertook the sales and marketing function to make sure the product was finished to a certain standard, and reached the final consumer or the retailer on time. Even though their work entailed less physical effort or risk of injury, they undertook the greatest financial risk, and got the highest financial benefit.

At the helm of the value chain were craft merchants (dealers/shop owners) who controlled the craft businesses, employing the services of artisans and finishers. They organised the other stakeholders along the craft value chain from conception to delivery of the craft products. The craft

merchants organised production and supervised the processes, performing quality control functions in the process. They were responsible for looking for the critical finance (from formal and informal sources) needed to initiate production. They also looked for markets and information on what was in demand in local and international markets.

Craft merchants were the ones who identified business opportunities and employed skilled artisans and finishers as labourers to produce sculptures and kente, using family labour when necessary. They paid independent producers prices that reflected only the material content of their craft objects. Finishers and contract artisans said they received low wages as compensation for their skills and time. Having added value to the raw materials, craft merchants sold them at prices which reflected their symbolic content, sometimes making windfall profits as shown in Table 5.34. Some of them also exported wood carvings and kente to overseas retailers. While artisans relied on their skill and energy to make a living, craft merchants relied on their money and managerial skills to make a living.

Some level of exploitation of artisans by craft merchants was reported, especially at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. This is reflected in the price differentials from producer to consumer and in the light of the rates craft merchants paid to artisans. The situation at Pankrono was no different, as pot sellers sold pots for twice as much as they paid the old potters. Consumers, therefore, derived the greatest value from their purchase when they bought directly from producers or from retailers in the craft villages, as the prices of the products were much lower in the craft villages than what pertained in galleries and craft shops in Kumasi. The craft business was seasonal, and craft merchants had to wait for considerable lengths of time to make sales after the season was over. Many of them combined the craft work with other income earning activities in a diverse livelihood portfolio. Kente and wood carvings merchants complained that when the products did not sell fast, their working capitals were locked up in the stock; however, artisans who had produced or finished them sometimes had received part payments, whether or not the items have been sold. Contract artisans and finishers did not have to worry about taking loans to produce kente or wood carvings. The time it took to produce or sell a unit of craft item is presented in table 5.38. In spite of the challenges, craft merchants still derived more

benefits from the craft enterprise than the other craft workers.

As shown earlier in this chapter, the small-scale craft entrepreneurs used different types of finance in their operations. However, Ahwiaa and Bonwire craft merchants reported that the Prudential and First Allied banks in Kumasi were the only banks that advanced loans to craftspeople in the Ashanti region. Prior to advancing loans, the banks were reported to have also offered basic training in book-keeping and general records keeping to beneficiaries of the loans schemes. In spite of this, a finance gap still exists, especially, for the small enterprises wishing to grow, and for start ups.

5.5 Other Craft Production Constraints

Artisans and merchants alike encountered many challenges in their day to day activities. The economic and political effects of globalisation – reduced tourist visitation, influx of cheaper industrial imitations and substitutes, and market saturation – have been felt by all craft villages.

Table 5.42 Summary of Challenges to Crafts Production and Crafts Livelihoods

Nature of Challenges	Ahwiaa	Bonwire	Pankrono	Asamang
Shortages in raw materials	✓	✓	✓	✓
Difficulties in finding skilled artisans	✓	✓		
Difficulties in finding capital/finance	✓	✓	✓	✓
Difficulties in finding reliable markets	✓	✓		✓
Reduced number of visiting tourists	✓	✓		✓
Low sales and Bad prices offered by tourists	✓	✓		
Communication difficulties with some tourists	✓			✓
Harassment of tourists and following them with goods	✓	✓		
Competition from cheaper industrial imitations		✓		✓
Interference in bargaining process by tour guides	✓			
Plastic substitutes and change in tastes killing market			✓	✓
Local political factors			✓	✓
Discrimination	✓	✓		✓
Craft merchants do not pay good price for products	✓	✓	✓	
Craft merchants do not pay artisans on time	✓	✓		✓

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

However, while some of the craft villages have been able to adjust fairly, these effects have contributed, in no small measure, to the decimation of craft activities in others. The major challenges to craft production are summarised under the following headings: shortages and difficulties in finding production inputs (raw materials, reliable skilled artisans, and working capital); difficulties in finding markets and selling products; seasonality of tourists flow and demand; and local challenges. Table 6.36

captures the main themes of the challenges that were reported by FGD participants in the selected craft villages.

5.6 Sustainability Issues

One of the important questions for the future of the crafts industry in the region is the expected life of the raw material supply (clay fields and preferred tree species), as crafts people did not replant trees they cut, and as clay fields were being sold for property development due to urban pressures. Without afforestation programmes and a move to reserve clay fields, a gradual dwindling in the production of crafts is inevitable in Ahwiaa and Pankrono. The pottery and wood carving industries are particularly likely to decline or to migrate, because of their dependence on natural sources of raw materials. Lack of interest of local youth in the crafts is a threat to the skills base.

Wages for the craftspeople were meagre. Even the highest wages were low relative to the earnings in other non-farm activities. Irregularities in the supply of work mean that there is forced underemployment. Quality of work can only be sustained if the craft people can obtain a living from the industry. The combination of low wages and insufficient work tends to exacerbate poverty amongst craftspeople. Wages, while being financial capital, also requires interplay of human capital in terms of being able to leverage the labour and the time to earn the wages. Thus, equitable and regular wages, and availability of physical capital are all important factors for the employment of human, financial and social capital towards earning these wages.

The search for a consistent market needs to be complimented by an availability of social networks and accessibility to financial and physical capital. Craftspeople need a continuous flow of employment through which they can earn enough in terms of cash and kind to meet their needs. In other words, they need full employment. Creating employment is then no longer a matter of creating 'jobs', but of strengthening these workers and producers to overcome structural constraints and enter markets where they would be competitive. These markets (labour, product or financial markets) may not exist locally, and would need to be created to link them to the larger markets. Even though an Export Production Village (EPV), a Bead factory and Craft Centre and Shops have been put up (with

government assistance) in Bonwire, Asamang and Ahwiaa, for the production and sale of finished products, for example, these do not ensure adequate sales to sustain craftspeople throughout the year.

Lack of finance and cash flow were reported by many craftspeople. It was what restricted the economic development and well-being of artisans and their families. There was a finance gap in the craft industry. However, while the lack of working capital was certainly a major problem for small-scale enterprises in almost all the study areas, it is seen as a symptom rather than the cause of the problems these industries were facing. The real fundamental problem may be the failure of decision makers to recognise and support cultural industries in national planning and development strategies.

This lack of attention and support is short-sighted and results in a missed opportunity for poverty eradication, as cultural industries offer a particular opportunity for local socio-economic development due to their often small size and close links to the community. An inability to access government funds leads them to taking loans from local middlemen and money lenders at higher rates of interest. Informal credit, thus, played a critical role in the production and expansion of artisanal enterprise. To assist craftspeople in breaking out of this stranglehold and also to ensure quality production, it is essential to have a capital fund for purchasing raw materials and assisting with wages when stock is being prepared.

5.7 Discussion and Summary

5.7.1 Discussion

Crafts production have become a complex business activity involving artisans, crafts merchants and other middlemen, raw material suppliers and other stakeholders who all benefit from the growth in the tourism industry. The livelihoods of craftspeople were negotiated through the interrelationships amongst various capitals (livelihood assets), the prevailing local structures and processes to achieve desirable outcomes. In designing a pro-poor tourism strategy based on crafts for poverty reduction, it is essential to employ the sustainable livelihoods approach encompassing the overlapping economic sectors and the different resources and interests of the private sector, state policy and institutions.

Craft production is not the only opportunity for employment creation, route to poverty reduction or the only attraction for tourism development. However, the direct link between handicrafts and tourism cannot be denied. Crafts make important contributions to tourism development, employment creation and enhanced quality of life for craftspeople and their families. Their utility for poverty reduction cannot be overemphasised.

Kamara (2005) has noted that the biggest obstacle to cultural enterprise development lies in the mindset of the individuals involved in the enterprise. Craftspeople were ignorant of the workings of the tourism industry, and did not appreciate the fact that they were part of a bigger industry. This was especially true for artisans. Some of the carvers at Ahwiaa viewed their work as a continuation of tradition, and a legacy left by their forefathers. Most of the young weavers and carvers seemed to be engaged in the handicrafts business for lack of other alternative employment avenues. This may explain their survival mentality, and short-term strategies. The biggest challenge, however, was that such necessity entrepreneurs posed a serious challenge for professionalism and standards, as they lacked the skills, talent and capacity to compete globally.

To surmount the challenges mentioned above, some artisans and merchants alike tried to do so many different things all at the same time. Being 'jacks of all trades and masters of none', they did not demonstrate any professionalism in what they did. They lacked basic training in business and management skills. In spite of all their efforts, some craftspeople experienced poverty in different ways. Finance has been identified as the most important factor determining the survival and growth of SMEs in both developing and developed countries. Despite the important contributions of SMEs to the economy, they have traditionally had difficulty in obtaining credit or equity investment. Some of the reasons why commercial banks were reluctant to service SMEs include: insufficient assets and low capitalisation, vulnerability to market fluctuations and high mortality rates. They were regarded by creditors and investors as high risk borrowers. They also lacked adequate financial statements or business plans, which made it difficult for investors to assess their creditworthiness.

Most craftspeople tended to work part-time and in the home or close by. This has both positive and negative implications. This may affect the ability to produce economically significant quantities to meet export demand, and a potential conflict of time between subsistence production and crafts work for cash. On the positive side, it complemented agricultural livelihoods, created extra employment and contributed to household income. It also mopped up excess labour during off-season periods, mitigated migration, and helped to reduce poverty.

5.7.2 Summary

Craft production in the Ashanti region has gone a long way. In spite of the shocks of modernisation, industrialisation and the decline in tourist visitations since the 9/11 bombings, crafts production continues to provide employment, and a livelihood to many crafts people and their families, while at the same time preserving the traditional techniques and part of the material cultural heritage of Ashanti. However, the craft activity has declined considerably at Asamang and Pankrono. This chapter has also examined the various assets that craftspeople possess, and how they used these in various combinations to support themselves. The natural and cultural resources in the various craft villages provided economic opportunities for the development of handicrafts enterprises, and livelihoods to practitioners and their families.

Characteristics of craftspeople revealed their physical and human capital and how they mobilised the other assets at their disposal to support their businesses, and make a living from crafts production and sale. Craft merchants had higher levels of human and financial capital than artisans. However, through their stock of social, financial, natural and cultural capital both artisans and merchants were able to overcome (in varying degrees of success) the challenges and took advantage of available opportunities in their communities to ensure their survival and improve their well-being. Craftspeople combined their options and were dependent on the amount and quality of labour available, household size, skill levels and on the interplay of assets (human, social, physical, natural, cultural and financial capitals) along with the organisational and institutional processes and structures to sustain their livelihoods.

The lack of innovation and creation of new craft designs across the craft villages, weak copyright legislation and enforcement regimes; challenges with raw materials supplies, fluctuating rates of raw materials; and difficulties with finding working capital and skilled artisans, as well as difficulties with sales and marketing were issues of concern to many craft workers. The importance of these constraints varies from product to product. With the exception of factory produced raw materials (yarns and broken bottles), it was difficult to find local raw materials (trees and clay). Lack of a regular supply of raw materials was a fundamental constraint to craft production. Supplies were irregular and costs rose quickly. There was competition for scarce raw materials between large and small entrepreneurs. In the carving industry in Ahwiaa for example, saw mills competed with carvers for scarce trees. The several ways by which craftspeople coped with these production challenges, hardships and resultant poverty are presented in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

POVERTY, PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at crafts peoples' perceptions and experience of poverty. These perceptions, together with issues of vulnerability, inequalities and participation in decision making processes were discussed with artisans, craft merchants, youth groups, men and women, and ordinary community members and officials, to learn about how local craftspeople understand poverty, and how they experienced it.

6.2 Identifying the Poor and Vulnerable

Through the use of an adapted version of the Participatory Wealth Ranking (PWR) method, (Simanowitz et al., 2000) discussants identified the poor and the rich, based on local standards in their communities. Though they were all unanimous in identifying the lack of "income" and "property" as defining characteristics of poverty, discussants and respondents reported diverse perceptions of the poverty phenomena.

There were spatial as well as group-based differences in the perceptions of poverty amongst craft workers. Craft merchants in Ahwiaa and Bonwire distinguished between hardship (*ahokyeree*) and poverty (*ohia*). They further identified different categories of the poor. At Ahwiaa, Bonwire and Asamang, the poorest and most vulnerable (*ohia buburoo*), included orphans (*awisea*), widows (*okunafoo*) the sick (*ayarefoo*), including the blind, hearing and physically impaired, and the mentally impaired (*abɔdamfoo*). However, potters claimed they were the poorest in Pankrono. The aged (*mmpaninfoo*), who were too weak to work were also included in the poorest people at Asamang.

The next category of the poor was identified as those who were struggling to make ends meet (*ohɔnehomɔdenfoo*) or living 'from hand to mouth' as it were. Artisans and craft merchants at Ahwiaa and Bonwire in particular, identified another group of the poor as those who were lazy (*akwadwofoo*). There was no sympathy for this last group of the poor because discussants believed they were neither sick nor weak in any way. There was disagreement amongst participants in the Kwabre District

Assembly and carvers as to the status of beggars. While some said they were poor, others claimed they were not. Those who disagreed claimed some disabled people earned more from begging, and even employed able bodied people to push their wheel chairs. However, this issue was not pursued with craftspeople from the other villages. Women were perceived as poorer than men in all the craft villages, while migrant weavers also claimed to be the poorest at Bonwire.

Box 6.1: Identifying the Poor in the Crafts Communities

"I know a man in this town (Asamang) who goes hungry for several days until somebody gives him food. He is old and has no children to take care of him ..." – Asamang Bead makers.

"I am strong and hustling to take care of myself but am poor. The poorest people in this community are the women, the sick and those who cannot work because of physical disability. Compared to them, I am even better off" – Ahwiaa Wood Carver.

"There are very rich people over here in Bonwire. I have not yet seen a poor man here, but we the migrant weavers are the poorest in this town" – Migrant Weaver, Bonwire.

"We (pot makers) are the poorest in this town. Look at me, if you are looking for a poor person and you pass me by then you are likely not to find one. I am poverty itself, now am old, I don't have a husband to take care of me ... who will marry me at this age? I depend on my children for food. When they cook, they bring me some. Whatever I get from making pots is so meagre. I use it to buy little things that I need." – Pankrono Potter.

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

All discussants were unanimous in identifying "inadequate income" and "lack of employment opportunities" as causes and symptoms of poverty. Other perceptions relate to inability to access health services, inability to ensure food security leading to buying food on credit, indebtedness, and lack of respect in the community (social prestige). Loss of strength due to old age and illness, lack of bargaining power, and the inability to get justice when ones rights were violated were also identified as symptoms of vulnerability which leads to poverty. Others perceived living in dirty environments and staying in family houses due to the inability to afford rent as symptoms of poverty. People in such situations were seen to be prone to becoming poor.

In most Ghanaian homes, it is a common practise for children to help their parents with whatever work they did, especially, home-based income generating activities. This way, the children were informally introduced to the family business, and skills were transferred in the process. However, when children worked for others for a fee, with or without parents' consent, it was indicative of hard times at home. Community members at Ahwiaa and Bonwire perceived working children as symptoms of poverty. Some, however, perceived this as 'burden sharing'. Discussants at Bonwire reported that

some of the children were involved in weaving but did not assist their parents in the business. It was also found out that some of those children (early adolescents) worked to fend for themselves due to parental neglect. Thus, parental neglect was seen as a symptom of poverty and also as punishment for children who would not help parents. In some cases, neglect was seen as a coping mechanism.

Breakdown in marriages including separation and divorce were perceived as symptoms of poverty amongst carvers in Ahwiaa. Some of them argued that hardship and inadequate financial resources were to blame for their inability to get married and for leaving their relationships. However, the old potters at Pankrono said their situations have worsened since they lost their husbands. Crafts merchants at Ahwiaa saw inability to send one's children to good schools (private schools) and, dropping out of even the government schools for inability to pay fees as symptoms of poverty.

Asked how they could tell a poor person from a non-poor or wealthy person, respondents in the questionnaire survey mentioned poor diet and irregular eating patterns, poor housing and clothing quality, drunkenness and inability to access health and educational services, indebtedness, joblessness and job insecurity, and the experience of hardship as some characteristics of the poor. Majority (81.9 percent) of respondents mentioned a combination of these characteristics, reflecting the 'multidimensional' nature of the poverty phenomenon. However, poor diet and irregular eating patterns (39.9 per cent) seemed to be the most visible indication of poverty. In a way, these characteristics reflect the depth or severity of poverty.

Results from FGDs and in-depth interviews provided a deeper insight into how poverty was perceived by society in the selected crafts communities. The categorisation of the poor into those who were struggling to survive and those who could be classified as poor indicates that poverty was seen not as a permanent situation, that it can be overcome. Identification of the poorest and most vulnerable segments of society can help in targeting those most in need of help in the communities. More importantly, however, identification of the poorest in the crafts industry can help target intervention strategies more accurately.

Table 6.1 Summary of Perceptions of Poverty

Perceptions of Poverty	Crafts Worker Groups											Other stakeholders
	Ahwiaa			Bonwire				Pankrono		Asamang		
	Crafts Merchant	Carvers	Finishers	Kente Merchants	Weavers	Migrant Weavers	Potters	Beads makers	Relevant institutions and NGOs			
Inadequate money, No money	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Low income		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Struggling man, cannot pay bills		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					
No husband / wife							✓					
One who cannot get married		✓	✓		✓	✓						✓
When children have to work	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓						✓
One with no skill	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					✓
Living in dirty places		✓	✓									
No respect in community	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓						✓
No jobs, irregular income		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					✓
Decline in work	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓
Poor diet, irregular meals	✓	✓	✓									
Buying food on credit	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓						✓
Always borrowing	✓	✓			✓	✓						
Child cannot go to school	✓				✓							
No power, at boss's mercy		✓	✓				✓					
Dodging creditors		✓					✓					
Depend on children for food									✓			✓
Sick, incapacitated	✓	✓			✓				✓			✓
Old age		✓							✓			✓
Poor housing, without a house		✓	✓									✓
Mad people	✓		✓									
No property	✓	✓			✓							✓
Have no money (broke)	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓						
Drunkenness	✓	✓										
Idleness, laziness, not forceful	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓						✓
Indebtedness, always in debt	✓	✓										

6.3 Perceptions of Causes of Poverty

Craft workers were not agreed on a single cause of poverty in their communities. However, they seem to agree that laziness was a major cause of poverty in their communities as evidenced by about 45.7 percent of respondents. This shows that discussants admired those who, in spite of their limited educational achievements showed tenacity by working hard to eke out a living through weaving and carving. Besides laziness, artisans were of the view that low educational attainment, sickness, old age and large family sizes were some other causes of poverty. Others were of the view that poverty was inherited from poor parents, and when one lost a job or faced limited job opportunities due to lack of employable skills. Craftspeople also became poor when faced with reduced sales, or lacked adequate income to rent a shop.

Box 6.2 Causes of Poverty in the Crafts Villages

Over here, if anyone says he or she is poor, then the person has chosen to be. The reason why am saying this is that even children make money by helping in the weaving business. We all started the weaving little by little, and now we own shops. Even some of the school children make bookmarks and write names on bracelets when tourists and other people visit us, so why would a grown-up refuse to work? If a woman is poor she can be excused, because they do not get involved so much in the weaving – Bonwire Shop Owners.

Even the women buy and sell Kente. Women should not be excused when they complain of poverty. My wife helps me in the shop, because that is where I get the money – Bonwire Shop Owners.

Master, carving is very hard work, but we are doing it because we did not go far in schooling. Some of the boys in the town are just lazy. They don't get involved in the work but they want to enjoy. If you do this you will become a thief. Even if you cannot carve, you can at least do sandpaper work or polish. Even though my master does not pay me on time, I get my daily bread. If you like to work you cannot be poor in Ahwiaa, never! - Ahwiaa Carver.

Source: Focus Group Discussions, Fieldwork, 2006

Discussants were of the view that besides the aged, young children and those unable to earn an income, only the lazy people were poor in the craft village, as craft work does not require higher levels of academic education or certificates to earn a living. Most of the craft workers, therefore, had no sympathy for healthy, able-bodied people with no jobs or incomes.

Most (76.1 percent) respondents expressed the view that poverty was caused by a combination of factors, which left the victim in poverty. Thus, for the majority of craft workers, inequalities in access to opportunities resulting from illiteracy, gender, and ethnicity; discrimination, laziness, mismanagement, and expensive funerals were the main causes of poverty in the craft villages.

However, some discussants were of the view that low wages were to blame for their poverty. Some also believed poverty was hereditary, and compared it to trying to grow tall from a pit – reflecting unequal opportunities for people in the same community.

Box 6.3 Additional Causes of Poverty

“When you are born into a pit, how can you ever grow tall? It was difficult for us. I could not even complete primary school because there was no money. I have been doing this work since my infancy. It is hard work, but things are improving, by God’s grace” – Ahwiaa Finisher.

“... Things would have been better if the shop owners were paying us good rates. They don’t even pay us on time. That is why we also ‘show’ them sometimes. We delay their work, or put it aside and work on those that would bring in money” – Ahwiaa Carver.

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Other participants put the blame on living in an unsupportive environment or community with limited natural, social and economic infrastructure. Unnecessary expenditures on funerals were also mentioned as a cause of poverty. Overall, only 23.9 percent respondents mentioned single factors as causes of poverty. However, over 76 percent mentioned laziness in combination with other factors as being causes of poverty.

Some carvers confirmed that there were bad nuts amongst them. However, only new and inexperienced crafts merchants were duped by such carvers. There seemed to be some unspoken collusion on the part of merchants to jettison newer entrants out of the business by preventing them from accessing the services of the best carvers and weavers. To exercise absolute control over weavers, merchants from Bonwire were now recruiting weavers from the Volta region and housing them to weave on a contractual basis. The exploitation of kinship ties and other social relationships of trust account for the success of many merchants at Ahwiaa and Bonwire. These were not readily accessible to outsiders who tried to enter the market.

6.4 Identifying the Rich/Wealthy and Secure

Characteristics that were indicative of relative wealth (*ahonya*) included ownership of a house, a car, and when children attended good schools, having regular meals, and dressed well. The ability to settle bills on time and to have the community’s respect was also identified as characteristics of the rich (*adefoo* or *sikafoo*). Other characteristics mentioned included ownership of property (*agyapadee*)

in the form of land, houses, farms, and other investments.

Having money, property, ensuring a balanced diet and wearing good clothes were perceived as desirable and characteristics of wealth or riches. Having enough money to live a life without restrictions, and being free of debt were also mentioned as characteristics of being wealthy. Even though many crafts workers said they were poor, they were quick to point out that their condition was better than other community members not engaged in the crafts business. Within the crafts industry, however, crafts merchants were unanimously identified as the better off and more financially secured compared to artisans.

6.4.1 Wealth Ranking and Perceived Benefits from the Crafts enterprise

Among craft workers, there were the rich (*osikanii*), the struggling (*obonehomoden*) and the poor (*ohianii*). Each craft worker knew the category in which they belonged, and aspired to move to the next higher level. Those who depended on their physical strength derived the least benefits while those depending on their skills derived average benefits. However, those deriving the most benefits from the crafts industry turned out to be those who depended on their financial power (money) and information about the marketplaces. Craftspeople identified log suppliers and contract carvers and weavers as the poorest in the industry, followed by finishers and store boys. Craft merchants derived the most benefits from the industry. Craft merchants admitted that they were not poor in the strict sense of the word. However, to maintain their financial security, they had to work hard on a consistent basis. Sometimes, craft merchants faced cash flow problems and hardships and slipped in and out of poverty.

Amongst weavers, yarn spinners were adjudged the poorest and their jobs, the least prestigious. Next were migrant weavers who have migrated to the village on their own, or were recruited by shop owners to weave, exclusively for them. Local and independent weavers and store boys were better off. Kente shop owners said they were not poor, though they experienced hardships and occasional cash flow problems. District assembly and tourist board officials in Kumasi did not see craft merchants as poor. They saw craft merchants as some of the wealthiest in the craft villages. Ironically, however, the skilled artisans who produced the craft items were amongst the poorest in the craft enterprise.

Table 6.2 Summary Perceptions of Wealth and Well-being

Perceptions of Wealth and Well-being	Crafts Worker Groups									
	Ahwiaa			Bonwire			Pankrono Potters	Asamang Beads makers		
	Shop owners	Carvers	Finishers	Shop owners	Weavers	Migrant Weavers				
Regular and adequate income										
Having a car	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				
Having own house	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Living in decent house	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Eat well and regularly		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Have own shop	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				
Have money	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Ability to do whatever one wants		✓	✓	✓						
Ability to pay one's bills on time	✓			✓						✓
Contributes to church/ at funerals	✓	✓				✓				
One who does not owe		✓	✓			✓			✓	
Having a family that is not lacking	✓			✓		✓				
Dresses well				✓						✓
Have property	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Well educated	✓			✓						✓
Good job with high income			✓							✓
Have respect in the community	✓				✓		✓			✓

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

6.4.2 Perceptions of Effort/Risk and Benefits derived from the craft industry

Craftspeople recognised the varying levels of difficulty and risk entailed in the performance of the various tasks required to procure, produce, finish and sell a particular handicraft. Naturally, one would expect that the amount of effort and extent of difficulty that go into the production of a craft item would influence the returns crafts people derived from it. However, the most difficult and risky tasks turned out not to be the most rewarding after all, and did not necessarily translate into higher economic rewards for the artisans in particular. This issue was heavily debated amongst the crafts groups within the selected villages. The results of the ranking exercise are presented in table 6.3 and 6.4 reflect individual group perceptions and perceptions from a joint forum of crafts workers.

Table 6.3 shows the category of craftspeople and the perceived level of difficulty and risk involved in their tasks, while table 6.4 shows the level of benefits derived by each category of craftspeople across the craft villages. In the ranking exercise, '1' denotes the tasks perceived to be the least difficult and least risky, while higher ranks denote increasing levels of difficulty and risk. Log suppliers, contract carvers, yarn spinners, contract weavers, potters, clay diggers, bottle grinders and beads designers performed the most difficult and risky jobs.

Table 6.3 Summary of Perceptions of Crafts Workers with most Difficult Tasks

Ahwiaa	Log supply	Carving	Design	Finishing and polish	Store boys	Craft merchant
Carvers FGD	6	5	3	4	2	1
Finishers FGD	6	5	3	4	2	1
Craft merchants FGD	6	4	2	3	1	5
Crafts Forum	6	5	1	4	2	3
Bonwire	Spinning	Weaving	Design	Finish	Sell	Merchant
Weavers FGD	1	6	4	3	5	2
Migrant weavers FGD	1	6	5	2	4	3
Crafts merchants FGD	1	5	4	3	2	6
Crafts Forum	1	6	4	3	2	5
Pankrono	Clay digging	Moulding	Collect/buy wood fuel	Firing	Merchant	N/A
Old Potters FGD	4	5	2	3	1	
Pot Sellers IDI	5	4	2	3	1	N/A
Crafts forum	4	5	3	1	2	
	Grinding	Design	Baking	Stringing	Smoothing	Merchant
Asuofia Asamang:						
Beads makers FGD	6	5	4	3	2	1

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Tables 6.4 and 6.3 show an inverse relationship. Crafts people who performed the most difficult and risky jobs seemed to be deriving the least benefits from the crafts enterprise.

Table 6.4 Summary of Perceptions of Crafts Workers deriving Greatest Benefits

Task \ Level of Benefits	Log suppliers	carvers	Designers	Finishers	Store boys	Merchants
Ahwiaa:						
Carvers FGD	1	4	3	2	5	6
Finishers FGD	1	5	2	4	3	6
Shop owners FGD	1	5	4	2	3	6
Crafts Forum	1	4	2	3	5	6
Task \ Level of Benefits	Spinners	Weavers	Designers	Finishers	Store boys	Merchants
Bonwire:						
Weavers FGD	1	4	3	2	5	6
Migrant weavers FGD	1	3	3	2	5	6
Shop owners FGD	1	5	3	2	4	6
Crafts Forum	1	4	3	2	5	6
Task \ Level of Benefits	Clay digging	Pot making	Wood fuel gathering	Pot selling	N/A	N/A
Pankrono:						
Old Potters FGD	1	3	2	4	N/A	N/A
Pot Sellers IDI	1	3	2	4		
Crafts forum	1	3	2	4		
Task \ Level of Benefits	Grinders	Designer	Baker	Stringing	Finishing	Merchants
Asuofia-Asamang:						
Beads makers FGD	4	5	3	1	2	6

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Rank 1 denotes the least benefit, while ranks with higher numbers denote increasing levels of benefits. Table 6.4 shows that shop owners and store boys derived the most benefits from the carving enterprise; kente merchants and store boys again derived the most benefits from the kente business. Pot sellers derived more benefits than potters.

6.5 Cost of Living in Craft Villages

To establish the cost of living in the crafts communities, PWR was once again employed to identify the different shades of opinions with regards to the cost of living for an individual for a period of one month. The cost of feeding, rent, electricity and water bills were used to estimate the cost of living in the crafts communities. An arbitrary amount of ten thousand cedis was added to the computed cost to take care of incidental expenses like toiletries and other minor miscellaneous expenses.

There were no marked differences between estimates of crafts people and ordinary community members. Table 6.5 shows the computed cost of living. There was much disagreement on the minimum

amount as most discussants did not keep track of their monthly expenditures. Most of them said they lived one day at a time and were mainly concerned about the evening meal, which was the main meal of the day. Secondly, many discussants lived in family houses for which no rent was paid.

Table 6.5 Estimated Monthly Cost of Living for a Person in Selected Craft Villages

Cost of living	Bonwire craft workers	Ahwiaa Craft workers	Pankrono craft workers	Asamang craft workers	Bonwire community members	Ahwiaa community members
	Min – Max (GH¢)	Min – Max (GH¢)	Min – Max (GH¢)	Min – Max (GH¢)	Min – Max (GH¢)	Min – Max (GH¢)
Monthly rent	2 – 6	3 – 8	5.0 – 10	10 – 30	3.0 – 6	3.0 – 10
Breakfast	0.20 – 0.50	0.20 – 0.50	0.20 – 0.50	0.20 – 0.50	0.20 – 0.50	0.20 – 0.50
Lunch	0.30 – 1.0	0.30 – 1.0	0.30 – 0.60	0.30 – 0.50	0.40 – 1.0	0.30 – 1.0
Supper	0.50 – 1.50	0.50 – 1.5	0.50 – 1.0	0.5 – 1.0	0.60 – 2.0	0.50 – 1.50
Daily average	1.0 – 3.0	1.0 – 3.0	1.0 – 2.10	1.0 – 2.0	1.20 – 3.50	1.0 – 3.0
Monthly average	30 – 90	30 – 90	30 – 63	30 – 60	36 – 105	30 – 90
Water bill	1.50 – 6.0	10 – 40	15 – 50	10 – 30	3.0 – 6.0	1.50 – 6.0
Electricity bill	1.50 – 4.0	15 – 30	20 – 40	10 – 30	2.0 – 4.0	1.50 – 4.0
Miscellaneous	1.0 – 1.0	10 – 10	10 – 10	10 – 10	1.0 – 1.0	1.0 – 1.0
Total expenses	40 – 107	36.50 – 106	39.50 – 83	34 – 70	45 – 122	37 – 111

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

The results of this exercise revealed that Bonwire was the most expensive craft village to live in. Community members complained that food was expensive in Bonwire because many people did not farm locally. According to them, it was cheaper to buy foodstuffs from Ejisu and Kumasi than from Bonwire. It must be noted that many of the crafts people did not pay rent as they lived in family houses. Many of them also did not eat three meals in a day as noted above.

Table 6.6 Perceived Ideal Minimum and Maximum Monthly Incomes in Craft Villages

Bonwire	Min – Max (GH¢)	Ahwiaa	Min – Max (GH¢)	Pankrono	Min–Max (GH¢)	Asamang	Min–Max (GH¢)
Contract weavers	50 – 100	Contract Carvers	35 – 50	Potters	15 – 30	Beads merchants	25 – 90
Migrant weavers	50 – 80	Finishers	50 – 100	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Craft merchants	150–600	Craft merchants	120 – 400	Pot sellers	30 – 50	N/A	N/A
Independent weaver	80 – 120	Independent carver	80 – 150	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Community members	150– 200	Community members	80 – 120	Community members	60 – 90	Community members	50 – 90

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

In determining an acceptable minimum income that was necessary to sustain a person for a period of one month, discussants noted that the minimum amount for basic living depended on one's lifestyle and needs. However, initial computed average minimum and maximum acceptable amounts

for basic living from FGDs and interviews are presented in table 6.6.

These figures represent the community ideal incomes to support one person for a month. Thus, a contract weaver with a household of three persons at Bonwire would need a minimum of ₵150 to survive while the same household at Pankrono may survive on only ₵45 per month. However, it was necessary to learn about their actual minimum and maximum average monthly incomes in order to find out how many earned or spent below or over and above the accepted community averages. But there were a lot of distortions in the data, rendering it unsuitable for analysis. Table 6.6 serves as a guide to incomes earned by various crafts people.

Thus, inferences about respondents' and focus group discussants' poverty status were based on the subjective views of our target population. Using this method, relative wealth and relative deprivation were seen as community constructed. When a person does not perceive her/himself to be poor, we understand it to be informed by that community's accepted standards and perceptions of wellbeing. With differences within and amongst communities regarding community standards, there were differences in perceptions of adequate standards of living between and within communities.

6.6 Perceptions of Own Poverty Status (Self Ranking)

Income data and poverty lines are very important indicators of the proportion of the population living below a certain income level, usually, a dollar a day. However, poverty is not just the lack of income (income poverty). They also do not consider the other livelihood assets in the portfolio of the individuals concerned, and are not sensitive to the socio-cultural sensibilities of being branded 'poor', and in need of 'help'. However, when individuals' own perceptions about their total well-being are sought, it gives them the opportunity to give a more accurate assessment of their living conditions, based not only on their incomes, but also on their social and cultural assets and sensibilities. Respondents were, therefore, asked to determine, by their community's standards, whether they were poor, not poor, or wealthy.

Even though they earned low incomes only 28.3 percent respondents ranked themselves as poor. Over two thirds (66.7 percent) said they were neither poor nor rich, and only 5.1 percent ranked themselves as wealthy or rich. From this analysis, which corroborates FGD findings at Ahwiaa, most craft workers saw themselves as better off than other community members who did not participate in the handicrafts business. This was however, the reverse at Pankrono, where the old potters were indisputably the poorest. In Ashanti culture, to be labelled 'a poor person' (*ohiani*) was considered derogatory, and a dent in one's pride. Many people struggled to avoid being tagged as a poor person. However, many were also shy to declare that they were rich.

Table 6.7 Crafts Workers' Perception of their Own Poverty Status

Self Ranking	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang	Artisans	Merchant	Total
Poor	17.4	37.3	66.7	25.0	33.0	19.1	28.3
Not poor/Not Rich	75.4	61.0	33.3	50.0	62.6	74.5	66.6
Rich	7.2	1.7	0.0	25.0	4.4	6.4	5.1
Total	100.0 (69)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (6)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

However, a critical analysis of table 6.7 shows that crafts workers at Ahwiaa were relatively poorer than those at Bonwire. Overall, 28.3 percent ranked themselves as poor, 66.6 percent as neither poor nor rich, and 5.1 percent said they were rich. Arguably, there were more of the rich crafts merchants at Bonwire than anywhere else in the crafts industry. Data in table 6.7 indicates that the crafts villages possess different economic potentials which, to a large extent, were influenced by the type of crafts activities pursued, and their tourist appeal. The value of the craft items and how sensitive they were to fluctuations in levels of tourist flows, and local demand was also important here. Different crafts required different levels of capital injection for start-ups, and for delivering on an order. The situation of artisans and merchants speak for itself as there were 13.9 percent more poorer artisans than crafts merchants.

Table 6.8 Employment Status and Self Poverty Ranking

Self Ranking	Work for family member	Contract worker	Self employed	Total
Poor	11.8	44.9	20.8	28.3
Not Poor, Not Rich	70.6	51.0	76.4	66.7
Rich	17.6	4.1	2.8	5.1
Total	100.0 (17)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

By cross tabulating the employment status of craftspeople with respondents' self-ranking on the wealth-poverty spectrum, the first hypothesis that: "there is no significant relationship between employment status and their self assessed poverty status" was tested. Table 6.7 presents the results of this operation. The Pearson Chi-Square Value was 16.843 and the P-Value was 0.002, significant at (0.05) level of significance. To overcome the likelihood of respondents misrepresenting their actual poverty status, this statistical test would be compared with the CHI (which is a composite, impersonal and more objective index) to identify any variations in outcome and pattern from the Chi-Square test.

6.7 Poverty Experience

Craft workers' fortunes often fluctuated, making some of them fall 'in and out' of poverty from time to time. In this vein, craft workers experienced hardships from time to time when market conditions were not so favourable.

Table 6.9 Poverty Experience

Respondents Experiences	Craft Communities				Artisans	Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Ever experienced poverty	34.8	22.0	83.3	75.0	30.8	36.2	32.6
Seasonal poverty / still poor	47.8	64.4	16.7	25.0	51.6	55.3	52.9
Never experienced poverty	17.4	13.6	0.0	0.0	17.6	8.5	14.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

About 32.6 percent claimed they had experienced poverty before, while 52.9 percent reported that they still experienced seasonal poverty and hard times, but about 14.5 percent claimed they had not experienced poverty before. Table 6.9 shows how crafts workers experienced poverty in the various crafts villages. Thus, 85.5 percent of all crafts workers have ever experienced poverty, or were still experiencing it during 'bad times' of the year.

While 30.8 percent of artisans were still poor, 51.6 percent reported seasonal poverty and vulnerability, while 17.6 percent said they had not experienced poverty. For crafts merchants, 36.2 percent reported that they were poor, 55.3 percent experienced seasonal poverty, and only 8.5 percent said they had not experienced poverty. From this analysis it may be concluded that seasonal poverty due to seasonality in tourism was rife amongst crafts workers. This situation elicited a diversification

of crafts workers' livelihood portfolios by taking up additional crafts related or non-craft related jobs during the off season as noted in chapter six.

6.7.1 Living Conditions and the CASHPOR House Index (CHI)

The CASHPOR House Index (CHI) was used to determine the living conditions of craftspeople, and to gain insights into how craft workers experienced poverty. As noted earlier, CHI uses external housing conditions as proxy for poverty, and can be very effective in conditions where there is a consistent relationship between poverty and housing conditions. Information on the materials used in constructing respondent's present dwelling units (walls, floors, and roofing), and other aspects of their living conditions (facilities and amenities) formed the basis of this analysis. The specific ways in which crafts people experienced poverty in their quest to secure a livelihood for their families are examined in this section.

6.7.1.1 Housing Situation and Tenure Security

The table shows that 45.7 percent of craft workers lived in compound houses. The traditional Ashanti house is a rectangular structure with a common enclosed compound. Individual rooms open into this common compound. There is also a common entrance to the compound. Family houses and single rooms (bed-sitter) featured prominently in the dwelling units of craftspeople. Some even lived in uncompleted structures as caretakers.

Table 6.10 Type of Dwelling Units of Crafts People

Type of dwelling unit	Districts and Craft Communities				Artisans	Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Separate house / flat	7.2	3.4	0.0	0.0	3.3	8.5	5.1
Family house	18.8	16.9	16.7	0.0	16.5	19.1	17.4
Individual compound	13.0	5.1	0.0	50.0	9.9	10.6	10.1
Part of compound house	42.0	52.5	33.3	25.0	49.5	38.3	45.7
Part of flat/family house	17.4	20.3	50.0	0.0	18.7	21.3	19.6
Uncompleted house	1.4	1.7	0.0	25.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Many craftspeople (51.4 percent) lived in family houses for free. However, 29.7 percent reported that they paid rent, while 17.4 percent were owners of the houses in which they lived. Table 6.10 shows that potters and bead makers did not live in rented houses. This might be explained by the

fact that at their age, potters and bead makers might have built their own houses or were living in family houses for free.

Over 60 percent craftspeople lived in single room units alone, or with their families; 21 percent lived in 2 rooms (chamber and hall), 13 percent lived in three rooms. Only 2.2 percent lived in four rooms and five rooms while 1.7 each reported that they had 7-10 rooms available to their families.

Table 6.11 Housing Status by Crafts worker category

Housing Category	Districts and Craft Communities				Artisans	Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
Own house	18.8	10.2	33.3	75.0	13.2	25.5	17.4
Rented house	37.7	25.4	0.0	0.0	34.1	21.3	29.7
Live in free	42.0	62.7	66.7	25.0	50.5	53.2	51.4
Caretaker/uncompleted	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Data on the availability of sleeping rooms revealed a different picture, however. The data shows that overall, 64.5 percent of respondents lived in houses with only one bedroom; while 24.6 percent lived in houses with two bedrooms, with only 2.9 percent living in houses with three to five bedrooms. In view of the limited number of bedrooms available to craft workers in their various homes, many people had to share the available space. This arrangement has implications for room occupancy levels in the craft villages, and amongst different categories of craftspeople.

Table 6.12 Room Occupancy Levels Amongst Crafts People

Number of people sleeping in a room	Districts and Craft Communities				Artisans	Merchants	Total
	Bonwire	Ahwiaa	Pankrono	Asamang			
One person	27.5	30.5	0.0	25.0	23.1	36.2	27.5
2 persons	34.8	23.7	16.7	25.0	30.8	25.5	29.0
3 persons	17.4	25.4	16.7	25.0	20.9	21.3	21.0
4 persons	13.0	15.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	10.6	13.0
5 persons	4.3	5.1	33.3	25.0	7.7	4.3	6.5
6 persons	1.4	0.0	33.3	0.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
10 persons	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Table 6.12 shows that only 27.5 percent, made up of 36.2 percent merchants and 23.1 percent artisans had a room to sleep in alone, while for 50 percent of the respondents, 2 to 3 people had to share a room. There were higher room occupancy levels at Ahwiaa than at the other crafts villages. Many crafts workers have had to cope with poor housing conditions as they could not afford to pay

rent. There were, therefore, high room occupancy rates in their dwelling units, and some level of overcrowding, which posed health risks with communicable diseases. While it may be concluded that craft merchants owned more houses, and had lower occupancy rates, fewer artisans could afford to pay rent for even a single room, and so had to make do with sharing the available spaces in family houses.

6.7.2.2 Housing Materials

Using the CHI model, the roof, walls and flooring of a house tells much about the economic status of its occupants. The next section uses the external housing conditions as a crude indicator of poverty. In cases where interviews took place outside respondents' homes, they were asked to describe materials that were used in the construction of their dwelling units, and its state of repair.

Majority (84.1percent) of respondents lived in houses built with cement blocks. However 11.6 percent lived in houses built with wattle and daub. Almost all (91.3 percent) the houses occupied by craftsmen were roofed with corrugated aluminium sheets, while 5.8 percent had concrete roofing, and only 2.9 percent with asbestos sheets. Most (94.2 percent) houses had cemented floors with only a few (2.2 percent) with earthen floors. The quality of housing materials shows that they were of a permanent nature. However, many of them lacked basic amenities like kitchens, toilets and bathrooms, and running water, which are all signs of poverty.

Close examination of the houses in craft communities also reveal that many of them needed renovation, as run-off erosion had taken a toll on the foundation walls in all the communities. Some of the roofs leaked when it rained. The spaces in-between the houses at Ahwiaa and Bonwire were used for sandpapering carved objects and weaving kente. Houses using firewood adopted open air cooking on compounds. Household members were all exposed to the fumes from such open-air kitchens.

6.7.2.3 Social Amenities in Housing Units

Drinking water was obtained from various sources across the craft villages. Bore-holes provided 41.3 percent of the drinking water needs of the craft workers, while piped water was utilised by 21.0 percent. They obtained pipe borne water from their homes, neighbours homes or public water

rent. There were, therefore, high room occupancy rates in their dwelling units, and some level of overcrowding, which posed health risks with communicable diseases. While it may be concluded that craft merchants owned more houses, and had lower occupancy rates, fewer artisans could afford to pay rent for even a single room, and so had to make do with sharing the available spaces in family houses.

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points in the community. Other sources included private and public wells, spring, river, stream and rain water utilised for cleaning and washing. A few of the respondents said they utilised sachet water for drinking purposes. However, for some respondents, sources of water for washing and cleaning were not different from those for drinking. Some (8.7 percent) respondents relied on multiple sources.

As many of the respondents did not have water connection to their homes, some (48.6 percent) walked about 50 metres from their houses to fetch water. Generally, water sources were not too far away from respondents' homes. Only a few (7.1 percent) respondents trekked close to a kilometre (701 to 900 metres) to fetch water. It must be noted that more than half of the respondents spent less than 10 minutes to fetch water; however, some (81.2 percent) spent less than 20 minutes.

Many houses in the craft communities did not have toilets. Most people relied on public places of convenience, or had to construct their own temporal toilet facilities. Only 9.4 percent respondents had a private water closet toilet at home. The rest had to make do with traditional pit latrines (27.5 percent). Many (34.8 percent) craftspeople made use of Kumasi Ventilated Pit (KVIP) latrines. However, some (7.2 percent) respondents still used bucket/pan latrines, while some (17.4 percent) went to the bushes to attend nature's call. Some (1.4 percent) crafts workers reported making use of multiple toilet types depending on where they found themselves when nature called. This information tells us about the environmental values of some segments of our target population, and describes what it meant to live and work in the craft villages.

The source of domestic energy and their utilisation provide some indication about the poverty status of members. Some (9.4 percent) relied on kerosene to light their lanterns. One person reported using a generator, while some (10.0 percent) said they used multiple lighting sources, as and when it was necessary. In the light of the current power rationings, other forms of lighting such as candles, lanterns and small generating plants were important in the mix of lighting sources, as electricity had become rather unreliable. However, 50 percent of respondents utilised charcoal for cooking and heating in the home; 17.4 percent relied on firewood fuel; 1.4 percent on kerosene, and 8.7 percent relied on Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) for their cooking needs.

Exposure to heat, smoke and other particulate matter affects the health of household members. Only 42.5 percent of respondents said they prepared their meals in a kitchen. The rest prepared their meals in open fire places (11.6 percent); sheltered fire places in the compound (15.2 percent), in front of their rooms (14.5 percent), and inside their rooms (5.8 percent). Some of them did not cook at all. Where the cooking was done may have health implications, as they may be exposed to heat and other pollutants (smoke) from the fuels used.

The availability and utilisation of health facilities and services reflect the poverty status of individuals in any community. Craft workers reported that they went to hospital (28.3 percent), clinic (24.6 percent), and bought drugs from chemical sellers for self medication (31.9 percent) when they were ill. The rest used a combination of these health services when they were not well. Only 15.2 percent were members of any social security or insurance schemes. Over two thirds (85.5 percent) of the respondents disposed of their refuse/solid waste in public refuse containers, but 9.4 percent disposed of refuse in nearby bushes, and the rest either burned their refuse near their homes, or threw it away in gutters and in the neighbourhood. Liquid waste was disposed of in gutters (33.3 percent), indiscriminately (50 percent), and in the bush (13 percent). Generally, young girls (60.9 percent) and women (9.4 percent) had the responsibility of disposing of household waste, and were most at risk of pollutants and disease vectors.

6.7.3 The CASHPOR House Index

The CHI index was calculated for the entire sampled population by assigning weights to responses on housing conditions, materials and amenities available to individuals in those housing units. The best housing conditions, materials and amenities attracted a weight of (1), and the worst housing conditions, materials and housing amenities attracted a maximum weight of (4). The values for twelve variables were added and divided by the number of variables to derive the index. Table 6.13 shows the CHI index calculated for sampled craft workers in the study villages.

Table 6.13 Cashpor Housing Index for Craft People

CHI	Poverty Status	Valid Percent	Percentiles	Percentile Total
2.00	Rich/ Wealthy	2.9	2.1700 (10 th)	19.6
2.08		2.9		
2.17		5.8		
2.25		8.0		
2.33	Secure	5.8	2.3300 (25 th)	36.3
2.42		13.8		
2.50		16.7	2.5000 (50 th)	
2.58	Insecure, Vulnerable	12.3	2.5800 (60 th)	31.2
2.67		10.9	2.6700 (75 th)	
2.75		8.0	2.7500 (80 th)	
2.83	Poor	6.5	2.8300 (90 th)	11.6
2.92		2.9		
3.00		2.2		
3.08	Very poor	0.7		1.4
3.33		0.7		
Total		100.0 (138)		100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

The best living standard is represented with an index of 2.00, and the worst living standard is represented with an index of 3.33. This index may be considered only crude as it is not matched with actual incomes, but it takes cognisance of community differences in living standards, no matter how small they might be. It also provides a strong basis, and a more superior way for making inferences about the living conditions of the target population, as there seems to be a strong match between housing conditions and occupants' living conditions.

Table 6.13 shows that overall, 19.6 percent craftspeople were rich, while over a third (36.3 percent) were secure. However, 31.3 percent craftspeople were insecure and vulnerable. Over eleven percent (11.6 percent) may be classified as poor. This 5-point scale is more superior to the 3-point scale for self-ranking in which only 5.1 percent respondents ranked themselves as 'rich'; a whopping 66.7 percent claimed they were 'neither rich nor poor'; and 28.3 percent claimed they were 'poor'. This comparison is better illustrated in the next table. Even though self-ranking gives respondents the opportunity to determine their own poverty status, the CHI is devoid of the potential inherent subjectivity which characterises self-ranking. In this regard, the CHI appears to be a more objective and more robust way of determining poverty status of individuals and households using some selected physical characteristics of housing and available household amenities.

Table 6.14 Comparing Self-Ranking and CHI Outcomes to Determine Poverty Status

CHI Categories	CHI Outcomes (%)	Self-Ranking (%)	Outcomes	Remarks
Rich/Wealthy	19.6	Rich/Wealthy	5.1	The self-ranking and CHI outcomes for 'not rich/not poor' and 'secure/insecure' are almost the same.
Secure	36.3	Neither Poor nor Rich	66.7	
Insecure/Vulnerable	31.2			
Poor	11.6	Poor	28.3	
Very Poor	1.4			
Total	100.0 (138)	Total	100.0 (138)	

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

A close examination of Table 6.14 confirms the observation that it was more difficult for respondents to admit that they were either 'Rich' or 'Poor' than to 'comfortably' say that they were 'neither rich nor poor'. However, over half (55.8 percent) of all craftspeople surveyed had an index of at least 2.50, which represents a secured standard of living, if their housing situation was anything to go by. The mean index was (2.5164), with a median of (2.5000). The index with the highest count was (2.50). However, the standard deviation was calculated as (0.24570), with a variance of (0.06037).

6.8 Perceptions of DAs Poverty Reduction Efforts

The relationship between crafts people and officials of district assemblies and the tourist board, though negotiated, was flavoured with suspicion. Craftspeople were unwilling to give vital information to staff of district assemblies and the GTB. Craftspeople at Ahwiaa complained that the craft centre which has been put up by the Kwabre District Assembly did not have enough shops to ensure that all of them moved en bloc to the new site. They vowed not to move until the new facility was upgraded to ensure none were left behind. Weavers also complained that the Ejisu-Juaben Municipal council was putting up a museum instead of putting up additional export production village (EPV) sheds and solving the perennial water problem in the town. At Pankrono, inability of the DA to solve erosion and drainage problems were reported.

Some 37.7 percent respondents reported a cordial relationship between the district assemblies and their communities, while 34.1 percent reported an adversarial relationship; however, 28.3 percent had no opinion on the issue. With regards to the Ghana Tourist Board, respondents reported about 44.9 percent cordiality, with 16.7 percent claiming that all was not well between the Tourist Board and the craft communities, and so treated their staff with suspicion. They complained that GTB staff interfered

with the bargaining process when they escorted tourists to their shops. For 38.4 percent of them, they did not know about the Tourist Board and the kind of relationship that existed between the community and its officials.

Crafts workers' awareness or knowledge of projects that have been executed, or were in the process of being executed in their communities with a poverty reduction potential or effect were assessed with the following results. Respondents reported that public facilities such as KVIP toilets, pipe borne water and boreholes, building and refurbishment of basic schools, the building of community centres, markets, craft and tourist centres were provided by the district assemblies. They also mentioned the construction of a guest house, and the facilitation of loans for craft groups at Bonwire. However, about 36.2 percent of respondents at Bonwire complained that the district assemblies did nothing for them, while about 26.1 percent were ignorant about district assembly projects and their poverty reducing impacts these projects had in their communities.

Only 3.6 percent craft workers reported that they had ever received funds from the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) for poverty reduction. However, 44.2 percent reported that it was impossible to access assistance from the district assemblies. Some 44.9 percent craft workers were not aware of any DA assistance schemes. Thus, due to ignorance which results from the low educational backgrounds of majority of craftspeople, they were not aware of assistance schemes that were available at the district assemblies, let alone being able to access such assistance schemes.

6.9 Inequalities and Power Relations

Chiefs and community elders (70.3 percent), assemblymen (13.8 percent), and unit committee chairmen (0.7 percent) were perceived by craftspeople as the powerful people in their communities. For others, power was a shared issue amongst traditional authorities, assemblymen and unit committees. However, some (13 percent) craftspeople claimed they did not know who the powerful were in their communities. Again, (58 percent) craft workers recognised traditional authorities, district assemblies (15.9 percent), and unit committees (6.5 percent) as the institutions of power in their

communities. Craft associations were recognised as the institution with the least (1.4 percent) power.

Poor people, visitors and migrants, children and the youth, women and Ewes were specifically mentioned as the least powerful and most vulnerable in the craft villages. However, (71.1 percent) respondents were of the view that migrants had equal rights as indigenous craft workers in the craft villages. Some (26.1 percent) admitted that there was some visible discrimination against migrant craftsmen. At Bonwire, for example, migrant contract weavers were not allowed by their employers to sell kente directly to tourists. They were not even permitted to work for other craft dealers. If and when they happened to weave their own kente, they could only sell them to crafts merchants at rates lower than the market price. At Ahwiaa, non-locals had to put up with a lot to stay in the business. These reflect unequal opportunities and inequalities in the craft villages based on age, gender, ethnicity and culture.

Some (65.2 percent) craftspeople attested to the fact that women and children performed roles that were subservient to men's roles, especially at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. Yarn spinners, contract weavers, migrant workers, contract carvers, polishers, craft hawkers, store boys, log suppliers, pot makers and bottle grinders were the category of craft workers identified by respondents as the poorest in the craft enterprise. Craft merchants were not mentioned, even by themselves as being amongst the poor in the crafts business.

Having identified the poorest segments of craft workers in the study villages, respondents and discussants were asked to suggest ways in which their employment opportunities, incomes and capacity as well as participation in decision making were to be enhanced so that they are able to help themselves out of poverty. To be able to lift themselves out of poverty, (23.9 percent) respondents were of the view that poorer craft workers should be provided with credit with which to weave or carve their own products, and that poorer shop owners should be provided with marketing support. Some (8.7 percent) suggested that poorer artisans should be paid fairer and more realistic rates, while some (21.0 percent) were also of the view that bigger and more regular contracts were what artisans needed in order to raise themselves out of poverty. However, some (5.1 percent) shop owners suggested that

artisans were not honest and needed to be educated first in honesty. They believed that it was only when artisans became credible that the other things should be added to them.

Table 6.15 Suggested Pro-Poor Interventions

Suggestions	Frequency	Percent	Remarks
Provide credit / loans	33*	23.9	
Provide with market avenues	6	4.3	
Pay fair prices/realistic rates	14*	10.1	
Give more/bigger contracts	30	21.7	
First educate them to be honest/credible	7	5.1	
Provide training on new design	8	5.8	
Encourage more tourist to buy products	3	2.2	
Advertise	7	5.1	
Don't know	33	23.9	
Total	141	102.0	

Source: Fieldwork, 2006. *percentages do not add up as there were multiple responses.

Some (5.8 percent) were also of the view that artisans should be provided with training in new designs that would encourage tourists to purchase the handicrafts. Finally, advertising was seen as crucial to the success of the handicrafts business and to the creation of more employment opportunities for carvers, weavers, bottle grinders and shop attendants in the crafts villages. To improve the incomes of the poorer crafts people, credit, market avenues, fair and realistic rates, were suggested. Other suggestions included obtaining bigger contracts, training on new designs, formation of cooperatives and self employment, and bulk payments, and creating more demand for products and services.

Respondents believed that community income could be generated from donations, formation of cooperatives, and from lease fees. However, the majority of crafts workers were apprehensive to how community income would be managed. Shop owners and artisans alike had reservations and did not show confidence in how funds have been managed in the past.

Table 6.16 Perceptions of How to Enhance Earning Opportunities

Suggestions	Frequency	Total
Provide credit / loans	38	27.5
Provide with market avenues	5	3.6
Pay fair prices/realistic rates	15	10.9
Give more/bigger contracts	17	12.3
Provide training on new design	12	8.7
Form cooperative/become self employed	1	0.7
Pay them in bulk	4	2.9
Create more demand for their products	2	1.4
Reserve clay for pot making	1	0.7
Don't know	43	31.2
Total	138	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Only nine crafts workers, representing 6.5 percent had received training from district assemblies and other organisations. However, some (32.6 percent) suggested ways in which the capacity of the poorer artisans could be enhanced for them to be empowered. Design training, training in reliability and credibility, provision of credit were the ways crafts workers perceived that the capacity of artisans could be enhanced.

While (34.1 percent) crafts workers claimed to have a tourism development planning and management team or committee in their communities, some (31.2 percent) said they were not aware of such teams. Only 30.4 percent reported being members of the said teams/committees. Asked to name the associations, crafts workers mentioned the names of various associations to which they belonged. This conflicts with FGD findings which found such beads makers being members of 31st DWM. The Ghana Tourist Board and the District assemblies also confirmed that such teams were, and still are non-existent. However, some (69.6 percent) crafts people did not belong to any of the crafts associations.

Even though mention was made of a few crafts associations to which artisans claimed they belonged, such associations existed only in name, and had become dysfunctional. Probing on why crafts associations were not vibrant, some crafts people had this to say:

Box 6.4 Difficulties of Forming Vibrant Craft Associations

"... Look at my work, it is very difficult, and everybody is busy so it is difficult to organise. They simply would not come..." (Wood finisher, Ahwiaa)

"... More of the carvers are carving in the bush, so if you call a meeting now, how do you find them, it is simply impossible. That's why we are not organised. So it is not our fault" (Ahwiaa Carver)

"As you can see, we are UNITY carvers. Those people under the shed by the roadside are the stool carvers, and there are people carving different things so it is difficult to bring all of these people together" (Carver, Ahwiaa)

"We had a very good association because we were all members of 31st (31st December Women's Movement) and Madam Mary Osei was helping us. Unfortunately, it was only when this factory was built that the work collapsed" (Asamang Beads maker)

"I think people stopped coming to meetings because NDC lost power. There were some petty quarrels too that did not help. Some people did not come to work but would like to share in the proceeds. (Beads maker)

"Some women, who were not in 31st DWM also got angry and cursed us because we did not allow them to join our society, I believe that's why our group collapsed." (Beads maker)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

Table 6.17 shows the list of crafts associations mentioned by crafts workers in the various craft villages self employed craft merchants were more organised, and were able to meet more frequently than the contract artisans. Even though the old potters at Pankrono worked individually, they seemed to know who was active and who was not. However, they did not have a name for their group.

Table 6.17 List of Craft Associations in Study Area

Name of Craft Association	Current Status
Alhwiaa Carvers Association	Functional but irregular meeting attendance
Unity Carvers Association	Defunct
Alhwiaa Handicrafts Dealers Association	Functional, with limited membership
Gye Nyame Handicrafts Sellers Association	Defunct
Dua Ho ma Mfasuor Association	Newly formed with organisational problems
Bonwire Kente Designers and Sellers Association	Functional, overcrowding at the EPV shed
Akpokorpe Weavers Association;	Defunct migrant weavers association
Asamang Cooperative Beads Manufacturing and Marketing society.	Defunct, with broken down machines and other equipment at factory site.
No potters and Pot Sellers association at Pankrono	Not available.

Source: Fieldwork, 2006

To assess the level of participation in decision making and other issues that are related to their trade, crafts workers were asked to respond to some statements relating to decision making, tourist buying behaviour, impact of their activities on the environment and the viability of their businesses. They were to indicate their agreement or otherwise to these statements on a 5-point scale. Table 6.18 is a summary of their perceptions.

Table 6.18 shows that only 54 percent craft workers were consulted, or participated in decision making in the crafts villages. However, (83 percent) craftspeople were convinced that the production and sale of handicrafts was a sure way out of poverty. Even though crafts workers made use of some child labour, most of them (71 percent) agreed that it was problematic. Discussants said the early initiation of children into the craft business was a problem they still were grappling with. Some of the children genuinely needed the money they made for their upkeep. The situation in Bonwire was such that school children left their classrooms to sell bracelets and other crafts items to tourist whenever a tourist bus arrived in the town.

Table 6.18 Perceptions on Decision-Making and Participation in Crafts Business and Trends

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Don't know %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Total
I am usually consulted in the making of decisions	36.2	18.1	2.9	18.8	23.9	100.0
Handicrafts production is a sure way out of poverty	46.4	36.2	2.9	10.9	3.6	100.0
Participation of children is a problem in this community	40.6	30.4	5.1	10.9	13.0	100.0
Tourist have dwindled/reduced in the last 5 years	66.7	14.5	9.4	2.2	7.2	100.0
Tourists are spending more money than 5 years ago	19.6	14.5	13.8	13.0	39.1	100.0
Older tourists buy more of my goods than younger ones	45.7	18.8	17.4	8.7	9.4	100.0
Female tourist buy more of my goods than male ones	39.1	18.1	24.6	7.2	10.9	100.0
I usually keep records of everything I sell	21.7	21.0	10.1	15.2	31.9	100.0
Tourists are harassed by hawkers when they come here	52.2	23.9	7.2	8.0	8.7	100.0
The best (name handicrafts) are produced in this community	81.2	8.7	2.2	2.2	5.8	100.0
The historical fame of this community helps my business	63.0	23.9	4.3	5.1	3.6	100.0
Handicrafts production has created some problems here	10.9	30.4	7.2	26.8	24.6	100.0
The rapid growth of Kumasi has created some problems here	16.7	21.0	18.1	18.8	25.4	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Majority (81 percent) of respondents agreed that tourist arrivals had dwindled over the last 5 years. However, over 52 percent disagreed that more tourists were buying their products now than five years ago. Generally, older tourists seemed to patronise more craft products than the younger ones, but there were little differences in the buying behaviour of males and females.

Craft workers agreed strongly that harassment of tourists was a big problem at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. They accused craft hawkers of following and heckling tourists from shop to shop. Individually, craft workers saw their communities as the best place to find the products they made. They also agreed that the historical legacy of the craft villages helped them in their businesses. However, only a few of them kept records. Most of them disagreed with the assertion that handicraft production had created problems in their communities. The rapid growth of Kumasi was generally seen as a blessing rather than a problem by many craftspeople.

Asked to name the most important thing their businesses needed in order to grow, some 73 percent mentioned capital, while 34 percent mentioned enhanced marketing skills. Other things that were perceived as important for growing their businesses included the following: improved place of work, improved technology, the need for foreign business partners, reliable sources of raw materials, increased tourist arrivals and a more aggressive national and regional tourism promotion. This shows that craftspeople had different priorities and needs. Intervention strategies should take cognisance of these differences.

Most craft workers (90.6 percent) attested to improvements in their living standards since they entered the handicraft business. Already, craft production seemed to have offered an alternative livelihood opportunity for many families whose quality of life would have worsened, but for their participation in the handicraft business. Table 6.18 shows the results of the assessment of perceptions on a range of issues, employing the Likert scale to identify respondents' shades of opinion on the issues. Finally, even though respondents (99 percent) said they enjoyed the interview, they had the following complaints and requests to make by way of providing additional information after the interviews. Weavers complained about some threads and yarns that proved to be of low quality, while

some dealers thought that loan repayment schedules were too short and that the cost of materials were rising. Carvers complained about the depletion of preferred tree species, and that policemen and forest guards harassed them for cutting trees from the forests. The absence of receptive facilities for tourists' use was reported in all communities visited. To cater to this need, individual's homes were used by tourists. There were also requests for marketing assistance, for loans and credit, intervention in solving chieftaincy disputes at Ahwiaa and Bonwire, and the need for reliable sources of raw materials.

6.10 Discussion and Summary

6.10.1 Discussion

Some craft workers experienced hunger, inadequate housing and overcrowding, could not send children to school, and children dropped out of school for non-payment of fees. They could not pay for medical services and had to self medicate when they fell ill; and they could not find regular, and or secured jobs and so remained unemployed or underemployed for long periods. While craft merchants were more resilient to such shocks, slipping into poverty but raising themselves out of it after a while, artisans found it more challenging to get out of the poverty trap. They worked very hard to pay their debts, but found themselves borrowing or selling some of their possessions, to make ends meet. The survival mentality has made them risk averse, leading to always seek short-cuts. They opted for short-term approaches instead of thinking strategically in the long term. Their production was strongly influenced by the need to survive. Production was, therefore, directed at the tourist market, a market they poorly understood. This survivalist tendency stifled innovation, and artisans did not take the pains to produce masterpieces, copies of original craft items were made with poor design innovation. None of the crafts workers had secured a copyright to their products, yet they complained of copying of their designs by local and foreign producers.

Among craft workers, perceptions of poverty differed from place to place, and from one crafts worker group to the other. All craft workers were however, unanimous on the inadequacy of income and lack of money as a common denominator of poverty. Perceptions of poverty amongst the various artisanal and merchant groups related to their frustrations and vulnerabilities, created by their

inabilities to deal with certain challenges to their work (decline in work) on one part, and to general life challenges on the other; while perceptions of wealth were related to their aspirations and life expectations. In a way, poverty perceptions were 'portraits of poverty' painted by the poor themselves. Thus, poverty had both a 'youthful' and 'elderly' face, a 'woman's' and 'widow's' face, a 'migrant's' face, an 'illiterate's' face, a 'contract workers' face and an 'artisan's' face.

There were striking differences in the perceptions of well-being and poverty between artisans and crafts merchants. Whereas artisans and the women groups focussed on critical issues such as food security, sickness and disability, inability to have children, dependency, inability to get married and loss of a husband; the crafts merchants and men's groups emphasised lack of employment, lack of adequate housing and respect, lack of capital, lack of education and limited skills, and lack of property.

The diversity of perceptions of poverty and wealth were informative because they pointed to the various pathways of coping, and also influenced the choice of coping and survival strategies. It should, therefore, inform and guide the choice of interventions that would be relevant in addressing the issues raised.

Craft workers identified poorer participants in the handicrafts enterprise by observation and examination of one's quality of life. Poorer members were identified as those who were unable to maintain regular eating patterns, bought food on credit, and were almost always in debt. They were those who were sometimes found drunk, and were unemployed for long periods of time. Most of the poorer members happened to be artisans who worked on contract basis. They generally experienced harsher hardships comparatively.

The causes of poverty identified were threefold: those caused by oneself (through laziness, drunkenness, large family sizes, unnecessary expenses on funerals and idleness etc.); those caused by natural and external factors over which victims had little or no control (like old age, sickness, reduced tourist visitation and sales, unfavourable policy environment and political factors); and those that were arena-based and inherited from the family and community (such as lack of social and economic infrastructure, low educational attainment, and poor parentage). The major cause of poverty in the craft

villages, however, was identified by the majority of discussants and respondents as laziness.

6.10.2 Summary

The chapter has identified the diversity of ways craftspeople perceived and experienced poverty across the craft villages and within the crafts industry. Some similarities and differences were found in the local understandings and perceptions of poverty across the study area. These are relevant for policy, and the formulation of future intervention strategies. Craftspeople with low incomes preferred to be seen as hardworking but struggling people than to be branded 'poor'. This cultural sensibility needs to be respected. Calculation of the CASHPOR House Index revealed five categories of people on the poverty – wealth spectrum, which is superior to the three-point self perception / categorisation.

Secondly, the distinction between 'hardship' and 'poverty' was useful in conceptualising poverty amongst craftspeople in the Ashanti region. Identification of the causes of poverty, the perceptions and experiences of the poor needs to be taken seriously in future studies. The next chapter presents the coping mechanisms engineered by craftspeople to overcome production challenges and poverty.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COPING WITH PRODUCTION CHALLENGES AND POVERTY

7.1 Introduction

The pervasiveness of poverty conditions, difficulties in finding production inputs, and strangulated crafts markets, and the hardships that confront craft workers and their families has affected crafts workers' welfare and the sustainability of their livelihood portfolios negatively. Consequently these hardships have elicited quite a number of complex adjustment mechanisms that enable craftspeople to cope with production challenges and escape, or withstand the effects of poverty.

This chapter examines the range of strategies crafts people have adopted to cope with production challenges in order to sustain production and secure their well-being. The chapter also outlines the coping and survival mechanisms craftspeople have engineered to combat poverty in the crafts villages. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the relationship between coping strategies and livelihood assets of craftspeople.

7.2 Coping and Survival Mechanisms

In consonance with Sahl (1996) and Bangura (1994), there was diversity in the kind of measures taken to deal with a particular challenge that emerged when individuals were confronted with limited resources for their survival and well-being. The range of immediate, short-term or temporal measures that were taken to manage the situation, to achieve a certain degree of respite may be termed 'survival or coping' strategies. The medium to long-term and more permanent measures, on the other hand, may be termed 'adaptive' strategies. Usually, craftspeople responded with a mix of survival and adaptive strategies designed to deal with the immediate problem, and to forestall their future occurrence.

7.2.1 Capacity to Cope

Craft workers' ability to cope with and recover from shocks, maintain quality of life over time, and provide the same or better opportunities for their families, now and in the future was influenced by

the quality and quantity of capitals (Natural, Financial, Social, Human, and Physical) available to them. In this regard, their human capital (education, skills, expertise, household size) and ability to convert available financial, natural, cultural, physical, and social resources into various levels of well-being within the socio-economic and cultural environment determined the quality of their coping strategies.

The household economy was made up of production, consumption and exchange activities. This household economy was a function of the household size, its demographic composition, their activities, ownership of resources and the way these resources were utilised. Households in the study area were characterised by the extended family system. As many as ninety-nine (99) extended family household members were being taken care of by about 29 percent of the respondents. Clearly, the dependency burden was high. Hence, maintaining food security and reducing exposure to the risks of budget deficit were the most important concerns of artisans and merchants alike.

Discussants, therefore, chose the appropriate ways they perceived suitable to organise themselves and their resources to balance their income and expenditure, and make some savings for use during the lean season. It was difficult for crafts people to save. When they did, it was basically a “postponed consumption” rather than a form of accumulation. To succeed, many of them had to exploit themselves to the limit. They adopted frugal lifestyles, worked long hours, and denied themselves many pleasures in order to make ends meet. Many have also taken to drinking alcohol as a way of coping with their emotional stress.

During the tourist lean season, coping and survival mechanisms were highly influenced by factors such as the individual’s social networks, ability to mobilise resources, degree of economic vulnerability, ownership and access to productive assets, and the availability of alternative job opportunities. In the crafts villages, the nature of response to socio-economic changes was found to be diverse, and in tandem with their resource endowments, exchange entitlements, work conditions and social linkages. These factors, among others, constitute the determinants to the most suitable ways of response.

7.3 Coping with Craft Production Challenges

7.3.1 Coping with Difficulties in Finding Raw Materials

When shortages occurred, craft workers usually travelled outside their communities to obtain such production inputs in order to stay in business. This entailed additional costs and delays that negatively impacted on already tight margins. Prices of raw materials also kept fluctuating. This negatively affected the profitability of their businesses. Shortages in finding high quality yarns, depletion and difficulty in finding certain wood species, clay, and certain dyes for making beads were some of the complaints of both merchants and artisans in all the craft villages studied. Most of the production inputs were, however, obtained locally within the crafts villages. Table 7.1 shows the challenges to finding raw materials in the selected crafts villages.

Table 7.1 Challenges in Finding Reliable Raw Materials

Bonwire	%	Ahwiaa	%	Pankrono	%	Asamang	%
Shortages	29.0	Harassment	10.2	Shortages	66.8	Shortage of dye	50.0
Cannot find rare colours	1.4	Depletion	13.6	Fields sold	16.7	No difficulty	50.0
No difficulty	69.6	Shortages	50.0	Costly fuel	16.7	Total	100.0
Total	100.0	No difficulty	25.4	Total	100.0		
		Total	100				

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Overall, 52.9 percent crafts people reported difficulties in procuring raw materials for their enterprises. Difficulties in finding raw materials locally have the potential of leading to marked decline in crafts production at present locations, and/or a migration of the crafts people and centres of production to areas where such inputs are cheaply and abundantly available.

Yarn shortages are not a big problem in Bonwire, however, weavers and kente merchants have, on occasions, had to travel to Accra to obtain high quality rayon yarns, and rare fast coloured yarns for weaving special kente that would not fade. Some special accessories for the looms that were used by some contract migrant weavers were reported to be obtainable only from the Volta region. However, there were only occasional shortages in finding good quality yarn. In the past, imported yarns were scarce, but today factory produced yarns abound locally.

Difficulty in finding suitable wood for carving has become a major headache for carvers and merchants alike. This problem has elicited various coping and adaptive strategies. First, log suppliers,

independent carvers and merchants travelled to adjoining districts with forests containing the preferred tree species to obtain them. After negotiations, the logs were transported to the carving village to be worked on by contract carvers.

Secondly, some independent carvers and their families have migrated to areas where they found suitable trees easily. The relocation of carvers was a measure to avoid the long distances and additional transportation costs incurred in procuring trees for carving. However, most of the carved items found their way back to Ahwiaa, for sale to tourists and other local and foreign retailers.

Difficulty in finding suitable tree species for carving was compounded by the fact that carvers had to compete with sawmills for some tree species. This was especially so in the case of *Sese*. However, unlike the saw mills, carvers did not have tree felling concessions. This made it difficult for them to obtain trees easily and legally. To cope, carvers with specialisation in *Oware*, and other smaller items like *Akuaba* (Ashanti fertility figurines) were now using sawmills rejects/scantlings in carving these smaller craft items.

Another response to difficulties in finding suitable wood for carving was to utilise other tree species, like teak and Cedera for carving objects directed at the tourist market. Additionally, craftspeople produced smaller craft objects referred in the literature as miniaturisation. Miniaturisation served a dual purpose. It helped in conserving scarce raw materials and satisfied tourists' needs as well. With airline restrictions on passengers' baggage weight allowances, smaller items and replicas of the originals seemed to be catching on with tourists. On the whole, carvers made a more efficient use of wood, and added more value to it compared to sawmills.

For a long time, craftspeople have cut trees free of charge and without the need for permits and waybills. They, therefore, did all they could to avoid paying for permits and waybills. However, some craft merchants had to pay bribes for the release of their logs when they were arrested by the police or forest guards. When it became impossible to find certain types of wood legally, carvers and merchants admitted they stole trees from protected forests. To avoid this unpleasant situation, many carvers carried out their operations in the bush, as carved items did not require permits and waybills to be

transported from one location to the other. Carving in the bush and paying bribes have, therefore, emerged as strategies to avoid problems created by harassment from the police and forest guards.

Some finishers also reported occasional shortages of potassium; however, it was easily obtainable from Kumasi. Thus, travel to distant places to procure wood, migration, use of less suitable tree species, use of sawmill rejects, miniaturisation, and tree stealing from protected reserves, were all ways of coping with scarce wood supply.

The proximity of Pankrono to the city of Kumasi, and the establishment of a modern residential estate, (Pankrono Estates) that stretches across virtually all the clay winning fields have led to serious problems for the old potters. These problems have elicited some coping strategies that account for the little traces of pot making that we still see at Pankrono today.

To remain in business, even if at a very diminished capacity, the old potters had to scavenge for clay that was found when foundation pits were dug to put up houses. Sometimes, clay was dug behind people's backyards. Potters reported that property owners did not take kindly to holes being dug behind their walls and backyards, and have usually chased them away. The shortage in clay supplies and the general disinterest amongst the youth, with regards to pot making as a vocation, have created serious challenges to the viability and sustainability of pot making in Pankrono. Pottery seems to be a dying craft activity in Pankrono. Another problem that severely constrained potters' work was the issue of finding fuel wood to bake the pots. Hitherto, firewood was freely gathered from the nearby bushes, but buildings have taken over the fields. Potters have had to buy firewood from Ahwiaa sawmills and other firewood sellers. This is an additional cost which makes their endeavours less profitable.

The powder glass bead business relied on local and foreign sources for raw materials. Broken bottles were sourced from the Coca Cola Bottling plant and other breweries in Kumasi. However, FGD participants reported that the chemicals and dyes used in the craft were imported from the U.S.A and Japan. Though there were no reported cases of shortages in finding broken bottles for making beads, occasional shortages of the chemicals was reported. To cope during such periods of shortage, supplies were obtained from the College of Art of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

(KNUST); from the central market in Kumasi, and from bead making communities in Dodowa in the Eastern region. Work had ceased for a very long time, since the change of government in 2000. Equipment and several dust-laden bags of broken bottles and chemicals were seen at the factory site at Asamang during the study.

7.3.2 Coping with Scarce Working Capital and Finance

A major complaint of craft workers, especially merchants, was related to finding reliable sources of working capital to support and expand their work. Sometimes, capital was needed just to be able to deliver an order. Many merchants relied on their own savings and loans from relations, colleagues and friends to survive in the handicrafts business. A few of the discussants mentioned Prudential Bank and First Allied Bank as the only banks that advanced loans to some of them. In the last resort, they turned to local money lenders for loans to support their businesses. They reported that it was far easier to obtain a loan for funerals than it was for business.

A close look at the sources of credit reveals that institutional credit was not accessible to all crafts workers equally. For lack of collateral, many of them had to fall on their social capital by borrowing from persons in their social circles. Some of them had to dispose of possessions to raise funds to support their businesses. Such distress sale of assets earned them less than the market value for the items pawned.

Craft merchants had more access to institutional credit than artisans. About 21.7 percent reported that they did not have access to credit at all, while about 55 percent had to fall on personal savings and on their social capital to obtain capital for their businesses. The analysis shows that artisans were more versatile in their search for capital, exploiting all avenues open to them. Most artisans and a few merchants borrowed from friends, employers, colleagues, and customers, becoming indebted to them in the process. Some artisans who defaulted in paying their debts had to pay these debts by working for their creditors.

7.3.3 Coping with Skilled Labour Shortages

Merchants were confronted with the task of finding the best carvers and weavers available in order to stay in business. The artisan – merchant relationship was usually, one of trust. However, it was difficult to find trustworthy carvers and weavers at Ahwiaa and Bonwire respectively. The dearth of master weavers in Bonwire, especially has led to the recruitment of weavers from Akpokorpe, near Agortime Kpetoe and other places in the Volta region, to work as contract weavers. When dealers were hard pressed, they bought products from weavers from surrounding kente producing villages in order to deliver on orders.

Merchants usually handpicked carvers for specific jobs. However, some of the unreliable carvers were the only ones who could carve certain objects. Merchants, therefore, had no choice but to go to them for such jobs. Some carvers had become notorious for disappointing merchants, taking advanced payments and failing, or refusing to deliver. However, some merchants also reneged on their promises to pay the carvers on time, and in bulk. Some of the carvers were easily swayed into selling carved items to other merchants for instant cash, with the hope of making a replacement later. However, due to the strict deadlines for merchants to deliver, this created problems for merchants. Merchants complained of lost business opportunities due to unnecessary delays. Another measure merchants adopted to keep artisans working for them was to withhold some of their wages till the next contract. This way, merchants were able to keep the working relationship for a while. Secondly, this ‘delayed payments strategy’ was to ensure that carvers did not abscond with part-payments for their services.

The problems and coping strategies observed in Ahwiaa and Bonwire with regards to finding reliable carvers and weavers were not present at Pankrono and Asamang. Former bead makers had become redundant, and were now peasant farmers and petty traders. Both men and women at Asamang survived by finding work in Kumasi on a daily basis, while, inhabitants of Pankrono survived pursuing non-farm, non-pottery based urban economic activities. Additionally, the few pot sellers in the town did not offer competitive prices for the pots. The low prices and the drudgery of finding clay, and

firewood served as a disincentive, and the old potters were unable to cope with this burden. Pot sellers continued to exploit not only the old potters, but also the fame of Pankrono, as certain special pots used for rituals and for medicinal purposes were obtainable only at this place. To add variety to their collections, and to augment local production, pot sellers procured *coolers*, *asanka*, and other earthenware from Afari, Nfansi, Kwahu, and Abuakwa. However, the keen competition amongst the three pot sellers in the town results in frequent quarrels and animosity amongst them.

7.3.4 Coping with Marketing and Selling Constraints

To survive, merchants at Ahwiaa and Bonwire have adopted a range of coping mechanisms to deal with the slump in tourist arrivals, and in sales. Shop boys and crafts hawkers had become aggressive in their quest to make sales, so much so that they virtually chased the tourists with goods from one shop to the other, much to the annoyance of other shop owners. This harassment of tourists, sometimes, resulted in arguments and fights amongst shop boys. This resulted in low overall sales for everybody.

Generally, handicrafts have a very high symbolic content with respect to their material content, which renders the question of pricing problematic. Carved items and other handicrafts, therefore, had no fixed prices. A system of bargaining or haggling was adopted to determine the price when tourists arrived. Wood suppliers, carvers and finishers, therefore, lost out on the windfall gains made in selling the final product, as the value of the material content and services to produce the final product was relatively negligible – for instance, the wood used in carving an object makes up only a minimal part of the value of the finished product. The prices of these cultural products were, therefore, determined to a large extent by their symbolic value.

Another way to survive was to reduce prices so as to make products cheaper. Shop attendants reduced their own prices in order to sell more. This move reduced their margins in a way, but as shop owners derived super normal profits from craft sales they still made decent profits. Some craft merchants said they operated shops and galleries in Kumasi and Accra as a way of diversifying the points of sales. Some also exported various carved items to local and foreign distributors.

Some independent finishers reported selling their products in crafts markets in Benin and Burkina Faso. However, craft exporters were the more established dealers in the woodcarvings and kente business. They were perceived by their colleagues as having all the right connections and contacts locally and abroad. Overall, 25.4 percent were engaged in crafts exports. While 91.4 percent merchants sold directly to tourists, only 42.8 percent artisans had any direct dealings with tourists. There was a 52.2 percent preference for foreign markets while 44.2 percent preferred local markets. However, some 3.6 percent of the craftspeople had no preference. At Bonwire and Ahwiaa, contract weavers and carvers were not allowed to deal with tourists directly, and were kept busy by craft merchants all the time. However, some migrant weavers and carvers had pooled their resources to put up a structure for craft sales to improve their own earnings.

Organising craft festivals in the production village was seen as an innovative way of attracting tourists into the craft villages, and cashing in on the opportunity to market and sell products. The Ejisu Juaben district assembly in conjunction with weavers and kente merchants and chiefs have organised such bi-annual festivals at Bonwire. Sustainability of the organisation of the festival has, however, become problematic and the festival could not come on in 2006. Even though crafts workers at Ahwiaa saw festivals as a great opportunity to improve sales and celebrate carving with a display of masterpieces, they faced organisational difficulties.

Participation in crafts fairs and trade fairs was another strategy adopted by only 33.3 percent of all crafts workers, with only 14.5 percent reporting of participation in international trade fairs. They complained of the high cost of participation being a deterrent to them.

Due to the decline in tourist visitations and the proliferation of industrial imitations and substitutes, 70.3 percent craft workers reported severe competition in their work. Even though 58.0 percent respondents believed that craft production in their villages was declining, 44.2 percent were of the view that the continued survival of their businesses depended on the past glory of the selected craft villages as renowned traditional centres for authentic Ashanti crafts. Place promotion, was thus important for sustaining craft enterprises in the Ashanti region. However, craftspeople did not have the

resources to promote their businesses by themselves. For example, only 12.2 percent advertised their products, mainly through the use of complimentary cards and brochures; about 23.9 percent labelled their products; and 67.4 percent offered explanations with regards to how to use or take care of the handicraft objects sold.

Table 7.2 Most Pressing Problems of Crafts Workers

Problems	Artisans	Merchants	Total
Difficulty in getting credit	49.4	31.9	42.0
Difficulty in selling produce	23.6	51.1	33.3
Difficulty in getting raw materials	20.9	19.1	20.3
High cost of production	5.5	10.6	7.2
Unreliability of workers	4.4	12.8	7.2
Difficulty in repairing tools and machines	1.1	0.0	0.7
Tight deadlines from merchants/dealers	1.1	0.0	0.7
Low rates/prices paid by shop owners	1.1	0.0	0.7
Hawkers invade my shop	9.9	12.8	10.9
No problems	4.4	2.1	3.6
Total	100.0 (91)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (138)

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Many of the enterprises were not operated along business lines. Only 14.5 percent reported having a business plan, and only 29.7 percent respondents had registered their businesses. However, about 66.7 percent had telephone contact while a few (2.2 percent) could be reached through the post and by e-mail. Aside telephony, craft workers hardly utilised the internet and other information and communication technologies in their work. To cope with the collapse of the powder glass bead business, two of the surviving bead makers supplied some of their products to the Manhyia Palace Museum for sale to tourists, through special arrangements. This was possible because they had relations in the palace. Once again, social capital was exploited in order to cope with the difficulty in finding reliable markets for their beads. This also reflects some level of inequality, and those who had no contacts in the palace could not cope, and had to find alternative livelihood activities to survive. Many former bead makers are peasant farmers and petty traders now. Rural-urban dynamics are also exploited as Kumasi's proximity offers daily work opportunities to many youths from Asamang who work as masons and day labourers.

Finally, some craftspeople faced communication difficulties when dealing with non-English speaking tourists. A few finishers and shop boys spoke French and were usually called upon to

translate when their colleagues encountered French clients. Some of them ended up drawing these clients to their own shops. Generally, calculators were used to aid price conversions, and for quoting prices in a 'silent trade' fashion until an agreeable price were arrived at. Table 8.2 illustrates the most pressing problems reported by respondents.

7.4 Coping with Poverty

To cope with poverty or temporal hardships, the craft workers used a variety of quite complex allocation mechanisms, depending on their perceptions of risk, to re-organise resource use. Several coping and survival strategies have been identified. These include working hard to earn supplementary incomes from other jobs; disposal of possessions, including land, houses, jewellery, and electronic gadgets; borrowing from friends, relations and colleagues; external support mechanisms that included remittances, transfers and donations; increase of income earners at home, child neglect and child labour; and readjustment of consumption habits. These coping and survival mechanisms are examined in the following sub-sections.

7.4.1 Supplementary Income

Poverty has become a common threat so much so that a single activity was not enough to adequately sustain life in the craft villages. Craftspeople tried to diversify their income portfolios through income diversification activities, which Bangura (1994) describes as 'multi-survival strategies' consisting of, subsistence remunerative work on commission or wage basis, self-employment, migration and urban informal jobs.

The first stage of the adjustment measures was the engagement in a source generating supplementary income. Those who were engaged in this form of coping survived by working for other craft workers when they had some spare time, i.e. selling their labour. Some migrant weavers said they worked on farms on weekends 'by day' to earn additional income to support themselves until they completed a contract to receive payment. Others survived through subsistence farming and the keeping of domestic animals that were sold during crises situations. Some craft merchants operated transport

businesses (*tro-tro*, and taxi); and some said they did some petty trading on the side. When incomes from supplementary activities failed to fill the income-expenditure gap, craft workers resorted to borrowing, buying food on credit, selling some personal effects, and readjusting their consumption habits and eating patterns.

7.4.2 Borrowing

As noted above, craft workers exploited their ‘social relationships of trust and reciprocity’ (social capital) by borrowing from relations, friends and colleagues. Borrowing was not limited to only artisans; merchants also employed this strategy to obtain ‘soft’ loans from those with whom they shared reciprocal relationships of trust. Some craft workers reported borrowing from their wives when it became necessary. Craft workers also borrowed from local money lenders, middlemen who were their regular customers, and from the banks. However, local money lenders and banks were approached for loans only when it became impossible to find emergency loans from other sources.

Table 7.3 Food Insecurity and Coping Strategies

What did (or would) you do when hard pressed for food to feed your household?	Community Name				Artisan N=91	Merchant N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Borrow (friends & relations)	43.5	52.5	66.7	50.0	51.6	42.6	48.6
Borrow (colleagues & Boss)	4.3	1.7	0.0	25.0	3.3	4.3	3.6
Look for a loan	2.9	8.5	0.0	0.0	5.5	4.3	5.1
Assistance (friends & Kin)	17.4	8.5	16.7	0.0	13.2	12.8	13.0
Sell personal effects	7.2	6.8	16.7	0.0	3.3	14.9	7.2
Buy food on credit	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
Find second job / work harder	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
Go without food / eat less	8.7	13.6	0.0	25.0	9.9	12.8	10.9
Start farming / garden	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.2
Don't know what to do	5.8	6.8	0.0	0.0	5.5	6.4	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

Craft peoples’ social capital is more evident when one analyses the range of actions they took in the face of certain challenges. Overall, craft merchants were better connected than their artisan counterparts. The section on vignettes was used to capture what craftspeople did or would do in given hypothetical situations. The described situations were designed to tease out their social and financial capitals as shown in Tables 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5. In these sections, respondents were asked to state what they did or would do if they were hard pressed for food to feed the family; when they needed a

substantial amount of money at short notice; and when they were bereaved at a time they did not have sufficient funds.

Overall, about two-thirds (61.6 percent) of craftspeople sought (or would seek) assistance from family and friends when confronted with difficulties in feeding members of their households. Craftspeople in Pankrono and Asamang seem to have the most limited options. However, buying food on credit, borrowing from colleagues and employers, and seeking assistance from family and friends were important options which reveal the social capital of the poorer craftspeople.

7.4.3 Disposal of Possessions

Due to the generally low rates paid by merchants, artisans were hardly able to survive on their earnings. They were almost always short of cash. To bridge the gap, many of them reported borrowing from friends and relatives within and outside their kinship circles. Most of them reported being in permanent debt. To offset their indebtedness, and to raise money for pressing domestic or work related expenses, some craft workers disposed of some of their personal effects and other household items.

Table 7.4 shows the interrelationship between social and financial capital.

The responses in table 7.4 also suggest craft people's sources of finance in an emergency situation. Again, social capital (friends, relations, colleagues and employers) feature prominently in the asset portfolios of craftspeople. Successful entrepreneurs combined formal and informal channels of help in the management of their enterprises.

Table 7.4 Emergency Financial Needs and Coping Strategies

What would you do when you need a substantial amount of money at short notice?	Community Name				Artisan N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Borrow (friends & relations)	47.8	39.0	66.7	75.0	49.5	38.3	45.7
Borrow (colleagues & employer)	7.2	3.4	0.0	0.0	6.6	2.1	5.1
Look for a loan (money lender)	18.8	25.4	0.0	0.0	13.2	34.0	20.3
Assistance (friends & relations)	14.5	13.6	0.0	0.0	15.4	8.5	13.0
Sell personal effects	4.3	6.8	16.7	25.0	5.5	8.5	6.5
Withdraw money from savings	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4
Forgo what I need the money for	1.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
Borrow and withdraw savings	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Get assistance from & Savings	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
Don't know what to do	4.3	3.4	16.7	0.0	4.4	4.3	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

These informal sources of finance were devoid of the time consuming bureaucracy and paperwork associated with bank loans. These were fast, timely and did not require collateral of any kind. Apart from local money lenders, loans from friends and relations did not usually attract any interest. These sources were, therefore, cheaper compared to bank loans and loans from money lenders. Table 7.5 shows what happens when one was bereaved.

A distinction needs to be made between borrowing from friends and relations and getting assistance from friends and relations. In the former case, there is an implicit intention to repay the loan; however, the latter case suggests no intention to pay back whatever 'help' or 'assistance' friends and relations have offered. Indeed, many craftspeople expect this 'help or assistance' from siblings, parents, friends and colleagues during emergencies and times of stress.

Table 7.5 Bereavement/Funeral Expenses and Coping Strategies

What would you do when you are bereaved and do not have money?	Community Name				Artisan N=91	Merchants N=47	Total N=138
	Bonwire N=69	Ahwiaa N=59	Pankrono N=6	Asamang N=4			
Borrow from friends & relations	36.2	42.4	66.7	25.0	45.1	29.8	39.9
Borrow (colleagues & employer)	4.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	4.3	2.9
Look for a bank loan	26.1	25.4	0.0	50.0	19.8	36.2	25.4
Assistance (friends & relations)	18.8	13.6	33.3	25.0	17.6	17.0	17.4
Sell personal effects	8.7	6.8	0.0	0.0	8.8	4.3	7.2
Withdraw money from savings	4.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.1	2.9
Take a loan from money lender	1.4	5.1	0.0	0.0	2.2	4.3	2.9
Get assistance & spend Savings	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
Don't know what to do	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2006.

It is interesting to note that crafts people, who complained about delays and bureaucracy when taking a loan from the bank, suddenly went to the bank for loans (25.4 percent) when they were bereaved. However, they explained that it was easier and faster to get a bank loan for funeral purposes than for business. While only 15.2 percent craftspeople were in any kind of insurance scheme, there were 31.9 percent craft merchants compared to only 6.6 percent artisans members of insurance schemes.

Electrical gadgets, jewellery, personal kente cloth; domestic animals, land and buildings, vehicles, and mobile phones were sold at giveaway prices. Some artisans reported selling some of their tools and raw materials like yarns when they were hard pressed for cash. However, such distress sale

of personal effects and other household items were resorted to only when other efforts to raise money at short notice failed. Crafts workers perceived the sale of personal belongings as undesirable. A considerable part of these resources, particularly land and estates, were social assets that raised the social status of the owner. Losing them meant losing one's social status and prestige.

Overall, craft person's financial capital comprised savings, bank loans, money lenders, and stock of unfinished goods. Social capital on the other hand comprised friends and relations, colleagues and employers, religious and professional association members.

7.4.4 Remittances, Transfers and Donations

Another way of coping was to fall on remittances from relations and friends living abroad or locally in other towns and cities; and on occasional gifts of cash and kind. These forms of coping were more prevalent at Pankrono, amongst the old potters. These forms of coping seem to be employed amongst the elderly and younger artisans. They were, however, not a reliable way to make a living according to discussants at Pankrono. While majority of the old potters at Pankrono were entirely dependent on such sources of income, the few that were still active in the pottery business were able to supplement their remittances with whatever income they earned from making pots.

7.4.5 Use of Unpaid Family Labour, Child Labour and Neglect

Many craft workers reported falling on family members to secure their livelihoods. Wives, grown up children and even school age children were mobilised to provide assistance in running their enterprises. Even though family labour was usually not paid for, sometimes, family members had to work for others for income to support the family budget. Some school-age children skipped school to work for others and kept the income for their personal use. This situation has led to many school children playing truant and earning income sandpapering wood sculptures or weaving kente instead of going to school.

Both artisans and merchants saw truancy in their communities as a major problem, but were still far from finding a solution, as they found themselves in a difficult and conflicting situation. Using

child labour was cheaper, and when working with tight deadlines, it was an option that was virtually impossible to ignore. Seen differently, giving opportunities to the younger ones to try their hands at some aspects of the craft production was how they honed their skills practically, so the children 'learnt by doing', and for a reward that was vital for the family welfare. Without such opportunities for children and women to earn income, some families would experience severe hardships.

Some children got involved in crafts production out of genuine interest and did not get paid for rendering services, however, for others it had become a matter of an economic necessity. Some needy parents and guardians allowed, or even facilitated child work as a means to alleviate their poverty. When school-age boys and girls worked during holidays, or after school in sandpapering, polishing, spinning thread, weaving and making bracelets, selling iced water and other items, it may not just be a case of truancy but one of poverty alleviation.

Child labour may have a negative impact on the children, their families and the society as a whole. These consist of impact on the child's health, school achievement, possible deviant practices and other risks involved. However, when members of the family do not rally behind the breadwinner, to demonstrate solidarity and share the burden of finding resources to meet the basic needs, some discussants said they reneged on responsibilities, not because they were irresponsible, but that they simply could not meet their obligations. Some carvers said they had to ask their wives to return to the village until things improved. When this happened, children, wives and the aged were neglected sometimes. Neglect was, therefore an option for coping.

7.4.6 Readjustment of Consumption Habits

To reduce vulnerability and the risk of falling into the poverty trap in the event of economic hardship, craft workers readjusted by instituting changes in the pattern of their assets utilisation, and in their consumption behaviour. Readjustment strategies were sometimes self-generated and were preventive in nature, especially in the utilisation of assets or property. Changes in utilisation of assets reported included renting of a house or part of a house, and turning part of the dwelling unit into workshops. Some merchants at Ahwiaa converted their private cars into taxis.

Changes in consumption patterns were primarily cooking less often, and in many cases, a direct reduction in consumption. In this strategy, craft workers either reduced the quality or quantity, or both, of their food consumption. Many craftspeople did not cook. They simply bought cooked food. This was so even for the married ones with children. Children were given some palliative breakfast (koko, cocoa drinks, and other beverages) to keep their hunger at bay until meal time. Most craft workers said they ate their first meal from about 10am to about midday. Thus, by strategically placing breakfast closer to lunch time, it nullified the need for lunch, thereby reducing the daily meal burden from three to two main meals.

The evening meal, however, was the major meal that stood the greatest chance of being cooked at home for those living with their wives and children. For those living alone, eating places along the main roads and within the villages served their eating needs well. A related strategy was to eat a heavy meal as breakfast, which usually provided them with the energy required for the arduous work, and also sustained them till the next meal time in the evening. When food was difficult to come by, the mechanism under their immediate control was to decrease their food consumption.

The range of strategies adopted by craft workers to deal with poverty included soliciting assistance from family and friends, i.e., drawing on their social capital; by working hard, by starting craft businesses, and by finding supplementary jobs. They also sold some personal effects, i.e. converting some personal assets into financial capital. Other strategies involved migration into craft villages, depending on remittances and by praying for divine intervention. Respondents reported that there were good times and bad times in the handicrafts trade. The good times were experienced during the tourist season, when tourists arrived and sales picked, from June through September. Bad times according to the crafts workers were experienced during the lean tourist season, when sales volumes dipped. Feeding regimes, quality, quantity and frequency of meals were usually the first to be affected when a family or an individual's economic situation changed negatively.

The foods respondents consumed during breakfast show that they preferred a heavy breakfast. They ate porridge/koko, beverage, rice and stew, waakye, ampesi, kenkey, fufu, gari and beans for

breakfast. Banku, (37.7 percent) was the most popular breakfast food item, followed by rice and stew (34.0 percent) amongst the artisans. Generally, (82.6 percent) craft workers ate a heavy breakfast, with only 17.4 percent taking porridge and beverage at breakfast. According to carvers and weavers, the nature of their work demands that they ate a heavy meal that would sustain them for the hard work.

For lunch, craft workers ate rice and stew, ampesi, kenkey, fufu, banku, kokonte, gari and beans and roasted yam. At lunch, rice and stew, ampesi and kenkey dominated. Foods eaten during supper were not different from those eaten at breakfast and lunch. However, fufu (37.7 percent) emerged as the major food for supper. Desserts were not popular with craft workers, as over eighty percent (87 percent) did not eat any desserts. The few that reported eating desserts took soft drinks (7.2 percent). Bananas and oranges were the only fruits eaten by 4.4 percent of those who ate some dessert.

7.5 Local Structures and Processes

Local structures and processes have an immense influence on who gets what, and when in the community. These structures influenced the allocation and access to productive resources, and were linked to the local power structure. Issues of inequalities results from unequal access to local resources and opportunities. In this section, the social, cultural and political structures that either support or hinder efforts of crafts people in the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods are discussed.

Local structures that influenced handicrafts activities in the study area included the traditional authority, the district and metropolitan assemblies, assemblymen and unit committee members of the crafts communities; the regional Ghana Tourist Board, and the Centre for National Culture, National Board for Small Scale Industries, and local crafts associations. The influence of these institutions on craft production seemed to be negligible, as craftspeople said they had very little interaction with them. Even the traditional authorities did not seem to have much control over the activities of craftspeople in all the crafts villages studied. District and municipal assemblies were seen only as tax collectors. Craftspeople were not satisfied with the development efforts of district assemblies in their various communities.

7.6 Discussion and Summary

7.6.1 Discussion

Overall, it is important to note that survival and coping strategies that were engineered to deal with production difficulties showed either resilience or vulnerability. Those craftsmen demonstrating resilience consist of those who crafted ingenious ways of solving the problem to remain in business, while those demonstrating vulnerability found exit strategies. Some tried to put up with the challenges, or quit the craft business altogether. Thus, there seems to be a strong link between perceptions of poverty, how poverty is experienced and the kind of coping mechanisms adopted; and these have to guide the selection of interventions to combat poverty. However, it appears that self-employed craft merchants possessed more effective coping strategies to fall on than their contract artisan counterparts. The proposition that 'perceptions of poverty are linked to peoples' aspirations or perceptions of wealth' seems to be valid when one looks at the evidence from this present study.

Sahl (1996, 2001) makes a clear distinction between survival and coping strategies to mean short-term mechanisms in the former, and longer-term strategies in the latter case, in this study adaptation is seen as a continuum of short to long term adjustments consisting of survival, coping and adaptation itself as the final permanent change that signifies the finding of a concrete solution to the challenge. Thus, adaptation is viewed as both a process (journey) and a state (destination).

To cope with poverty and temporal hardships, craft workers used a variety of quite complex allocation mechanisms. It is important to note that while some of the coping and survival strategies were completely legitimate and genuine, others were less so as they contravened laid down rules and regulations or bordered on illegalities. For example, stealing trees from protected forests, bribing policemen and forest guards to avoid prosecution, and cutting trees without the necessary permits and payment of appropriate taxes were not sustainable. Other undesirable practices included harassment of tourists to make a sale, delaying payment of contract artisans, prevention of some category of craftspeople to sell directly to tourists, and low rates that dealers paid carvers, weavers and potters. Personal profits were, thus, made at social and environmental cost, reinforcing local inequalities.

7.6.2 Summary

Coping mechanisms have been found to be influenced by the quality and quantity of capitals available to craftspeople. The diverse ways in which crafts people used their human capital to mobilise and convert financial, physical, natural and social capitals into levels of well-being have been noted. The complex allocation mechanisms craftspeople used to re-organise their resource use during harsh times included diversification of their income portfolios to earn supplementary incomes, changes in the utilisation of assets, changes in consumption patterns, borrowing, disposal of possessions and relying on remittances and transfers. Increasing the number of working household members, including child labour and even, neglect were identified as some of the coping and survival mechanisms used by craftspeople to cope with reduced levels of welfare.

Finally, issues of discrimination, inequalities and participation, and crafts people's suggestions for enhancing the capacity of poorer crafts peoples' ability to derive enhanced financial and livelihood benefits, and participate in the affairs of the industry and in the communities in which they live and work were discussed. The next chapter summarises the key findings and draws out the policy implications thereof and recommends some pro-poor strategies for streamlining the crafts sector for enhanced pro-poor tourism development and poverty reduction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

Poverty reduction has been a challenging theme in development thinking since the 1950s and 1960s. There is universal recognition today of the need to place poverty reduction as the central objective of the process of development. Global commitment to poverty reduction is manifested in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In Ghana, the search for a secure, sustainable, and equitable national development strategy that would be empowering for the bulk of Ghana's population has been going on for decades. However, the multi-faceted nature and dimensions of poverty has elicited different alleviation/reduction strategies over the years.

Post-independence development planning focussed on agriculture, industrialisation, and provision of social infrastructure (education, health, water, transportation, energy and housing). Attention has also been focussed on economic sectors with high growth potentials including agriculture, mining and recently, tourism. However, the persistence of poverty and the concern for pro-poor policies today are the consequence of a deep rooted disillusionment with the development paradigm which placed exclusive emphasis on the pursuit of growth, with the expectation of a 'trickle-down' effect, for poverty alleviation. To reach those groups that were marginalised or remained excluded from the process of growth, anti-poverty interventions in the form of 'social safety nets', embodied in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) were designed and adopted in 2002. But in many situations, such pro-growth interventions were accompanied by rising inequalities that weakened or nullified the so-called 'trickle-down' effects.

The case for tourism and craft development as a way of bringing economic development has been made in general terms with a focus on economic growth, with the assumption that any such development will eventually benefit the poor through the "trickle down" effect. Until recently, those engaged in tourism and crafts development have not sought to demonstrate the impacts of tourism and crafts on poverty reduction – the focus has been on macro economic impacts and its potential to bring

economic growth to poor and marginalised individuals and communities rather than on measuring and demonstrating specific impacts on poverty.

The general objective of the study, therefore, was to examine the potentials of the crafts industry as a pro-poor tourism development strategy for poverty reduction in Ghana. The study was part of a bigger project on 'The Changing Faces of Poverty in Ghana'. However, some craft villages in the Ashanti region were purposively selected for detailed analysis. It was also important to review relevant policies, and assess how policies, local structures and processes affected craft workers' capacity to cope with production difficulties and with poverty. It was necessary to learn about how craftspeople perceived and experienced poverty; how they identified the poor, their own perceptions of their poverty status; and the mechanisms with which they coped and survived.

A total of four craft villages were selected from four districts in the Ashanti region for study. The research tools used included interviews, questionnaires, discussions and field observation. Different structured questionnaires were administered to stakeholders in the craft communities and relevant institutions. Questionnaires were administered to a hundred and thirty eight craftspeople, 60 in-school youth, and six officials of district assemblies and other institutions. A hundred and fifty craftspeople (150) and other relevant stakeholders were purposively sampled from the four districts for discussions. Descriptive statistics including frequencies, and cross tabulations, as well as highlights of key findings were employed in the analysis of data.

With the emergence of more durable manufactured household items and tools, and the demise of traditional African religions and cultural practices, the production of traditional crafts with religious and cultural significance and for utilitarian and ceremonial purposes have been on the decline since independence. Consequently, the trade in local crafts and the livelihoods of artisans have become precarious, and at risk of collapse. However, the local resources and traditional skills available in craft villages and the declining nature of it, coupled with the increasing importance of the crafts for tourism development in recent times calls for the revitalisation of the sector. This will not only preserve and protect the traditional skills and technology, but can create the avenue for the development of pro-poor

tourism based on crafts production.

8.2 Summary of Key Findings

The effectiveness of relevant policies was assessed based on the objectives of pro-poor strategies: those focussed on economic benefits; non-cash livelihood benefits and those focussed on participation in decision making. A review of policies on tourism, handicrafts and poverty reduction revealed that pro-poor content in policies were inadequate, and a lack of implementation where they existed. Even though the policies acknowledged that jobs and incomes could be derived from developing the tourism and crafts industries, there were no deliberate strategies to unlock opportunities for poorer entrepreneurs to derive enhanced cash and non-cash livelihood benefits from these activities. Policy making has not focussed on developing the synergy between the cultural and tourism industries as they evolved independently. The potentials for wealth creation and poverty reduction are yet to be realised. The cultural policy identified the protection of creativity through copyright legislation; however, there is lack of implementation, with weak copyright legislation and enforcement regimes.

The potential for using handicrafts for a pro-poor poverty reduction strategy is great. However, the present mode of production is not sustainable. Declining sources of local raw materials and skilled craftspeople have resulted in production difficulties. Small-scale village industries and indigenous technologies are being edged out by products (imitations and substitutes) of multinational corporations. Changes in consumer tastes and buying trends, coupled with declining tourist visits to craft villages, have meant that craft producers need more support than ever if they are to become viable and continue to sustain their livelihoods. While the youth participate in the crafts sector to earn some income, they become artisans only when all other alternatives failed. Generally, artisans had a low self image and had no control of how their creations were marketed or presented to the final consumers.

In spite of these challenges, survival of the traditional crafts and production techniques are important attractions for tourism development. The potentials of craft production as a business activity, and for tourism development have been realised in Ghana. However, tourism and crafts development

policies have evolved separately, and the poverty reduction potentials of the tourism and crafts industries have not been considered until recently. In this regard, the important links between the crafts and tourism industries need to be clarified for the inherent wealth creation and poverty reduction synergies to emerge. Policy has failed to convert crafts and tourism prospects into programmes that promote and unlock opportunities for poorer members in craft villages and the wider society to derive enhanced economic and other livelihood benefits. These issues have not been adequately articulated in the policies. To thrive, the crafts and tourism industries need to be well coordinated.

Livelihood assets in the craft villages included locally available natural resources, traditional crafts skills and technology, local and institutional sources of finance, physical infrastructure and social amenities, and the social networks and relationships amongst craftspeople and their family and friends, colleagues and other associates. Together, these formed the livelihood capitals possessed by craftspeople. However, natural raw material sources had declined considerably and, there were no efforts to protect or ensure their long-term sustainability.

Benefits derived by different categories of craftspeople were found to be dependent on the level from which they operated on the crafts value chain. Self-employed artisans and craft merchants derived more benefits than contract artisans and workers in family businesses. Production challenges included declining access to raw materials, difficulties in finding investment capital and finance, shortages of skilled labour, marketing and selling difficulties. Rates paid by craft merchants for crafts items were found to be low. In spite of their carving, weaving and pot making knowledge and skills, artisans were found to be vulnerable to global and local forces, and to the exploitative tendencies of the more enterprising self-employed craft merchants. Contract workers were also not able to mobilise and form a united front to demand better rates and to get a fairer recompense for their services.

The unpopularity of craft work was identified in all the study villages. Traditional crafts skills were declining, while the youth in the craft villages were not interested in pursuing craft-based livelihoods. Some youth in craft villages saw the crafts industry as a low wage job and a sector for school dropouts and the poor. Most entrepreneurs in the crafts business can be described as “necessity

entrepreneurs” – people who have become entrepreneurs because they could not find other suitable work. However, they played an important role in poverty alleviation. Migrant craftspeople have been drawn to the employment opportunities at Bonwire and Ahwiaa, while some were recruited to augment shortages in skilled artisans in the craft villages. As part of the globalisation of crafts production, newer forms, shapes, colour schemes and sizes of wooden sculptures and kente cloth have emerged, especially, at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. Shortages of skilled artisans have also necessitated the recruitment of migrant artisans from the Volta region. However, decline in patronage and natural raw materials have led to the search for alternative livelihoods at Pankrono and Asamang. Former female artisans are now traders, while the men now search for casual jobs in construction and as labourers in the capital city, Kumasi.

Lower educational attainment and male dominance of the crafts were observed. While female crafts have declined at Asamang and Pankrono, male crafts at Ahwiaa and Bonwire were flourishing albeit at reduced activity levels. Craftspeople had difficulty in obtaining credit or equity investment. Tourism specific infrastructure was lacking in the crafts villages. Low levels of physical capital and socio-economic infrastructure were found in the crafts villages.

Lack of incomes and property underscored the definition of poverty and wealth across the craft villages; however, other social and cultural values like societal respect and prestige were also mentioned. In identifying the poor, a distinction was made between those in hardship (*ahokyeree*) and those who could be considered poor (*ohia*) through participatory wealth ranking. The causes of poverty were identified as low levels of education and employable skills, sickness, old age, laziness, large family sizes and mismanagement. Craftspeople believed poverty could also be inherited from poor parents, from loss of jobs and unemployment, and from living in deprived environments.

The cost of living in crafts villages was higher than in surrounding settlements. Even though self-ranking results showed that most craftspeople did not want to be branded as poor, the CASHPOR house index revealed that over half of the craftspeople (55.8 percent) were secure, a third (31.2 percent) were insecure and vulnerable, and only thirteen percent were poor. Craftspeople experienced

poverty differently, and for varying periods. Seasonal poverty was widespread, and affected even the craft merchants who were relatively wealthier than the other craftspeople.

The challenges to craft production and livelihoods elicited multifarious coping strategies and mechanisms. Craftspeople travelled to neighbouring districts to procure scarce raw materials, stole from reserved forests, and continued to seek cheaper sources of raw materials. They recruited contract weavers and carvers from other regions to augment shortages in finding skilled artisans, and relied on non-institutionalised sources of credit and finance to support their businesses. They competed fiercely for customers and resorted to export of craft items to West African markets and abroad.

To combat poverty, craftspeople tried to diversify their income portfolios through “multi-survival” strategies. They generated supplementary incomes through selling their labour, increasing the number of household income earners, through changes in resource use – converting a private car to a taxi, renting out house or part of house – or migrated to look for greener opportunities. Other coping strategies included readjustment of consumption habits and feeding patterns, use of unpaid family labour and child labour, neglect, divorce, and relying on remittances, transfers and donations. Others borrowed, and or disposed of some personal possessions to make ends meet during times of hardship.

Finally, local processes and structures were seen to be discriminatory, leading to unequal access to resources and opportunities in the crafts villages. Suggestions for enhancing the capacity of poorer crafts peoples’ ability to derive enhanced financial and livelihood benefits, and participate in the affairs of the industry and the communities in which they lived and worked included provision of credit, marketing and advertisement support, payment of realistic prices and rates to artisans, and training in new designs.

8.3 Conclusions

The research questions, study objectives, hypotheses and propositions have been adequately addressed in chapters four, five, six and seven. The problems identified have been examined and a summary of key findings highlighted (8.2). This section presents the conclusions of the study based on the examination and discussion of the evidence derived from desk and field investigations.

First, the study sought to find out whether the cultural, tourism and economic policy environments had unlocked opportunities for craftspeople to derive enhanced economic, non-financial and other livelihood benefits for craftspeople or not. From the analysis of relevant policies in chapter four and key findings summarised in section 8.2 above, the study concludes, inter alia, that:

- a) The pro-poor content and focus of the cultural, tourism and poverty reduction policy framework were to be inadequate, and, where they existed, implementation was lacking.
- b) The study found great potential for using handicrafts as a pro-poor poverty reduction strategy but the mode of their production was found to be unsustainable largely due to the declining sources of local raw materials, unavailability of skilled craftspeople, non-favourable nature of the changing consumer taste and buying trends as well as declining tourist visits to the craft villages.
- c) Discriminatory local processes and structures translated into unequal access to resources and opportunities in the craft villages.
- d) Benefits derived by different categories of craftspeople were dependent on the level from which they operated on the crafts value chain. Self employed artisans and craft merchants derived more benefits than contract artisans and workers in family businesses.

Secondly, based on the assessment of the livelihood assets of craftspeople, their production constraints and their implications for participation and the development of linkages in chapter five, and the summary of key findings, the study concludes, among other things, that:

- a) Livelihood assets in the craft villages were varied, including locally available natural resources, traditional craft skills and technology, local and institutional sources of finance, physical infrastructure and social amenities and the social networks and relationships. These assets have helped in the development of the industries over the years even though some of these assets are under threat now.

- b) Production of traditional crafts with religious and cultural significance and for utilitarian and ceremonial purposes has been on decline. Consequently, the trade in local crafts and livelihoods of artisans had become precarious and at risk of collapse.
- c) Participation of school-going children in crafts production was responsible for their low academic achievement, high truancy and school dropout rates among the youth in the crafts villages.
- d) Inequalities and illiteracy prevented some artisans from participating in decision making in their communities and within the craft industry.
- e) Even though intra-sector linkages were strong, inter-sector linkages were weak and needs to be fostered and supported.

Thirdly, based on the analysis of data and key findings on the perception and experience of poverty in the crafts villages, the study concludes, among other things that:

- a) There are spatial and group based differences in the perceptions and experience of poverty among craft workers.
- b) Craftspeople distinguished between hardship (*ahokeyeree*) and poverty (*ohia*). Besides lack of income, craftspeople identified a range of factors as causes of poverty, but perceived laziness as a major cause of poverty in the craft communities.
- c) Craftspeople experienced hardships and seasonal poverty in many ways including hunger, living in poor housing with inadequate social amenities and child and spousal neglect.

Additionally, with regard to coping mechanisms to production challenges and poverty, the study concludes, inter alia, that:

- a) The production, survival, sustainability and authenticity of cultural goods and associated livelihoods in the crafts villages were susceptible to local and global threats and opportunities.
- b) Craft people adopted varied mechanisms to cope with production and livelihood challenges.

- c) Coping strategies that have been adopted to counter some of the observed production challenges included travelling to neighbouring districts to procure raw materials, recruitment of contract workers from other regions to augment shortages of skilled workers locally and reliance on non-institutionalised sources of credit to finance business activities.
- d) Few artisans and many crafts merchants were found in some of the crafts villages. The merchants resorted to cheap child labour and migrant artisans.
- e) Coping and survival capacities varied from place to place, at different times of the year and by sex.
- f) The potential for using handicrafts for a pro-poor poverty reduction strategy is great. However, challenges like declining sources of local raw materials and skilled labour needs to be addressed.
- g) The survival of the traditional crafts and production techniques are important attractions for tourism development. Therefore, the important links between crafts and tourism industries need to be deepened and strengthened to facilitate and enhance poverty reduction and wealth creation in these villages and towns.
- h) The unpopularity of craft work was identified in all the craft villages studied. The youth saw it as a low wage industry and a sector for school dropouts and the poor and has therefore become a job of the last resort.
- i) Cultural goods were directed mainly at tourists and the export market, whilst factory produced imitations and issues of intellectual property rights emerged.

Overall, the study concludes that pro-poor craft development approaches hold the key to a successful development of cultural goods and pro-poor tourism for poverty reduction in the study area. Based on this supposition, the next section (8.4) makes recommendations aimed at making crafts production pro-poor and securing crafts based livelihoods.

8.4 Recommendations

For the cultural, tourism and poverty policies to unlock opportunities for pro-poor development, there is the need to harmonise these policies and to integrate pro-poor objectives into programmes under a common implementation agency. This multi-sector role requires the establishment of an inter-ministerial agency to manage the process. The regional Tourist Boards should also liaise with District Assemblies to develop monitoring and support programmes for self-employed, contract artisans and crafts merchants in the craft villages. Secondly, mini bazaars and craft fairs (already started in Bonwire) should be jointly organised by the district/municipal assemblies and the various crafts associations in the crafts villages. This should be organised more frequently, as they could be successful as cultural events with great opportunities for merchandising and business.

There is the need to support and develop traditional crafts enterprises for local and tourist consumption if they are to remain viable and continue to provide sustainable livelihoods for practitioners. Practical crafts making lessons and workshops could be organised by craftspeople with support from their respective district/municipal assemblies for both domestic and foreign tourists. This would lead to generation of additional income for craftspeople, and offer tourists and other visitors an interesting activity for fun and pleasure. This way, a visit to the craft village would not be only to shop for art and craft pieces but one which offers both interesting craft products and experiences.

Interpretive services were lacking in all the crafts villages studied. Visitors are interested in the nuanced meanings of form, shape, colour schemes and the traditional, social, philosophical and magico-religious meanings of Ghanaian traditional handicrafts. The rationale for some rituals and taboos associated with particular crafts can also be studied and results used as inputs for developing interpretive material on Ghana's cultural products. In this regard, the universities, especially, KNUST should partner with master craftspeople and their district assemblies in carrying out the necessary research into this area to produce interpretive material for tourist and visitors consumption.

To ensure reliable supply of raw materials, avoid shortages and eliminate negative practices in procuring trees for their work, it is necessary for the Forestry Commission to give carvers tree cutting

concessions. However, to ensure sustainability of tree supplies, carvers must start replanting trees in forests from which they cut trees. Producers of handicrafts should come together to buy inputs in bulk so as to enjoy trade discounts and have a strong bargaining power in order to make the trade in crafts viable and profitable.

Again, traditional leaders at Pankrono should allocate and reserve some clay fields for potters if the activity is to be sustained in the near future. The utility and aesthetic value, as well as the design of earthenware needs to adapt to the tastes and preferences of identified markets, if the activity is to become vibrant and rewarding. The Department of Rural Art at KNUST should take a lead role in this regard. Finally, the introduction of the potter's wheel may bring the life back into pot making as a livelihood option as it has the potential to engage the attention and interest of the youth.

Many of the crafts were found to be targeted at tourists. However, to create effective local demand for traditional craft items and put money in the pockets of craftspeople directly. Hotels and other hospitality businesses should be encouraged by the regional Ghana Tourist Board to utilise some of these crafts for internal decorations. In this regard, the classification and grading/rating of these hospitality establishments should include the use of local materials (local content) including local crafts for qualification to a higher star rating. This suggestion has some merit cushioning crafts-based livelihoods against any external shocks and reduced tourist visitations that result in reduced sales.

To manage truancy in crafts villages, and avoid the problem of child labour and child participation in the production of handicrafts, and to ensure the survival of the crafts, school administrators in crafts communities should find innovative ways to ensure that pupils and students stay in school, especially, during the tourist season. Additionally, a system of apprenticeship should be established for each craft village where artistic and business management issues will be taught along with the hands-on training in craftsmanship. Interested pupils and students may then enrol on this programme to learn and earn income without compromising their formal educational training.

All artisans and merchants need information about markets and training on how to reach markets. Exhibitions and crafts fairs should be organised more frequently to showcase products. share

lessons and information and interact with buyers and exporters to secure contracts. This has the potential of developing market audience and stimulating local demand for handicrafts. Handcrafted furniture and internal decorations could for example, replace imported substitutes, and create jobs and incomes for craftsmen. To strengthen linkages among small handicrafts enterprises and reduce the fierce competition amongst them, enterprises should be encouraged (facilitated by NGOs and Donors) to form business clusters, from which they can all benefit from sub-contracting arrangements and discounts. Micro firms could come together to form a small or medium-sized enterprise with brighter chances of securing institutional credit and securing bigger orders because of enhanced capacity to deliver.

Artisans and all other crafts workers need to be educated on entrepreneurship and business management skills, and be encouraged to adopt long-term strategies for growing their businesses. They need to be encouraged to incorporate pro-poor and sustainable practices instead of short-term survivalist strategies. Craftspeople need to be assisted in developing short, medium and long-term business plans. Activities to engage the interest of visiting tourists, along with a well thought out interpretive programme to inform, entertain and stimulate interest in the place visited or item purchased need to be pursued. Finally, relevant policies should be sensitive to the needs of these cultural enterprises, and should be accompanied by appropriate implementation.

In order to develop measures to spread the benefits of crafts and tourism more widely, it is necessary to know who the stakeholders are, how they are now affected by the industry both positively and negatively, the ways in which proposed changes might strengthen their livelihood assets and how they can contribute to make it happen. A thorough analysis also reveals the relationships among stakeholders and the ways in which the actions of each group impact on the lives and activities of the others along the crafts value chain.

The private sector, the government and the academic community must work in partnership to realise a sustainable tourism crafts sector. To unlock the potentials of crafts for tourism development and poverty reduction, policies must be harmonised and strategically coordinated. The sector must be

protected from the influx of mass produced and inauthentic Ghanaian crafts like kente and other crafts items. There is an opportunity to replace imports from other countries that flood the market but are not representative of the local culture and do not contribute broadly to the economy. Development of the crafts sector can also help mitigate the rural to urban migration.

8.5 Contribution to Knowledge and Areas for Further Research

The original contribution this study makes to knowledge includes the following:

- a) The study has demonstrated that the pursuit of appropriate policies in the area of handicrafts promotion in the context of pro-poor tourism could lead to poverty reduction in the craft villages.
- b) It has also shown that pro-poor tourism strategies hold the keys to unlocking potential benefits, especially, for poorer craftspeople in the craft villages.
- c) Further, the study has identified production and marketing constraints, how these affect crafts-based livelihoods and the mechanisms craftspeople have adopted to cope with them.

In addition, the study has identified some gaps in knowledge in the area of craft production as a pro-poor tourism development strategy for poverty reduction which calls for further investigations. Some of these recommendations require further studies for developing small projects that would make crafts production a viable economic activity around which pro-poor tourism can be developed.

The following recommendations are made for further research:

- Intellectual property rights and enforcement regimes need further studies to examine the impact of imported cultural goods on local industries in Ghana. The idea of “community copyrights” need to be discussed with craftspeople, and piloted for adoption.
- Despite the lack of interest of the youth in craft villages to take up crafts work as a career, they nonetheless participated in the activity to earn incomes for their needs. Truancy was reported at Bonwire and Ahwiaa. Retention, dropout and attrition in basic schools need further research. There is the need to investigate how this problem affects school attendance and performance in craft villages.

- Issues of child neglect and child labour also raise serious concerns for best practices in craft production for export, and needs to be investigated.
- The living conditions and welfare of retired craftspeople in the craft villages needs to be further investigated. The elderly and retired craftspeople seemed not to have any social protection during old age.
- There is also the need for elaboration of national taxation policies to examine how the tourism crafts sector is affected.
- Policies on access to local raw materials and concession rights need to be looked at. Commercial woodlots could be a viable opportunity for the long-term sustainability of craft industries. Forest products accreditation and fair trade principles need to be studied and mainstreamed into the tourism crafts sector.
- There is the need for in-depth study of the symbolic meanings of craft items to develop an interpretive handbook on various designs, symbols and patterns for a better appreciation of the crafts of Ghana.
- A country-wide evaluation of crafts production needs to be carried out to identify the thriving and declining crafts. The collapse of the bead factory at Asamang raises concerns over political party involvement in the production and promotion of local crafts. There is the need to investigate how similar supported schemes are faring nationwide.

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Appendix 1

Department of Geography and Resource Development
University of Ghana, Legon
Accra, Ghana

Study on the Potentials of Handicrafts Production and Pro-Poor
Tourism for Poverty Reduction in Peri-Urban Kumasi
(Four Districts)
January – June 2006

Handicrafts Workers Questionnaire

introduction and respondent identification					
001	DISRICT NAME		008	QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER	
002	COMMUNITY NAME		009	DATE OF INTERVIEW	
003	R's HOUSE NUMBER		010	INTERVIEWER NAME	
004	R's FIRST NAME		011	LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW	
005	R's LAST NAME		012	NATIVE LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENT	
006	PLACE OF INTERVIEW		013	TRANSLATOR USED	
007	SEX		014	TIME (Start Stop)	

EDITING / DATA ENTRY					
021	FIELD SUPERVISOR		027	SURVEY MANAGER	
022	DATE (dd/mm/yy)		028	DATE (dd/mm/yy)	
023	STATUS*		029	STATUS*	
024	OFFICE EDITOR		030	DATA ENTRY CLERK	
025	DATE (dd/mm/yy)		031	DATE (dd/mm/yy)	
026	STATUS*		032	STATUS*	
*STATUS CODES: 1. COMPLETE 2. ADDITIONAL VISITS REQUIRED 96. OTHER (SPECIFY)					

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND

NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS	SKIP TO
101	First, I would like to ask some questions about you and your household. For most part of the time until you were 12 years old, did you live in a city, town or in a village?	CITY 1 TOWN 2 VILLAGE 3	
102	How long have you lived continuously in this community? IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR, ENTER '00'	YEARS ALWAYS (SINCE BIRTH) 95 VISITOR 96	→Q. 107
103	If you moved into this community less than a year ago, where was your previous abode? TOWN AND REGION	TOWN REGION NA 99	
104	Just before you moved here, did you live in a city, a town or a village?	CITY 1 TOWN 2 VILLAGE 3 NA 99	
105	How long do you intend staying and working here?	HERE TO STAY 1 1-2 YEARS 2 3-4 YEARS 3 5-6 YEARS 4 DON'T KNOW 88 NA 99	
106	What are some of the reasons why you moved here?	BETTER BUSINESS PROSPECTS 1 TO FIND A JOB 2 OTHER 96 NA 99	
107	In what month and year were you born?	MONTH DON'T KNOW MONTH 88 YEAR DON'T KNOW YEAR 8888	
108	How old were you on your last birthday? COMPARE AND CORRECT 107 AND/OR 108 IF INCONSISTENT	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS DON'T KNOW AGE 88	
109	Are you currently married or living with a man/woman?	YES, CURRENTLY MARRIED 1 YES, LIVING WITH A MAN/WOMAN 2 NO, NOT IN UNION 3	

110	Have you <u>ever</u> been married or lived with a man/woman?	YES, FORMERLY MARRIED 1 YES, LIVED WITH A MAN/WOMAN 2 NO 3 NA 99	→ Q 113
111	What is your marital status now: are you widowed, divorced, or separated?	WIDOWED 1 DIVORCED 2 SEPARATED 3 NA 99	
112	Is your husband/wife/partner living with you now or is s/he staying elsewhere?	LIVING TOGETHER 1 STAYING ELSEWHERE 2 NA 99	
113	Have you ever given birth?	YES 1 NO 2	→ 120
114	How many sons live with you? How many daughters live with you?	SONS AT HOME _____ DAUGHTERS AT HOME _____ NA 99	
115	How many sons are alive but do not live with you? And how any daughters are alive but do not live with you?	SONS ELSEWHERE? _____ DAUGHTERS ELSEWHERE _____ NA 99	
116	Have you ever had a child who was born alive but later died?	YES 1 NO 2 NA 99	
117	In total, how many boys have died? And how many girls have died?	BOYS DEAD _____ GIRLS DEAD _____ NA 99	
118	SUM ANSWERS TO 114, 114, AND 117, AND ENTER TOTAL	TOTAL BIRTHS _____ NA 99	
119	CHECK 118: Just to make sure that I have this right: you have had in total _____ births during your life. Is that correct?	YES 1 NO 2 NA 99	PROBE & CORRECT
120	How many persons live with you but are not your own children? CHECK HH SIZE 112+114+120+RESPONDENT	PERSONS LIVING IN _____ HOUSEHOLD SIZE _____ NA 99	
121	Have you ever attended school?	YES 1 NO 2	→ Q 124
122	What is the highest level of school you <u>attended</u> : koranic, primary, middle/JSS, secondary/technical/commercial/SSS, or higher?	KORANIC 1 PRIMARY 2 MIDDLE / JSS 3 SECONDARY / TECH / COM / SSS 4 HIGHER (HND / DEGREE) 5 NA 99	
123	What is the highest grade you <u>completed</u> at that level?	GRADE _____ NA 99	
124	Can you read and understand easily, with difficulty, or not at all?	EASILY 1 WITH DIFFICULTY 2 NOT AT ALL 3	→ Q 126
125	Do you usually read a newspaper or magazine at least, once a week?	YES 1 NO 2 NA 99	
126	Do you usually listen to a radio every day? What is your favourite radio station? PROBE FOR # OF TIMES	YES 1 NO 2 FAVOURITE RADIO STATION _____	
127	Do you usually watch television at least, once a week? What is your favourite television station?	FAVOURITE TELEVISION STATION _____ YES 1 NO 2	

128	Did you vote in the last national elections?	YES 1 NO 2 NA 99	
129	What is your religion?	CHRISTIAN (SPECIFY) 1 MUSLIM 2 TRADITIONAL 3 NO RELIGION 4 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
130	To which ethnic group do you belong?	ASANTE 1 OTHER AKAN 2 GA/ADANGBE 3 EWE 4 GUAN 5 MOLE-DAGBANI 6 OTHER NORTHERN 7 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
131	What is your main occupation?	FARMER 1 MERCHANT / TRADER 2 DRIVER 3 MECHANIC 4 CARPENTER 5 TAILOR / SEAMSTRESS 6 HAIRDRESSER / BARBER 7 OTHER SKILED TRADE 8 DAILY LABOURER 9 STUDENT / PUPIL 10 TEACHER 11 CIVIL SERVANT 12 APPRENTICE 13 UNPAID FAMILY WORKER 14 HOUSEWIFE 15 UNEMPLOYED 16 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
132	Do you do this work for a member of your family, for someone else, or are you self employed?	WORK FOR FAMILY MEMBER 1 WORK FOR SOMEONE ELSE 2 SELF EMPLOYED 3	
133	Apart from your main work, what <u>other work</u> do you do? PROBE: What is your secondary or part-time work?	FARMER 1 MERCHANT / TRADER 2 DRIVER 3 MECHANIC 4 CARPENTER 5 TAILOR / SEAMSTRESS 6 HAIRDRESSER / BARBER 7 OTHER SKILED TRADE 8 DAILY LABOURER 9 STUDENT / PUPIL 10 TEACHER 11 CIVIL SERVANT 12 APPRENTICE 13 UNPAID FAMILY WORKER 14 HOUSEWIFE 15 UNEMPLOYED 16 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
134	What is the main economic activity in this community?	ARABLE FARMING 1 ARTISAN (HANDICRAFTS) 2 SAND WINNING 3 TRADING 4 CLERICAL 5 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
135	Approximately how many people (including all men, women and children) live in this community?	POPULATION ESTIMATE DON'T KNOW 88	

SECTION 2: HANDICRAFTS PRODUCTION DYNAMICS: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS	SKIP TO
201	Now, I would like to ask some questions about your work. Are you satisfied working in the handicrafts business?	VERY SATISFIED 1 SATISFIED 2 DISAPPOINTED 3 VERY DISAPPOINTED 4	
202	What kind of handicrafts are you involved in?	WOOD CARVINGS 1 KENTE 2 BEADS 3 EARTHEN WARE 4 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
203	How long have you been doing this work? (Work experience)	NUMBER OF YEARS _____	
203	Have you done some other work before this one?	YES 1 NO 2	→Q 205
204	Can you tell me the nature of your former work, and why you stopped doing it?	NATURE OF WORK _____ NA 99 REASONS FOR STOPPING: 1 2 3	
205	Where did you acquire the skills for this work? How did you acquire the skills for this work?	WHERE SKILL ACQUIRED: _____ HOW SKILL WAS ACQUIRED: FROM PARENTS AND SIBLINGS 1 THROUGH APPRENTICESHIP 2 LEARNT ON THE JOB 3 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
206	How many years did you spend learning this skill/trade?	NUMBER OF YEARS _____	
207	Do you make, finish/polish or sell handicrafts or inputs now?	MAKE HANDICRAFTS 1 FINISH/POLISH HANDICRAFTS 2 SELL HANDICRAFTS 3 SELL HANDICRAFTS INPUTS (SPECIFY) 4 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
208	What exactly is your status in the handicrafts business? PROBE for Rs role in the handicrafts business?	SHOP OWNER / DEALER 1 SHOP ASSISTANT / STORE BOY/GIRL 2 MASTER CARVER 3 APRENTICE CARVER 4 POLISHER / FINISHER 5 MASTER WEAVER 6 APPRENTICE WEAVER 7 TAILOR / SEAMSTRESS 8 MASTER POTTER 9 APPRENTICE POTTER 10 MASTER BEADS MAKER 11 APPRENTICE BEADS MAKER 12 RAW MATERIAL/INPUT SUPPLIER 13 ITENERARY CRAFTS VENDOR 14 DAILY LABOURER 15 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
209	At what level did you start your business in the handicrafts trade?	SHOP OWNER / DEALER 1 SHOP ASSISTANT / STORE BOY/GIRL 2 MASTER CARVER 3 APRENTICE CARVER 4 POLISHER / FINISHER 5 MASTER WEAVER 6 APPRENTICE WEAVER 7 TAILOR / SEAMSTRESS 8 MASTER POTTER 9 APPRENTICE POTTER 10 MASTER BEADS MAKER 11 APPRENTICE BEADS MAKER 12	

		RAW MATERIAL/INPUT SUPPLIER 13 ITENERARY CRAFTS VENDOR 14 DAILY LABOURER 15 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96					
NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS					SKIP TO
		1	2	3	4	5	
210	What type of crafts do you produce or sell?						
211	What are the inputs for these products? (1-5 above)						
212	Where do you get these items? PROBE FOR SOURCES						
213	Do you have any difficulty getting any of these inputs? Reliability? 1= Yes; 2= No						
214	How much do you have to pay for a unit input?						
215	How far do you travel to obtain your inputs?						
216	How long does it take to produce/sell each of these items?						
217	How long would it take you to produce / supply 100 units of items?						
218	In your experience, which are the <u>most difficult</u> items to make/obtain?						
219	On average, how long does it take to produce one of these difficult items?						
220	In your experience, which is the <u>easiest</u> item to make?						
221	On average, how long does it take to produce one of these easy items?						
222	Which is the most expensive item(s) you produce or sell? Average price?						
223	Which is the cheapest item(s) you produce/sell? Average price?						
NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS					SKIP TO
224	Do you do all the work by yourself or do you get assistance/help?	DO ALL THE WORK BY MYSELF 1 GET ASSISTANCE 2					→ Q 226
225	For what tasks or aspects of your work do you usually need assistance?	1. 4 2. 5 3. 6					
226	Do members of your family assist you in your work?	FAMILY MEMBERS ASSIST 1 FAMILY MEMBERS DO NOT ASSIST 2 NA 99					→ Q 228
227	How do you pay those who help you? Unpaid family labour, cash or in kind?	CASH 1 KIND, (SPECIFY) 2 UNPAID FAMILY LABOUR 3					
228	Do you specialize in any particular product or do you produce or sell a variety of products?	SPECIALISE IN 1 VARIETY OF PRODUCTS 2					
229	Who are your main customers? Those who purchase your products or hire your services?	OVERSEAS DEALERS AND PARTNERS 1 LOCAL DEALERS AND SHOP OWNERS 2 LOCAL TOURISTS 3 INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS 4					

		HOTELS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS 5 MIDDLEMEN 6 OTHERS (SPECIFY) 96	
230	Where do you usually sell your products/ render your services?	IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY 1 IN THE REGIONAL CAPITAL (KUMASI) 2 IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL (ACCRA) 3 NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY (SPECIFY) 4 OTHER (SPECIFY) 96	
231	Do you sell directly to tourists?	YES 1 NO 2	
232	Is there any crafts events/festival in this community?	YES 1 NO 2	
233	Have you ever participated in any local trade/craft fairs at local/regional/national levels?	YES 1 LEVEL 2 NO 2	
234	Have you ever participated in any international trade/craft fairs?	YES 1 NO 2	
235	What problems do you face when dealing with tourists?	AGGRESSIVE HAGGLING 1 TOURISTS OFFER UNFAIR PRICES 2 LANGUAGE DIFFICULTIES 3 NA 99 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
236	Which market segment do you prefer, foreign or local?	FOREIGN MARKETS 1 LOCAL MARKETS 2	
237	I would like to ask some questions about your current marketing strategies. Do you advertise your goods and services?	YES 1 NO 2	→ Q 239
238	If Yes, through what medium do you advertise?	BROCHURES 1 NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 2 RADIO 3 TELEVISION 4 INTERNET 5 NA 99 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
239	Do you label (provide name of items for) your products?	YES 1 NO 2	
240	Do you give explanations about your products and how they should be used or taken care of?	YES 1 NO 2	
241	What is your items display / arrangement strategy?	NO STRATEGY 1 BY TYPE OF ITEM 2 BY SIZE OF ITEM 3 BY COLOUR OF ITEM 4 1, 2 AND 3 5 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
242	What is your pricing strategy?	FIXED PRICING 1 BARGAINING / HAGGLING 2 BARTER 3 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
243	Do you face any competition?	YES 1 NO 2	→ Q 245
244	What is the competition like?	NORMAL 1 STIFF 2 NA 99 OTHER, SPECIFY 69	

245	Do customers feel harassed?	YES 1 NO 2	
246	Would this business flourish elsewhere?	YES 1 NO 2	
247	Is your business registered?	YES 1 NO 2	
248	Do you have a business plan?	YES 1 NO 2	
249	Do you have a business contact address? (Post Box, E-mail, Fax, Telephone, etc.)	YES 1 NO 2 Telephone _____ Post Box _____ e-mail _____ Fax _____	
250	Is your work risky/dangerous or safe? Which of the following safety equipment do you have or use?	Very Risky [1] Risky [2] Safe [3] Very Safe [4] HAND GLOVES 11 MASKS 22 FIRST AID KIT 33 APRONS 44 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
251	Do you have any bank or other financial institution over here?	YES 1 NO 2	
252	What sources of credit are available to you? CHOOSE ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU	BANK 1 SAVINGS AND LOANS SCHEME (SUSU) 2 DISTRICT ASSEMBLY POVERTY FUNDS 3 PRIVATE SAVINGS 4 EMPLOYER 5 FRIENDS AND RELATIONS 6 NONE OF THE ABOVE 7 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
253	What is the most pressing problem you face in your work?	DIFFICULTY IN GETTING CREDIT (LOANS) 1 DIFFICULTY IN SELLING PRODUCTS 2 DIFFICULTY IN GETTING RAW MATERIALS 3 HIGH COST OF PRODUCTION 4 UNRELIABILITY OF WORKERS 5 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
254	What problems have been created by the production of handicrafts in this community?	DELINQUENCY IN SCHOOL CHILDREN 1 RAMPANT ACCIDENTS 2 INCREASE IN FOOD PRICES 3 INCREASE IN RENT AND LAND 4 NA 00 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
255	Is handicraft production in this community dying out?	YES 1 NO 2	→ Q 257
256	Which of the following is / are responsible for the demise of handicraft production in this community?	LOW TOURIST ARRIVALS 1 DIFFICULTY IN SELLING PRODUCTS 2 DIFFICULTY IN GETTING RAW MATERIALS 3 DIFFICULTY IN GETTING CREDIT 4 POLITICAL (CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT) 5 URBANISATION 6 MODERNISATION / PLASTIC SUBSTITUTES 7 INDUSTRIAL IMITATIONS 8 LACK OF INFORMATION AND PROMOTION 9 PROXIMITY TO KUMASI 10 NA 99 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	

257	Where did the following handicraft items originate? What varieties are there? Is craft item an old or new craft type in this community?	CRAFT ITEM	ORIGIN	VARIETIES	NEW/OLD CRAFT
		KENTE			
		BEADS			
		POTTERY			
		STOOL (SESEGWA)			
		AKUABA (DOLLS)			
		SWORDS (AFENA)			
		PROFILES			
		UNITY			
		ANIMALS			
		OWARE			
		MASK			
		SHADOWS			
258	Which of the craft varieties are dying out?	1	5		
		2	6		
		3	7		
		4	8		

SECTION 3: POVERTY PERCEPTION, EXPERIENCE AND COPING STRATEGIES

301	Do you know anybody who, by this community's standards, can be said to be poor?	YES 1 NO 2	
302	What distinguishes a poor person from one who is non-poor in this community? CHOOSE ALL THAT APPLY	POOR DIET 1 IRREGULAR EATING PATTERNS (< 2 x PER DAY) ... 2 POOR HOUSING QUALITY 3 INSECURITY OF TUNURE 4 POOR CLOTHING QUALITY 5 INABILITY TO ACCESS SERVICES e.g HEALTH, EDUC 6 LOW EDUCATION AND ILLITERACY 7 LANDLESSNESS 8 CHILDLESSNESS 9 INABILITY TO SETTLE BILLS / INDEBTEDNESS 10 BORROWING FOR FEEDING PURPOSES 11 DRUNKENNESS 12 JOBLESSNESS, AND JOB INSECURITY 13 LACK OF RESPECT IN COMMUNITY 14 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	Probe for the ff.
303	What do you perceive as the causes of poverty in this community? CHOOSE ALL THAT APPLY	LAZINESS 1 DISCRIMINATION 2 LITIGATION /CHIEFTAINCY DISPUTES 3 LOW EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MAJORITY ... 4 LACK OF NATURAL RESOURCE ENDOWMENTS 5 DRUNKENNESS 6 SICKNESS 7 OLD AGE 8 LACK OF SOCIAL & ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE 9 POLITICAL NEGLECT 10 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	Probe for the ff.
304	Do you know anybody who, by this community's standards, can be said to be rich?	YES 1 NO 2	
305	By this community's standards, how much is required for food, rent, and other basic needs for an individual for a month?	MINIMUM AMOUNT IN CEDIS _____ MAXIMUM AMOUNT IN CEDIS _____	
306	By this community's standards, would you say you are poor, not poor or rich?	POOR 1 NOT POOR 2 RICH 3 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
307	On average, how much do you spend in a month?	MINIMUM AMOUNT IN CEDIS _____ MAXIMUM AMOUNT IN CEDIS _____	

308	Please, list all items of expenditure you make in a month. (PROBE FOR FOOD, RENT, ENTERTAINMENT, FEES/BILLS, LOTTO, AND OTHER CONSUMPTION) <i>NB: Do not add business related expenses!</i>	1 2 3 4 5	6 7 8 9 10	
309	Have you ever been poor, suffered hardship? In and Out of poverty? How long were you poor?	EXPERIENCED POVERTY 1 (Duration: _____) SEASONAL POVERTY 2 NEVER EXPERIENCED POVERTY 3 NA 99		
310	What did you do (are you doing) to escape poverty?	- - - -		
311	On average, how much do you earn in a week, month and a year?	DAILY (MIN) _____ (MAX) _____ WEEKLY (MIN) _____ (MAX) _____ MONTHLY (MIN) _____ (MAX) _____ ANNUAL (MIN) _____ (MAX) _____		
312	What are your sources of income? What percentage of total income?	HANDICRAFT WORK / SALES 1 SALARY/WAGES 2 FARMING ACTIVITIES 3 REMITTANCES 4 INVESTMENTS 5 PETTY TRADING 6 TRANSPORT 7 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96		%
313	I would now like to ask you some questions about your consumption patterns. How many times do you and your family eat in a day during good times?	EAT BREAKFAST 1 SKIP BREAKFAST 2 EAT LUNCH 3 SKIP LUNCH 4 EAT SUPPER 5 SKIP SUPPER 6 EAT DESERT 7 SKIP DESSERT 8		
314	How many times do you and your family eat in a day during bad times?	EAT BREAKFAST 1 SKIP BREAKFAST 2 EAT LUNCH 3 SKIP LUNCH 4 EAT SUPPER 5 SKIP SUPPER 6 EAT DESERT 7 SKIP DESSERT 8		
315	Do you usually cook or buy your food?	BREAKFAST COOK 1 BUY 2 LUNCH COOK 3 BUY 4 SUPPER COOK 5 BUY 6 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96		
316	Please, list all food items you consume during Breakfast, Lunch, Supper and Dessert.	BREAKFAST: - - LUNCH: - - SUPPER/DINNER: - - DESSERT: - -		

317	(VIGNETTE) Even though some of these questions may not apply to you, we would like to find out what you are most likely to do if you were confronted with any of these situations. Thank you. Which of your own properties would you readily sell when you are hard pressed for cash?	LIST	
318	Which of your properties would you still keep even when you are hard pressed for cash?	LIST	
319	Now, what would you do if you were faced with the following situations? If you do not have enough food to feed your family?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
320	If tourists stopped coming to your community due to, say, a border closure or any other reason?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
321	If you needed a substantial amount of money at short notice?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
322	If you get a large order to supply between 1, 000 - 50,000 pieces of handicrafts in 1 month? WHAT IS THE MAXIMUM ORDER YOU CAN HANDLE NOW?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
323	If you lost an important relation and you did not have enough money for the funeral expenses?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
324	If it becomes difficult to find raw materials for your handicrafts?	PROBABLE ACTIONS:	
325	Now, I would like to find out the type of house you live in and what facilities are available to you. What type of house do you live in?	WHOLE FLAT IN APARTMENT BUILDING 1 WHOLE FAMILY HOUSE 2 INDIVIDUAL COMPOUND 3 PART OF A COMPOUND HOUSE 4 PART OF A FLAT / FAMILY HOUSE 5 AN IMPROVED DWELLING 6 NO FIXED ACCOMMODATION 7 UNCOMPLETED HOUSE 8 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
326	Do you own, rent or live free (not owned but no rent being paid) in this housing unit?	OWN 1 RENTED 2 LIVE IN FREE 3 CARE TAKER OF UNCOMPLETED HOUSE 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
327	How many rooms are available for your household?	ONE ROOM 1 TWO ROOMS 2 THREE ROOMS 3 FOUR ROOMS 4 FIVE ROOMS 5 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
328	How many of the rooms are used for sleeping?	BEDROOMS _____	

329	On average, how many people share a room?	ONE PERSON 1 TWO PEOPLE 2 THREE PEOPLE 3 FOUR PEOPLE 4 FIVE PEOPLE 5 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
330	What kind of material has been used in building the house?	SANDCRETE 1 LANDCRETE 2 BURNT BRICK 3 SWISH 4 WOOD 5 CORRUGATED METAL / ALUMINIUM SHEET 6 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
331	What kind of material has been used in roofing the house?	TILES 1 ASBESTOS SHEETS 2 CORRUGATED METAL / ALUMINIUM SHEETS 3 CONCRETE (CEMENT) 4 THATCH 5 BAMBOO 6 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
332	What kind of material has been used for the floor of the house?	TILES 1 CEMENT 2 WOOD 3 MUD / EARTH 4 PARQUET / POLISHED WOOD 5 CARPET 6 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
333	What is the main source of drinking water for your household?	PIPED WATER IN HOUSE / COMPOUND 1 PIPED WATER IN PUBLIC / NEIGHBOURS'S HOUSE 2 WELL WATER IN HOUSE / COMPOUND 3 WELL WATER IN PUBLIC / NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE 4 BORE HOLE 5 SPRING, RIVER, STREAM, POND, LAKE ETC. 6 RAIN WATER 7 TANKER / TRUCK 8 SACHET WATER 'PURE WATER' 9 BOTTLED WATER (MINERAL WATER) 10 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
334	What is the main source of water for other household uses including dish washing and laundry?	PIPED WATER IN HOUSE / COMPOUND 1 PIPED WATER IN PUBLIC / NEIGHBOURS'S HOUSE 2 WELL WATER IN HOUSE / COMPOUND 3 WELL WATER IN PUBLIC / NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE 4 BORE HOLE 5 SPRING, RIVER, STREAM, POND, LAKE ETC. 6 RAIN WATER 7 TANKER / TRUCK 8 SACHET WATER 'PURE WATER' 9 BOTTLED WATER (MINERAL WATER) 10 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	
335	How long does it take to go get water and back?	DISTANCE _____ TIME (MINUTES) _____ NA 88	
336	What toilet type does your household usually use?	OWN WC TOILET 1 SHARED WC TOILET 2 TRADITIONAL PIT LATRINE 3 KVIP LATRINE 4 BUCKET / PAN LATRINE 5 NO FACILITY (BUSH/ FIELD) 6 OTHER, SPECIFY _____ 96	

337	What type of energy does your household use for lighting?	ELECTRICITY 1 GAS 2 KEROSENE 3 CANDLES 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
338	What type of fuel does your household usually use for cooking and heating?	CHARCOAL 1 FIREWOOD 2 KEROSENE 3 SAW DUST 4 LPG GAS 5 ELECTRICITY 6 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
339	Where is cooking done in your household?	IN THE OPEN FIRE PLACE 1 SHELTERED FIRE PLACE IN COMPOUND 2 INSIDE PORCH, VERANDER 3 LIVING ROOM 4 KITCHEN 5 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
340	Where does your household usually dispose of its refuse or solid waste?	PIT IN COMPOUND 1 PUBLIC REFUSE BIN 2 PUBLIC REFUSE DUMP 3 BUSH 4 GUTTERS 5 BURN NEAR HOUSE 6 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
341	Where does your household dispose of its liquid waste?	PIT WITHIN COMPOUND 1 BUSH 2 GUTTERS 3 INDISCRIMINATELY 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
342	Whose duty is it in your household to dispose of household waste?	YOUNG GIRLS 1 YOUNG BOYS 2 YOUNG CHILDREN 3 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
343	Are you a member of any social security or insurance scheme?	YES 1 NO 2	
344	What type of health facility or personnel is usually available for people in this community?	HOSPITAL 1 CLINIC 2 TRADITIONAL HEALERS 3 SPIRITUALIST 4 CHEMICAL SELLERS 5 SELF MEDICATION 6 ITENERARY DRUG VENDORS 7 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	
345	What do you usually do when you become sick?	GO TO HOSPITAL 1 GO TO CLINIC 2 USE TRADITIONAL HEALERS 3 USE SPIRITUALIST 4 USE CHEMICAL SELLERS 5 USE DRUG AT HOME 6 USE ITENERARY DRUG VENDORS 7 USE HERBS 8 OTHER, SPECIFY 96	

SECTION 4: LOCAL STRUCTURES, PROCESSES AND POVERTY

NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS	SKIP TO
401	What is the relationship between this community and the District Assembly? Is it cordial or adversarial?	CORDIAL 1 ADVERSARIAL 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
402	What is the relationship of this community and the Ghana Tourist Board in Kumasi?	CORDIAL 1 ADVERSARIAL 2 DON'T KNOW 88	

403	What projects have the DA executed that have had any poverty reduction impact in this community?						
404	Have you ever benefited from any DA poverty reduction funds?	YES 1 NO 2					
405	Is it possible for poor people to access assistance from the DA?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88					
406	Who are the most powerful people and institutions in this community?	PEOPLE? _____ INSTITUTIONS _____					
407	Who are the least powerful people and institutions in this community?						
408	Do migrants have equal rights as indigenes in this community?	YES 1 NO 2					
409	Is there any visible discrimination against migrant craftsmen in this community?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88					
410	Do men, women and children have different roles in handicrafts production in this community?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88					
411	Which category of crafts workers are the poorest in this community?						
412	In what ways can we create more employment opportunities for the poorer crafts workers?						
413	In what ways can we create more opportunities for the poorer crafts workers to improve their incomes?						
414	In what ways can community income be developed?	DONATIONS 1 LEASE FEES 2 EQUITY DIVIDENDS 3 COOPERATIVES 4 DON'T KNOW 88					
415	Have you received any training from the DA or any other organization in the last 6 months?	YES 1 NO 2					
415 b	In what ways Can we build the capacity of poorer artisans and empower them?					
416	Is there a tourism development planning and management team/committee in this community?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88					
417	Are you a member of this team/committee or any other community association or handicrafts associations?	MEMBER 1 NAME OF ASSOCIATION: _____ NOT A MEMBER 2					
418	Here is a list of statements about handicrafts production in the Ashanti region. Please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly?						
			Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Don't Know
	a. I am usually consulted in the making of decisions concerning handicraft production in this community.	a.	1	2	3	4	88
	b. Handicrafts production is a sure way out of poverty.	b.	1	2	3	4	88
	c. Participation of children in craft work is a	c.	1	2	3	4	88

	problem here.	d.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Tourist arrivals have dwindled/reduced in the last 5 years.	e.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Tourists are spending more money now than 5 years ago.	f.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Older tourists buy more of my goods than younger ones.	g.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Female tourists buy more of my goods than male ones.	h.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	I usually keep records of everything I sell.	i.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Tourists are harassed by hawkers when they come here.	j.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	The best (<i>name of craft item</i>) is produced in this community.	k.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	The historical fame of this community helps my business.	l.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	Handicrafts production has created some problems here.	m.	1	2	3	4	88																																																																												
	The rapid growth of Kumasi is creating new problems here.																																																																																		
419	What are the most important things your business needs in order to grow?	ENHANCED INVESTMENT CAPITAL 1 ENHANCED MARKETING SKILLS 2 IMPROVED PLACE OF WORK (SHOP) 3 IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY (MACHINES) 4 EASY ACCESS TO INFORMATION 5 FOREIGN BUSINESS PARTNERS 6 OTHER, SPECIFY 96																																																																																	
420	Have you enjoyed the discussions so far?	YES 1 NO 2																																																																																	
421	Please, provide any additional information on any of the topics we have discussed so far, if any.																																																																																		
422	Has there been any improvement in your life since you started this work?	YES, A LOT 1 YES, A LITTLE 2 NO 3 NOT AT ALL 4																																																																																	
423	What property/properties have you been able to acquire since working in the handicraft business?	1. _____ 4. 2. _____ 5. 3. _____ 6. 7.																																																																																	
424	Please, indicate if you own any of the following items?	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>ITEM</th> <th>YES</th> <th>NO</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>RADIO</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>TELEVISION</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>VIDEO / DVD / VCR</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>TELEPHONE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>ELECTRIC / GAS STOVE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>REFRIDGERATOR</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>FREEZER</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>LIVING ROOM FURNITURE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>OWN HOUSE(S)</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>BED WITH FOAM MATTRESS</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>HAND TRUCK</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>PRIVATE CAR</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>MOTOR CYCLE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>BICYCLE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>COMMERCIAL CAR</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>TRACTOR</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>LOOM / TOOLS</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>LAND</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>GOATS SHEEP, CATTLE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>POULTRY</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>SEWING MACHINE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>SHOP / COMM CENTRE</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>CAMERA</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>GUN</td><td></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>						ITEM	YES	NO	RADIO			TELEVISION			VIDEO / DVD / VCR			TELEPHONE			ELECTRIC / GAS STOVE			REFRIDGERATOR			FREEZER			LIVING ROOM FURNITURE			OWN HOUSE(S)			BED WITH FOAM MATTRESS			HAND TRUCK			PRIVATE CAR			MOTOR CYCLE			BICYCLE			COMMERCIAL CAR			TRACTOR			LOOM / TOOLS			LAND			GOATS SHEEP, CATTLE			POULTRY			SEWING MACHINE			SHOP / COMM CENTRE			CAMERA			GUN			
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Appendix 2

Department of Geography and Resource Development University of Ghana, Legon Accra, Ghana Department of Geography and Rural Development, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana	Study on the Potentials of Pro-Poor Tourism for Poverty Reduction in Peri-Urban Areas of Kumasi (Four Districts) February – June 2006
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Tourist Board / Metro & District Assembly / Other Stakeholders' Questionnaire

introduction and respondent identification					
001	DIST/METRO ASSEMBLY NAME		008	QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER	
002	AGE / DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT		009	DATE OF INTERVIEW	
003	R's POSITION / RANK		010	INTERVIEWER NAME	
004	R's FIRST NAME		011	LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW	
005	R's LAST NAME		012	NATIVE LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENT	
006	PLACE OF INTERVIEW		013	STAFF CATEGORY*	
007	SEX		014	TIME (Start Stop)	

STAFF CATEGORY CODES*

1. TOP MANAGEMENT 2. SENIOR STAFF 3. TECHNICIAN 4. SUPPORT STAFF (SECRETARIES, TYPISTS, DRIVERS, SECURITY, ETC.)

EDITING / DATA ENTRY (FOR OFFICE USE ONLY)					
021	FIELD SUPERVISOR		027	SURVEY MANAGER	
022	DATE (dd/mm/yy)		028	DATE (dd/mm/yy)	
023	STATUS*		029	STATUS*	
024	OFFICE EDITOR		030	DATA ENTRY CLERK	
025	DATE (dd/mm/yy)		031	DATE (dd/mm/yy)	
026	STATUS*		032	STATUS*	

*STATUS CODES: 1. COMPLETE 2. ADDITIONAL VISITS REQUIRED 96. OTHER (SPECIFY)

SECTION 1: INSTITUTION BACKGROUND & CAPACITY

NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS			SKIPTO
101	First, I would like to ask some questions about this institution and your capability to carry out your mandate. Do you have the full complement of qualified staff to carry out your mandate?	YES	1		
		NO	2		
		DON'T KNOW	88		
	Please, complete the following table below				
	STAFF CATEGORY	TOTAL NUMBER	MALE	FEMALE	REMARKS
102	TOP MANAGEMENT				
103	SENIOR STAFF				
104	TECHNICIANS				
105	SUPPORT STAFF				
106	ASSEMBLYMEN/WOMEN				
107	UNIT COMMITTEES				
108	ELECTORAL AREAS				
109	CONSTITUENCIES				
110	How long have you lived continuously in this metropolis / community?	YEARS _____			
		ALWAYS, (SINCE BIRTH)	95		
		VISITOR	96		
111	Have you had any training in poverty analysis? How many of your colleagues have had this training?	YES	1		
		NO	2		
		NUMBER _____			

112	Have you had any training in tourism analysis? How many of your colleagues have had this training?	YES 1 NO 2 NUMBER _____	
113	Have you had any training in rural development? How many of your colleagues have had this training?	YES 1 NO 2 NUMBER _____	

SECTION 2: POVERTY REDUCTION EFFORTS AND CHALLENGES

NO.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSE OPTIONS	SKIP TO																																	
201	What is the predominant economic activity of this district?	COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES (TRADING) 1 FARMING ACTIVITIES 2 HANDICRAFTS PRODUCTION 3 OTHER, PLEASE SPECIFY 96																																		
202	What are the major tourist resources and attractions in this district (region)? Where are they located? CODE FOR LOCATION: (U) = URBAN; (P) = PERI-URBAN (R) = RURAL	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>RESOURCE / ATTRACTION</th> <th>LOCATION</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	RESOURCE / ATTRACTION	LOCATION																																
RESOURCE / ATTRACTION	LOCATION																																			
203	What kinds of handicraft activities are available in this district (region)? CODE FOR LOCATION: (U) = URBAN; (P) = PERI-URBAN (R) = RURAL	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>HANDICRAFT ACTIVITY</th> <th>NAME OF CRAFT VILLAGE</th> <th>LOCATION</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	HANDICRAFT ACTIVITY	NAME OF CRAFT VILLAGE	LOCATION																															
HANDICRAFT ACTIVITY	NAME OF CRAFT VILLAGE	LOCATION																																		
204	What are the major tourism development challenges of this district (region)?	CONGESTION (HUMAN AND VEHICULAR) 1 WASTE DISPOSAL AND SANITATION 2 LACK OF POTABLE WATER SUPPLY 3 INADEQUATE SOCIAL AMENITIES 4 LACK OF TOURISM SPECIFIC INFRASTRUCTURE 5 LACK OF RELIABLE TOURIST RECORDS (DATA) 6 LACK OF A DISTRICT TOURISM DEV. PLAN 7 OTHER, SPECIFY 96																																		
205	What are the major challenges you face in trying to deal with these problems?	NON-COOPERATION OF LOCAL POPULATION ... 1 INADEQUATE FUNDING 2 LACK OF STAFF WITH TOURISM EXPERTISE ... 3 INADEQUATE RESEARCH CAPABILITY 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96																																		
206	Are there any self-help community development projects in this district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	GO TO 211 IF 'NO'																																	
207	If there is any self-help community development projects in this district, where are they located?	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>SELF-HELP PROJECT</th> <th>LOCATION</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	SELF-HELP PROJECT	LOCATION																																
SELF-HELP PROJECT	LOCATION																																			

208	What have you done (are you doing) to facilitate these projects?	PROVIDE PART FUNDING 1 LINK NGOS TO COMMUNITIES 2 PROVIDE SUPERVISION AND MONITORING 3 PROVIDE TECHNICAL ADVICE 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96													
209	Do you face any constraints in providing support for these self-help projects?	YES 1 NO 2													
210	If YES, what constraints do you face in providing support for self-help projects in your area of jurisdiction?	NON-COOPERATION OF LOCAL POPULATION 1 INADEQUATE FUNDING 2 LACK OF STAFF WITH TOURISM EXPERTISE 3 INADEQUATE RESEARCH CAPABILITY 4 OTHER, SPECIFY 96													
211	Do you have any tourism development plans for your district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88													
212	What are the objectives of this plan and what is the implementation strategy?	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>PLAN OBJECTIVES</th> <th>IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	PLAN OBJECTIVES	IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY											
PLAN OBJECTIVES	IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY														
213	Do you usually involve all the stakeholders in plan formulation	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88													
214	Do you usually involve all stakeholders in plan implementation?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88													
215	Who are the major stakeholders that you involve in decision-making regarding plan formulation?	TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES 1 ASSEMBLYMEN/WOMEN 2 COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS 3 NGOs 4 PRIVATE BUSINESS COMMUNITY REPS 5 HANDICRAFTS WORKERS 6 OTHER, SPECIFY 96													
216	Who are the major stakeholders that you involve in decision-making regarding plan implementation?	TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES 1 ASSEMBLYMEN/WOMEN 2 COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS 3 NGOs 4 PRIVATE BUSINESS COMMUNITY REPS 5 HANDICRAFTS WORKERS 6 OTHER, SPECIFY 96													
217	Is this institution concerned with poverty reduction?	YES 1 NO 2													
218	One of the ways of reducing poverty is to help people to be able to help themselves. Are you able to provide institutional support for poverty alleviation programmes in your district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88													

219	Please, list all poverty alleviation programmes for which you have provided institutional support	POVERTY PROGRAMME	KIND OF SUPPORT
220	Have you been able to provide institutional support for handicrafts production and marketing in this district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
221	Have you been able to provide institutional support for improved technologies for agriculture and agro-based industries?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
222	Do local handicrafts workers have the capacity to manage tourism development in their communities by themselves?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
223	Do you have the capability to develop and implement a Community Tourism Management Plan for the craft villages in your district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
224	Have you provided or facilitated the provision of any tourism specific infrastructure in any of the craft villages in your district?	YES 1 NO 2 DON'T KNOW 88	
225	What is the relationship of your institution and handicrafts villages like?	CORDIAL 1 ADVERSARIAL 2 NO RELATIONSHIP 3 DON'T KNOW 88	
226	What role is your institution playing in creating avenues for sustainable employment opportunities in this district, especially, for poorer people?	1. 2. 3.	
227	What role is your institution playing to create avenues for poorer craft makers to improve their incomes?	1. 2. 3.	
	Now, to each of the following statements, indicate whether you: STRONGLY AGGRRE = 1; AGREE = 2; DISAGREE = 3; OR STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4.		
228	My institution created sustainable employment opportunities for the poor.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
229	My institution has created opportunities for poor people to improve their incomes.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	

230	My institution has provided institutional support for poverty alleviation programmes.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
231	My institution has provided institutional support for the promotion of handicrafts production and marketing.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
232	My institution has facilitated self-help projects in this district.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
233	The current criteria and processes for qualification for the poverty alleviation fund includes the poorer members of society.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
234	My institution has enough financial resources to carry out its mandate.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
235	My institution has done very well to involve all stakeholders in decision-making regarding plan formulation and implementation.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
236	My institution needs capacity building in pro-poor tourism development strategies in order to harness tourism potentials for poverty reduction in the district/metropolis.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	
237	As a starting point, my institution can facilitate local linkages in the local tourism industry by bringing hotels, tour operators, banks, handicraft producers, local farmers, and transport companies etc. together to create synergy, and form networks for their mutual benefit.	STRONGLY AGREE 1 AGREE 2 DISAGREE 3 STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	

SECTION 3: SCOPE FOR PRO-POOR TOURISM AND POVERTY REDUCTION

301	In what ways can your institution influence policy for poorer people to participate and benefit economically from tourism, especially in handicrafts villages?	1 2 3 4	
302	In what ways can your institution facilitate the provision of infrastructure that benefits tourists as well as locals?	1 2 3 4	
303	In what ways can your institution facilitate the reduction of negative impacts on poorer members of society?	1 2 3 4	
304	In what ways can we involve the poor more in local planning initiatives and amplify their voice (and needs) for policy reform?	1 2 3 4	

Appendix 3

PANEL DISCUSSION WITH DISTRICT ASSEMBLIES IN THE CRAFT COMMUNITIES IN THE ASHANTI REGION

INTRODUCTION:

DATE:

We are very pleased to have this opportunity to interact with you in the district today, and to learn about the poverty situation and how you are coping with it.

I would like to introduce my research team to you. This is My name is Alex Segbefia, the Team Leader. I am a lecturer in the Department of Geography and Rural Development, KNUST, and a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon.

Having introduced ourselves, we would also like to get to know you:

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Official Title:</u>
1. .	
2. .	
3. .	
4. .	
5. .	
6. .	
7. .	
8. .	

We are looking at the potentials of using handicrafts as a pro-poor tourism intervention strategy for poverty reduction in craft villages in the Ashanti region of Ghana. Some craft communities in your district have been selected for in-depth study.

The agenda for this meeting revolves around the following themes:

6. Major resources of the district / livelihood assets – access and control?
7. Major economic activities in the district / livelihood strategies – sustainability?
8. The poverty situation in the district – causes, patterns, trends?
9. The role of the DA in poverty reduction in the district – structures, processes, policies?
10. Facilitation of tourism/craft enterprises development and challenges in district?
11. Specific pro-poor initiatives for craftsmen and women in the district?

We believe that your active participation and valuable contribution is very important in the development of strategies aimed at potentially viable sectors of the local economy for accelerated poverty reduction and wealth creation at the district level.

We would be taking notes as the discussion goes on, however, as the discussion gets interesting, my note takers may miss out on some of the important points. We would, therefore, like to seek your permission to record the discussion. Thank you.

A: Major resources of the district / Livelihood assets – Access and Control

2. What do you see as the major natural resources in this district? Where are they located? Is tourism important in this district? Level of tourism development?
3. How does one get access to these resources? Ease and equity of access? The Vulnerable?
4. What is the state of the physical infrastructure in the district? (Roads, water, energy, etc)?
5. What is the Population/human capital of the district? (Skills levels, Proportion poor, etc)?
6. What are the sources of financial capital in the district?
7. What is the state and nature of the Social system? Social Networks in this district?
8. What is the condition of the resource(s) on which handicraft businesses depend in the district?
9. Are there any institutional and policy measures to support the poor in this district?
10. Is there discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity and religion with regards to access of any of the resources discussed above? Any strategies for equity?
11. Are there any artificial barriers to entry into identified tourism/craft related businesses in the district?

B: Major economic activities / Livelihood strategies

1. What are the major economic activities in this district? Livelihood options?
2. What is the predominant economic activity in this district?
3. Which specific places in the district produce handicrafts and what is their importance?
4. On average, what proportion of the population is employed by the crafts sector?
5. Are crafts enterprises registered? Proportion of registered/unregistered businesses in district?
6. Are the activities of craftsmen and women economically and environmentally sustainable?
7. Are the activities of craftsmen considered a nuisance by people not engaged in the business?
8. What is the level of unemployment and underemployment in the district?
9. What structural conditions encourage the development of the crafts sector? (Economic, Social, Political, Cultural, Technological)?
10. What structural conditions obstruct the quest of craft workers to make a living? (Economic, Social, Political, Cultural, Technological)?

C: Poverty situation in the district – causes, patterns, trends

1. Is this district a poor one? Why?
2. Who are poorer? Men or women? Why?
3. Which areas/communities are poorer? What accounts for the spatial disparity?
4. Who is a poor person? Non poor? The wealthy? Vulnerable groups?
5. What are some of the indicators of poverty of individuals? Of communities in the district?
6. What are some of the causes of poverty in this district?
7. Which sectors of the local economy carry the highest burden of poverty? Why?
8. What time in the year do people generally experience hardship in this district? Coping strategies? Who helps? Is poverty increasing/decreasing? Trends?
9. Have there been any crisis or livelihood failures in the last 5 years? Which year(s) were good/bad? Why?
10. Is the assembly/institution itself poor? Why? Coping/ Adaptive strategies?

D: Role of DAs in poverty reduction/alleviation

1. How much attention is the DA paying to the provision of basic infrastructure in the district? (Education, health, water, roads, markets, electricity, waste disposal, accommodation)
2. What are the DAs current development priorities?
3. What are the conditions one has to satisfy to access poverty alleviation funds from the DA?
4. How easy is it for the poor to access micro credit from the Assembly? Facilitation?
5. What has the DA done to facilitate development of Craft enterprises and SMEs in the district?
6. What 'tourism specific infrastructure' does the DA have? Intends to build?
7. Is there any specific poverty alleviation programme targeted at the vulnerable in the district? (The aged, People with disability, women, Children)?
8. What is the current capacity of the DA (skilled manpower and logistics) to deliver on her development obligations? What are the constraints? Capacity requirements?
9. How many craft workers have benefited from the DA Poverty Alleviation Fund? Level of repayments? Levels of success? Problems? Challenges? What benefits does the DA get from craft people?
10. Achieving pro-poor growth entails institutional and policy reforms that not only expand economic opportunities but also empower the poor to gainfully participate in and measurably benefit from them.
11. What policy and institutional reforms are necessary if this objective is to be achieved in the crafts sector?

E: Facilitation of Tourism Enterprise Development – Prospects and Challenges

1. Does the DA have any tourism development and management plans for this district?
2. What is the Assembly doing to promote and market the district as a tourism destination?
3. Do craft communities have receptive facilities and ICTs? Current situation in this regard?
4. Are there any public-private partnerships in the crafts business?
5. Are there any plans/strategies to make tourists stay a little longer? Spend more? Any tourism events? Craft fairs? Other attractions?
6. How much tax do tourism enterprises in the district pay? Compliance levels?
7. Do craft communities have craft centres, and how is it (will it be) operated?
8. How does the assembly rank its own efforts at facilitation of tourism enterprise development?
9. How do the crafts people perceive the assembly's efforts? What kind of relationships exists?
10. What factors promote/constrain your facilitation roles as an assembly?

F: Specific Poverty initiatives in the district – target beneficiaries, results and poverty focus

Specific Poverty Initiatives	Target beneficiaries	Results / Status	Comments: Pro-Poor/Not Pro-Poor

Any Other Remarks/Contributions

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Appendix 4

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

A STUDY ON THE POTENTIALS OF PRO-POOR TOURISM FOR POVERTY REDUCTION IN PERIPHERAL AREAS IN GHANA

NOTE: ASSURANCE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT INFORMATION FROM THIS STUDY IS NEEDED PURELY FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND WILL BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS – POLICYMAKERS, CBOs, DAs

I) *Interviewer:* II) *Date:*
III) *Institution:* IV) *Officer:*

A. Definitions of Poverty

1. Do we know who the poor are?
2. If so, how do we know?
3. Who are they?
4. How do you recognise the poor?
5. How does perception of the poor differ?
6. How are the poor defined officially? (*International, national, local, and the professions*)?

B. Benefits to the Poor

1. How are the poor benefiting from tourism, and what do they expect?
2. What could tourism do for you (who benefits and who does not)?
3. What kind of tourists do poor host communities prefer?
4. How are communities benefiting from tourism?
5. What determines access to tourism resources and participation in the local tourism industry?
6. Do men and women have equal opportunities to benefit from tourism?

C. Policy

1. In what ways are you involved in the creation and or, implementation of tourism policy?
2. What are the opportunities for expanding the benefits that poor people derive from tourism in the crafts sector?
3. What are the limitations for poor people benefiting more from tourism in the crafts sub-sector?
4. Are there any current policies of using tourism to help the poor to increase their income? (*Names, Year, obj.*)
5. Have there been any old policies that sought to use tourism to help the poor to increase their incomes?

D. Current Situation

1. What steps is your office taking to create conditions for poor people to benefit more from tourism?
2. What else needs to be done to change tourism to benefit the poor?
3. Which of the tourism sectors reaps the most benefits from tourism activities? Why?
4. Which of the tourism sectors reaps the least benefits from tourism activities? Why?

E. The Handicrafts Sub-Sector, Poverty and Interventions

1. To what extent are handicrafts important to tourism development in Ghana? Is it a viable sector?
2. Which parts of the country do these handicrafts come from? What is the marketing capacity of these workers?
4. What was the total budgetary allocation to the tourism sector in 2005?
5. How much of it was allocated to the handicrafts sub-sector?
6. How much of the budgetary allocations to the tourism sector was allocated to the handicrafts sub-sector over the last 5 years?

Appendix 5

POTENTIALS FOR PRO-POOR HANDICRAFTS ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA Community Participation (Draft)

1. Crafts associations 2. Assemblyman/woman 3. Unit committee chairperson 4. District assembly
5. Chief or traditional authority 6. Ordinary community members (Non craft workers)

1. How long have you lived continuously in this community?
2. What do you do for a living?
3. Do you hold any position in this community? If yes, please name position.
4. What is the predominant economic activity in this community?
5. Do you endorse/oppose the production of crafts in this community?
6. If you endorse (craft production), please explain why.
7. If you oppose (craft production), please explain why.
8. What is the general feeling of the people in this community about the production of crafts (woodcarvings/beads/kente /earthenware)?
9. Is it possible for poor people to participate in crafts production in this community?
10. What, in your opinion, are the benefits of crafts production in this community (Personally? Others/craft workers? The community? The DA?) Probe for the following:
 - a. **Economic benefits** (expansion of employment and wages, jobs for the poor, expansion of business opportunity for the poor, small business opportunities for the poor, community income, *tax revenue*, etc.)
 - b. **Non-cash livelihoods benefits** (improved access to infrastructure like roads, water supply, electricity, markets etc, and services, livelihood diversification, new skills, sense of pride, popularity of community, training, etc)
 - c. **Participation and empowerment** (increased participation of the poor in decision making at personal, family, association/club, community levels, expression of opinion on important issues, membership of cooperatives, etc)
11. What can be done to enhance the benefits poor people derive from making handicrafts?
12. Are there any problems confronting the successful production of crafts in this community?
13. If there are, please list them.
14. Who or what creates these problems if any?
15. What, in your opinion, are the problems created by the production of crafts in this community?
16. Who or what is/are affected by these problems?
17. What can be done to solve these problems, and who should be responsible for what?
18. In your opinion, are the benefits from crafts more than its associated problems?
19. Was crafts production in this community a planned development?
20. Do you know of any management plan to regulate crafts production in this community?
21. Has anyone in this community received any training in tourism/crafts business management?
22. How do you feel when you see visitors (tourists and excursionists) in your community?
23. Would you like to see more or fewer of them around?
24. What are the possibilities for the poor to lift themselves out of poverty through crafts production?
25. Do you patronise some of the handicrafts from this community?
26. Where are the best (woodcarvings/beads/kente/earthenware) made in Ghana?

Thank You.

Appendix 6

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH CRAFT WORKERS AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS IN CRAFT COMMUNITIES IN THE ASHANTI REGION

INTRODUCTION:

DATE:

We are very pleased to have this opportunity to interact with you today, and to learn about your work as crafts men/women, and to discuss many things that affect your work with you. Even though we are from the university, this discussion is not in a classroom, so we should all feel free to express ourselves as there are no right or wrong answers. We invite all opinions. If you disagree with what is said, please, feel free to say what you think about it. Thank you.

I would like to introduce my research team to you. This is My name is Alex Segbefia, the Team Leader. I am a lecturer in the Department of Geography and Rural Development, KNUST, and a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon.

Having introduced ourselves, we would also like to get to know you:

Name	Designation	Name	Designation
1.		6.	
2.		7.	
3.		8.	
4.		9.	
5.		10.	

We are talking to crafts men and women in some selected communities in the Ashanti region, and we are happy that we are able to meet you today to discuss what you are doing, and how we can together improve upon what you are already doing so that through this craft work we can reduce our poverty and get more from it. We would also discuss how we can contribute to community development and try to find solutions to some of the problems we face in our work.

The agenda for this meeting revolves around the following themes:

5. Craft men's work conditions and dynamics
6. the poverty situation in the district – causes, patterns, trends?
7. major resources of the district / livelihood assets – access and control?
8. major economic activities in the district / livelihood strategies – sustainability?
9. the role of the DA in poverty reduction in the district – structures, policies?
10. facilitation of tourism enterprises development and challenges in district
11. any specific pro-poor initiatives for craftsmen and women in the district

We believe that your active participation and valuable contribution is very important if we are to succeed in accelerated poverty reduction and wealth creation in this community.

We would be taking notes as the discussion goes on, however, as the discussion gets interesting, my note takers may miss out on some of the important points. We would therefore like to seek your permission to record the discussion. Thank you.

A: INTRODUCTION – CRAFT PRODUCTION DYNAMICS

1. How did this community come to adopt this craft as a business/livelihood option? *(Take this up again with leaders in IDIs)*
2. What is your position in the craft industry? (Raw material supplier, Carver, Finisher, Dealer, Potter, etc.)
3. What skills are required for your job?
4. How long does it take to acquire these skills?
5. How did you acquire these skills? *(Poll)*
6. Where did you have your training? *(poll)*
7. What inputs do you need in the work you do? Tools? Materials? Capital? Labour? How do you get them?
8. Where do you purchase them? Price?
9. What kinds of crafts do you produce/sell/deal in? Please list them. Operations? E.g. Orders/stocks? How long does it take to carve/finish/sell a unit item?

- What is the level of unemployment and underemployment in the district?
- What is the number of registered and unregistered craft enterprises in this community?
- On average, how many persons are employed by the crafts sector?
- What structural conditions obstruct the quest of craft workers to make a living? Econ? Social? Political? Technological?
- On average, what skills does one require to become proficient in this trade? Does one need formal education in order to participate in this business?
- What tools and how much money does one require to start a business in this craft?
- Do children participate in this crafts? Is it important that children participate? Are there roles specifically for children? What can they do? What are they required to do?
- What problems would you encounter if children stopped helping out?
- How does it affect their school attendance if they participate?
- What skills do children learn while helping out? Are they paid?
- Do young people up to 18 years earn income from working for themselves? Do they help the family with earnings?

E: Perception of the Role of DAs in poverty reduction/alleviation

1. Does the DA provide basic education to the community?
2. How about the provision of health facilities in the community?
3. Do you make use of family planning services in this community?
4. How easy/difficult is it to access micro credit in this community?
5. What has the DA done to promote SMEs in the district? Craft enterprises? Facilitation?
6. Have you heard of any specific poverty alleviation programme targeted at the vulnerable in the district? The aged? People with disability? Children?
7. Do you think the assembly has the capacity (skilled manpower and logistics) to deliver on their obligations?
8. What problems do you think the DA has to deal with? What resources do you think they need in order to function better?
9. What do they have to change or do differently to reduce poverty in this community?
10. How many of you benefited from the DA Poverty Alleviation Fund? Level of repayments?
11. Did it help you? Levels of success/problems/challenges?

F: Facilitation of tourism/craft enterprise development – Prospects and Challenges

1. Is the craft business progressing in this community? If yes, what accounts for it? If no, why?
2. Are there any legal requirements for the establishment of a tourism enterprise in this district?
3. Are you a member of any craft association? Why are you a member? Not a member?
4. Are there any public-private partnerships in the crafts business?
5. Do you pay any tax to the district assembly?
6. What is the status of the craft centre, and how it is (will it be) operated?
7. What factors promote/constrain your association?
8. Are craft workers generally better off than workers in other sectors?
9. How willing are you to contribute to a fund to put up a facility that would be owned by all of you to cater for tourists needs in this community? Ability to contribute? Perceived problems? Solutions?
10. In what ways can the community benefit from the activity of all crafts people in this community?

G: Specific Pro-Poor initiatives in the community – target beneficiaries, results?

Specific Pro-poor Initiatives	Target beneficiaries	Results / Status

Any Other Remarks:

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