Does who we are count?

A study of the role that a community’s culture can play in sustainable heritage tourism development

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Abstract

Heritage tourism has taken deep roots over the last decade with several destination management areas effectively carving a niche for themselves as places that offer products that help people to relive history. For Ghana, with its various forts and castles spread along its coastline; inhabitants of such communities have taken it for granted that tourists visit.

Emerging research has shown that when an area is able to package its heritage artifacts and monuments in an integrated manner with its culture, no matter what it is; then it can be more successful in marketing its tourism products for sustainable development.

The culture of a place however, cannot be looked at in isolation. The immediate and remote influences all around it must be explored. Butre as a tourist community, has had its culture over the last couple of years been open to influences not only from tourists but also from the larger globalization platform; brought on by travel, access to satellite TV, mobile phone and Internet access etc. Over the course of the few weeks I spent in Butre, talking to and following the lives of 8 community members; I realized that the rich history of the fort which goes to reinforce our colonial history which is of course, significant to the outside world is left largely untold.

My motivation for embarking on this study stemmed from a fascination in knowing why tourists would choose to visit one particular site within the same geographical area. Does the lives and culture of the people there matter at all? The results as this study showed, buttressed the point made in the opening paragraph that yes indeed, we as a people living in these areas do take for granted the artifact, its history and the giant number of tourists that come to see the peculiarities that our area offers.

To revert this however, we must begin to think of employing the tried and tested community-participation methodologies that foster sustainable development through the integration of the very important and interrelated strands of culture, heritage and people.
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1.0 Introduction

It is late afternoon on a sunny Saturday, the usually quiet community is seeing some action; a funeral had taken place that very morning, and the young ones now gather in the center to dance to the giant ‘speakers’ that have been placed in the middle of the square-the music is the Afrocentric pop music known as ‘hipline’. Some elders, properly attired are in attendance and seat solemnly under the canopies. Just then, a group of young tourists- westerners make their way gingerly through the crowd without a word. They are hardly acknowledged; they pass through with a wondering look, but that is all. The community people see these people often, and the tourists see these sights often too. They make their way to the little wooden kiosk, which is the Tourism Center. The bold, universal ‘I’ inscription is unmistakable. They interact a bit with the tour guide, fill out their forms and are led to explore the sprawling old fort, nestled in the hills just above the sleepy old town. The two distinct parties continue on their separate activities.

Heritage tourism has become a growing phenomenon in Ghana. And with the many castles and forts that the country has, not to talk of the country’s dark history with colonization, slave trade etc.; it is easy to understand why. Growing up and attending junior high school in the nation’s capital, we went on excursions to the famous Elmina and Cape Coast castles, and so did my brother and cousins after me. Visiting such places becomes part and parcel of growing up. Hence, I discovered very early on that these sites drew tourists (both domestic and foreign). Later I realized that it was because of the history behind it. Now my interest is not just in analyzing the booming tourism industry that is has since grown into; but I also needed to find out from the local community what values they as a community place on these artifacts. How they engage with it and the tourists that do visit, and to what extent their everyday lives are affected, and vice versa. The history of castles and forts built by ancient colonial masters in Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) dates back years and is rooted in the culture of the communities housing them. Some 26 of such forts and castles exist in the country today; 6 of them are in the west coast destination management area. I chose the west coast because, compared with other fort/castle-concentrated areas along the Ghanaian coast; it is understudied. The choice of Butre as a focal site hinged on

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1 Observation in Butre- 08/02/2011
several factors; its most prominent landmark, Fort Batenstein is one of only three UNESCO-designated world heritage sites in the west coast. Butre is also demographically and geographically small enough that traditional, community everyday life would be readily evident for even visitors to see. The fort (and for that matter Butre) embodies a lot of history and significance.

Fort Batenstein itself is situated on a high hill with an astonishing view over the coastline and the small Butre community. The Swedes built it in 1652 AD. The initial purpose was a trading post, with gold and indigo as its biggest merchandise to bring back to Europe. By force, it was handed over to the Dutch who converted it into a fort in 1656 AD. Butre village is located in a sheltered bay amidst the forests of Ahantaland, east of Cape Three Points. It was among the early historic settlements generated by the 17th century inter-European and inter-African conflicts, partly because it lay close to the gold-rich hinterland. As early as 1598, the Dutch West Indian Company established a trade post at Butre. Then, in 1656, the Dutch Company constructed its own fort on the hill at Butre and named it Batenstein. Fort Batenstein was the second trading post established by the Dutch in the Gold Coast, after Fort Nassau was founded in Mouri around the same time. It was situated near Butre (old spelling: Boutry). The fort was ceded with the entire Dutch Gold Coast to Britain in 1872. At this fort, the Treaty of Butre was signed on 27 August 1656 between the Dutch and the Ahanta. Thus the contract of Butre was not only one of the oldest, but also one of the longest valid contracts between a European and an African power at all. This fact makes this locality a great study piece given the angle I want to explore.

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2 This was sourced from Fort Batenstein at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Butre
4 According to The treaty of Butre from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Batenstein
I wished to investigate such cultural and historical interactions vis-a-vis the modern sustainable tourism drive of developing countries, Ghana being a case in point. I explored the interplay between sustainable tourism and development with a cursory look at the communication paradigm of participatory community involvement. Culture and history is however, heavily explored in this study.

1.1 Background to the study

1.1.1 Heritage tourism at the global and local scales

What is meant by heritage tourism? It is said that it is not simply visiting historic sites, but it is rather a personal encounter with traditions, history, and culture\(^5\). Heritage tourism is thought to be a factor in the preservation of the history and culture of a given locality. It is said that people are most often, inspired to protect historic artifacts if it can speak to their personal/national heritage. The Heritage Tourism Handbook discussed this importance in the light of emerging research on the subject and noted that, “understanding the importance of one’s heritage provides continuity and context for a community’s residents, and it strengthens citizenship values, builds community pride, and improves quality of life”\(^6\). I would hold brief for the fact that, the processes to this understanding vary from culture to culture, and that the benefits enumerated above cut across board. However, I examined this claim in the light of what I discovered from the accounts of citizens of Butre. It is quite important to note that the very interrelated features of the various concept areas of tourism, i.e. heritage, eco-tourism and culture intersect and come into play when looking at sustainability issues in Butre. They all affect tourism packages, practices and policies right from the national level to this level, therefore development on the whole is affected.

\(^5\) Sourced from *Heritage Tourism Handbook* (p.4) at [www.georgia.org/Tourism](http://www.georgia.org/Tourism)

\(^6\) Direct quote from *Heritage Tourism Handbook* (p.8) at [www.georgia.org/Tourism](http://www.georgia.org/Tourism)
Century old traditions of the people of Ghana, tied with the diversity of varied ethnic groups, have generated a rich culture that is the heritage of modern Ghana. To the people of Ghana, the traditions of their ancestors are still an integral part of daily life. The intangible cultural elements of music, art and folklore are a huge part of this legacy. The Government is pursuing quality tourism development that is internationally competitive and compatible with Ghana’s social values and environmental setting. Emphasis is being placed on tourism to help in the conservation of this heritage. Apart from economic benefits, tourism is used to present Ghana’s unique historical heritage to the international community and educate Ghanaians about their own heritage. Historic forts and castles built by the different European empires during the 14th-18th centuries whose dungeons were used to accommodate millions of Africans for the infamous trans-Atlantic slave trade, stand today as world heritage sites designated as such by the UNESCO and attract Africans in the Diaspora.

Well-managed tourism, in addition to creating new jobs/new businesses, improves quality of life and builds community pride. The added benefits of cultural heritage tourism, though, are diversification of local economies and preservation of a community’s unique character, according to the Cultural Heritage Tourism Factsheet (2011). Once again, looking to see to what extents these universal findings hold for my focal site was a very significant part of my research. Ghana is a West African country unique for its history and heritage portraying its coastal castles, grim relics of the slave trade and its many regional festivals. Due to measures put in place by the Government in recent years; tourism is Ghana’s fastest growing industry and has become its third largest foreign exchange earner, after gold and cocoa. Tourist arrivals jumped from about 85,000 in 1995 to 304,860 in 1997 and 325,438 in 1998, (Tourism Statistical Factsheet on Ghana, 1999, p.1). These figures though dated back mirrors the current trend of tourism growth in the country.

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7 Culled from Ghana: Culture and Tourism at www.ghc.ca.com/frm-e-culture-tourism.html

8 Gathered from Investing in Ghana at www.touringghana.com/investments/index.asp
1.1.2 Community culture engagements with heritage sites = sustainable development?

As already noted, tourism is one of the world’s largest economic sectors and one that continues to expand very rapidly; and done well, can be a powerful tool for economic growth and the conservation of natural/cultural resources. This said, it could also have very negative impacts, such as disrupting social structures, harming the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, and threatening cultural heritage. One of the key principles of sustainable tourism is that the local population is placed at the center of tourism development interventions in terms of participation in decision-making process and benefit-sharing\(^9\); as to if this assertion is itself sustainable remains to be seen. This said, it is still at the community level that tourism impacts are most strongly experienced, and culture is most affected. Residents of local communities in the west coast of Ghana are already involved in the tourism discourse (notably on ecotourism through the TTDC i.e. Town Tourism Development Committees); the debate and engagement on the heritage site which their community houses is however limited- principally due to the inadequate number of 7 persons seating on the committee. The beginning narrative seems to depict a community life far removed from tourism traffic, which ideally should not be so, given that the more engaged a community is with its tourism; the more sustainable it tends to be. Richards and Hall, indicate that sustaining the community has become an essential element of sustainable tourism, (2000, p.1). One of the things that the Butre tourism brochure advertises is a showcase of traditional livelihoods; and this angle needs to be explored, if indeed it is on offer. Indeed, there is a relationship between culture and development. Culture could be an important vehicle for intercultural exchanges and sustainable development if it is more sustainably managed. When I say culture, I refer loosely to both the tangible and intangible norms that characterize how particular groups of people live. It embodies everything from their food, language, way they dress, dance & music, folklore, community life etc. Culture, as we say and understand

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\(^9\) Sourced from Communication and Sustainable Tourism (p.7) at www.usaid.gov/our_work/agriculture/.../commun_sust_tourism.pdf
it here, is basically who we are- how we collectively see ourselves. I must mention here that Africa is generally observed to be a community-oriented society. The word community implies a common interest, possession and enjoyment, according to Richards and Hall (2000, p.75). Thus, the community molds and nurtures an individual's personality. As such, “all-new orientations toward development for Africa must be community-focused”, Mbakogu (2004, p.42) advises. This ethos however must be localized taking into consideration the particular structure of the local communities, their knowledge levels, structural capacities etc.

Increasingly, tourists of today are shunning enclave holidays\textsuperscript{10}. These are holidays where they are taken from the airport to a resort or other for a time, and then it is the journey back home. Today’s tourists would very much want to see and experience the country in which they are holidaying. They want to meet the people, eat what they eat, and basically get to know their culture. They want to have some sense of where they are visiting, even if it is a substitute. The preservation of our cultures therefore, could possibly be a precondition to a sustainable tourism industry development in the region. Hence, for many countries’ development strategy, there is the close correlation that exists between culture and development. Development processes are not solely related to economic and social factors. They are fundamentally a question of human development and thereby equally of history and values, of self-understanding and the processes of social interaction; and for this reason, culture is a key element in all development cooperation\textsuperscript{11}.

In this regard, more emphasis could and should be put on cultural tourism. Many research works examine the growing relationship between tourism and culture, and the way in which they have together become major drivers of destination

\textsuperscript{10} Tourism and culture: A sustainable partnership by Tuinabua, L. (p.187) at epress.anu.edu.au/culture_sustainable/ch14.pdf

\textsuperscript{11} Culled from Culture and Communications Strategy and Guidelines at www.um.dk/.../DanishDevelopmentCooperation/CultureAndDevelopment/intro.asp
attractiveness and competitiveness. Ritchie and Crouch (2003, p.2) identify that the “true ability of a tourism destination to compete involves its various strengths”, cultural being one. They emphasize that socio-cultural competitiveness is more crucial to creating a destination where people want to visit and even go as far as stating that it might well be the dominant determinant of competitiveness. This study will examine statements such as this in the context of Butre.

1.2 Aim of study

In Ghana, the management of these sites is mostly concentrated in forces and hands external to the communities where they are housed. Tourism benefits to communities are so minimal that there is lack of stewardship on the part of community members as it is simply no longer worth the effort to preserve these artifacts/monuments, thereby decreasing the sites attractiveness. Also, the lives of community members tend to be far removed from tourism decisions and activities.

The study therefore seeks to ascertain and understand how sustainable cultural tourism is, and could be in the focal site- Butre community; by identifying the ties between the lives of the people and the Fort Bastenstein, (which is the heritage tourism draw). It would investigate local community life and culture, knowledge and awareness. Significantly, it will present a chance to unearth the opportunities/strengths that exist on the part of the local community to integrate local culture with the heritage site.

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12 Notably The Impact of Culture on Tourism (p.19) by the OECD, 2009
1.2.1 Research questions

The study would ultimately attempt to answer these fundamental questions:

- What do community members know about the artifact and how do they perceive its value?
- What are the inter-relations between this artifact and the lives of the people in the area?
- What is the current community engagement with the promotion, management and development of the site’s heritage?

The study is founded on the theoretical framework of sustainable tourism development as expounded in the work of K.K. Sharma, ‘Tourism and Socio-cultural development”, (2004). Here he builds on the debate by Cohen and Urry that culture and heritage are interrelated. Also, thinking’s from Richards and Hall (2000) on ‘Tourism and Sustainable Community Development’ is used to emphasize that sustainability is one of the most important issues faced by the tourism industry. Sethi’s Handbook on Sustainable Tourism, (2005) also came in handy for me in forming the theoretical framework.

The choice methodological framework is interpretive ethnography, which required constant deeper reflections, and ‘looking beyond the surface’. On the other hand however, it also required that I do not claim too much on the basis of my limited entry into the social world of these people. The task for me therefore, was to write about the culture at this specific point in time and not to allocate certain truths, which could be generalized across time and space. I try to maintain this precarious balance throughout the study. Thus, dialogue and the recording of field notes was essential throughout the execution of this study. The method was therefore primarily in-depth interviewing and observation.
1.2.2 Justification of study: thesis rationale and contribution

The west coast of Ghana is noted for eco-tourism and this is the main agenda of the destination management area\(^\text{13}\); however it houses a lot of historical sites. Studies have been done at length about the opportunities that exist for eco-tourism promotion but none on heritage tourism and the possibilities of community-culture integration; and I want to contribute to such knowledge.

The impact of an area’s culture on tourism cannot be over-emphasized. The extent to which the culture of an area is incorporated into its tourism promotion is very vital to the sustainable development of such a venture. I wish to through this study bring such knowledge, with particular reference to Butre, to the fore.

It looks solely at the point view of community members and considers only the hosts, not visitors. This stance, however can lead me to a ‘positionality’, which may be skewed in one direction. As an ethnographic study also, it might be in danger of being influenced by my own biases; however I attempt as much as possible to let the ‘dialogue’ and the ‘stories’ speak for themselves.

It emphasizes community culture and identity, and authenticity as advocated by John Urry in the Tourist Gaze, (2002). Based on this study, parameters could be developed which further looks at existing strategies, approaches, and programmes. Even though that is not the key motive behind this study, it could still set the stage for this.

1.2.3 Organization of study

The research was organized into six chapters. Chapter one was the introduction; statement of the problem; the general and specific objectives of the study; research

\(^{13}\) Gathered from Sustainable Tourism at www.ghanawestcoast.com
questions, and study justification. Chapter two reviewed existing literature. The methodology, instrument for data collection and sampling procedure were discussed in chapter three. Chapter four concentrated on analysis of data from the field and some discussions of the results. And chapter five contains the summaries, concluding reflections and makes some recommendations.
2.0 Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

“To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the modern experience. Not to go away is like not possessing a car or a nice house”.

- John Urry (2002, p.4)

The different facets of the relationship that exists between tourism, culture, and the policy interventions that can be taken to enhance the relationship, has become a hot topic of late. Not surprisingly, there are a lot of publications on the subject. Richards and Hall (2000, p.17), say that this proliferation is an attempt to define the principle and practice of sustainable tourism and to relate them to the concerns of sustainable tourism. The purpose of this chapter is not to add to this growing literature but rather to attempt the above in the context of heritage tourism in Butre. It specifically and theoretically examines the concepts of sustainable tourism development in the light of participatory local community involvement and cultural integration. Given that my focus is placed somewhat unevenly at the juncture between these number of fields namely development, communication and cultural studies; there is the need to effectively and impartially draw out the theoretical discussions on them whiles maintaining the depth that is necessary to effectively tackle this subject.

It starts with a look at the evolution of tourism development efforts in Ghana, and then a recount of the history of colonial heritage in Butre specifically. This is followed by an analysis of the ideologies of sustainable tourism under development paradigms. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the linkages between tourism and culture; and then an assessment of the role of participatory community involvement.
World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimates that tourism accounts for up to 10% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), making it the world’s biggest industry. According to Narasaiah (2004, p.41), it offers 200 million people employment and can generate funds for investment in health, education, infrastructure etc. The potential for tourism to contribute significantly to poverty alleviation is therefore considerable. Tourism therefore can do a lot for rural communities in this direction; and when opportunities like heritage and/or ecology abound, they need to be tapped to benefit surrounding communities. The Butre community conveniently embodies both. The section below looks at the historical evolution tourism in Butre, and in Ghana.

2.2 The Trajectory of tourism development efforts in Ghana

Tourism generally for the country Ghana, and specifically for Butre has gone through a few phases. A West African country bordering on the Gulf of Guinea, Ghana is bounded by Côte d’Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, and Togo to the east. It compares in size to Oregon (United States), and its largest river is the Volta. Teye (n.d., p.1) analyzed figures put forth in a World Tourism Organization (WTO) to report that Ghana has moved up nine spots (over a thirteen-year period) to the eighth position it occupied on the continent as a top tourism-earner as at 1998. This goes to reinforce the point that tourism is an important foreign exchange earner for the country, going back a few years.

The planning and re-planning of strategies in the quest to develop a viable tourism industry for Ghana seems to have become a never-to-be concluded ritual. Teye (n.d) analyzed this changing course and noted the major additions of the Ghana Tourism

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15 Sourced from Ghana: History, Geography, Government and Culture (p.1) at www.infoplease.com
Cluster Project (GTC) and the Ghana Tourism Capacity Development Initiative (GTCDI). Prior to this however were a whole lot of processes that included but are not limited to, an evaluation of the country’s tourism resources in 1970; a governmental White Paper on Tourism, which identified investment areas for foreign participation; as well as various studies on different aspects of Ghana’s tourism industry\textsuperscript{16}.

Teye (n.d, p.3) again found that it was generally agreed that Ghana’s tourism industry could be feasibly developed; dependent however on the formulation of a comprehensive tourism development plan, which is geared towards long-term sustainable development. This notwithstanding, several factors were identified which led to it being concluded that, Ghana’s tourism industry would most likely be reliant on foreign markets, such as Western Europe and North America; thus increasing its vulnerability to unfavorable economic and social impacts\textsuperscript{17}. As it is now, Ghana’s tourism industry especially the most prominent ones, i.e. ecotourism and heritage tourism is still largely under a state of continuous evolution.

In narrowing down to tourism in the Butre area however, I think it is necessary to give just a short recount of its history in relation to colonialists, the fort etc. The Dutch built the Fort Bastenstein at Butre in the year 1656, which has since become a UNESCO-designated world heritage site. History has it that, unlike the often-ugly relationship that existed between these colonialists and their host communities; the ‘Butreians’ and the Dutch cohabited somewhat peacefully- they did not fight that often. This is perhaps due to the fact that this fort was not used at any point in time to transport slaves but was rather used as a service fort where ships could dock and replenish supplies enroute to other parts of the sub region.

\textsuperscript{16} This analyses was sourced from \textit{Tourism Development Experience in Ghana} by Teye, V. (p. 3-5) at unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/.../UNPAN002474.pdf

\textsuperscript{17} This portion was sourced from \textit{Tourism Development Experience in Ghana} by Teye V. (p.3) at unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/.../UNPAN002474.pdf
Given the above, it is safe to conclude that the many tourists that flock specifically to view Butre’s imposing Fort Bastenstein have a ‘gaze’ which may be historical, but has nothing to do with an associated dark past. The Fort was left idle and engulfed with weeds and trees until 1969 when a Dutch historian, Van Dantzig came in to organize the community members to clear the weeds; and also invited the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) to do some rehabilitation works on the fort.

From that point onwards, the chief (i.e. the traditional leader) was solely in charge of tourist visits to the fort and collected all the proceeds. This was until Chad Hamilton; an American Peace Corps Volunteer arrived in 2005 and took a keen interest in the artifact. He formed the Fort Batenstein Development Committee which later transformed into the Butre Town Tourism Development Committee. The management of tourism at the Fort and other centers was subsequently taken from the traditional leader and vested in this committee; which later on became known as the Town Tourism Development Center, constituted with the help of the Italian NGO, Ricerca e Cooperazione; in conformity with the west coast destination management area development strategy. Since then, tourism management in Butre has taken a new turn. How sustainable are these new turns? How has this improvement impacted upon development in the area?

2.3 Sustainable tourism and the development twist

Sustainable development is applied in a wide range of human contexts, according to Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.3); and they define it thus, “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, (p.43). They however go as far as questioning whether sustainable tourism (a catch cry) is a reality or a myth, by making the distinction between sustainable development and sustainable tourism, (1997, p.4). Sustainable tourism in its purest sense is an industry, which attempts to make a low impact on the
environment and local culture, while helping to generate income, employment, and the conservation of local ecosystems. It is responsible tourism that is both ecologically and culturally sensitive. Thus, sustainable tourism activities are said to have minimal impact on the environment, and most importantly on the culture of the host community.

Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability\(^{18}\). This is achieved by balancing the needs of tourists with those of the destination. Rather than being a type of product, it is a philosophy that underlines all tourism activities. As such, it is integral to all aspects of tourism development and management rather than being an add-on component. Richards and Hall (2000, p.17) say it is one of the most important issues faced by the tourism industry. Narasaiah says there is growing recognition for tourism to develop in a sustainable manner, (2004, p.35). Sustainable tourism is where tourists can enjoy their holiday and at the same time respect the culture of the people and also respect the environment.

The Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism lists the following as the characteristics of sustainable tourism\(^{19}\):

- minimizes negative economic, environmental, and social impacts
- generates greater economic benefits for local people and enhances the well-being of host communities, improves working conditions and access to the industry
- involves local people in decisions that affect their lives and life chances
- makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, to the maintenance of the world’s diversity

\(^{18}\) Culled from Sustainable Tourism Gateway at www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/st-whatish.html

\(^{19}\) This entire list of characteristics was taken from The Capetown Declaration at www.icrtourism.org/Capetown.shtml
• provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people, and a greater understanding of local cultural, social and environmental issues
• provides access for physically challenged people, and
• is culturally sensitive, engenders respect between tourists and hosts, and builds local pride and confidence.

However, it must be noted that tourism contributes a major part of the demand upon land. Whereas the economic benefits which tourism can bring are undeniable, costs are also incurred in the distortion of value systems, loss of heritage and changes in their lifestyle, (Wahab and Pigram, 1997, p.8). They emphasize that resources are not just about natural resources and biophysical phenomena, but also about people and culture and heritage. There is the general agreement that there is no need for the propagation of tourism to the neglect of other potential uses of scarce resources. “Most of the cultural resource, particularly, the tangible (i.e. non-renewable resource) once lost cannot be brought back”, Kamamba reports (2003, p.2). He advocates, for the exploitation of cultural resources by national governments to be done vis-a-vis the right management of tourists. Then and only then would the environment be properly conserved thus justifying being called sustainable tourism. This brings out the double-sidedness of tourism; on the one hand it can lead to the conservation of essential resources, and on the other, it can cause distortions to the way of life of the people.

Culture and tourism were two of the major growth industries of the 20th century, and towards the end of the century the combination of these two sectors into ‘cultural tourism’ became a preferred development choice for countries worldwide, Ghana not excluded. Castellani and Sala are of the view that socio-cultural heritage can play a relevant role in tourism in developing countries, (2009, p.122-123). As the recent OECD report on The Impact of Culture on Tourism (2009, p.21) noted, cultural tourism accounted for almost 360 million international tourism trips in 2007, or 40% of global tourism. In value terms, the contribution of cultural tourism is even greater, since cultural tourists generally tend to spend much more on the average than other
tourists. Consequently, due to this increase in the attractiveness of cultural tourism, it is realized that it has become harder for destinations to profile their culture among the muddle of products on offer, each desperate to claim it's uniqueness. The ATLAS\textsuperscript{20} research has indicated that the experiences enjoyed most by cultural tourists tend to be those small-scale, less visited places that offer a taste of 'local' or 'authentic' culture. Beeton calls these ‘pull factors’, i.e. appealing attributes of a destination that influence the decision-making as to where to go, (2006, p.36). Tourists increasingly say that they want to experience local culture, to live like locals and to find out about the real identity of the places they visit. In this vain, it is safe to say that new forms of tourism packages must be developed to meet this demand.

\textbf{2.4 Tourism for development-truth or farce?}

Without a doubt, tourism is a development indicator. Development is a dicey term, so I would not go full-fledged into defining it. But in its most basic form, it is concerned with human betterment through improvements in lifestyles and opportunities, (Wahab \& Pigram, 1997, p.34). Kamamba explains in his 2003 report that, “development calls and creates an opportunity to transfer income from the more privileged to the less privileged; and among other things, enhances cross-fertilization of cultures and is an indication of cross boundary achievements”, (p.1). With regards to tourism, Urry (2002), in Shaw and William (2002, p.6) define it as simply all travel except commuting. Kamamba again analyses that, “tourism has increased due to more leisure time, more income and high mobility, as a result of increased car ownership, national and international road/sea/air public transportation systems and information technology”, (2003, p.1). This statement leads me to question then, if tourism is an indication of development, or it is a contributor to development? Wahab

\textsuperscript{20} Sourced from \textit{The Impact of Culture on Tourism} at www.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/display.asp
and Pigram note that in as far as the most referenced document on sustainable development- Our Common Future- does not mention tourism at all, then there already exists an under appreciation of the significance of tourism; despite the fact that this sector contributes greatly to job creation and income generation, (1997, p.110). Cultural heritage in particular, has been noted as not impacting significantly on tourism development in certain countries where it occurs, (such as Ghana) despite being a huge factor in such travels.

Cultural heritage then, by popular opinion, thus warrants the economic base of a given area. It is clear that ecotourism, in the strictest sense of the word, still only accounts for a small proportion of the total tourism market. Taking the WTO’s full definition of tourism into account, there’s a risk that ecotourism alone will fail to fully realize the potential to support more sustainable development across the entire sector – suggesting that there may be real benefits trying to make all of the Travel and Tourism industry more sustainable\(^{21}\); cultural being a case in point.

### 2.5 Heritage, Culture and Tourism inter-linkages

Unfortunately, “recognition that cultural heritage is worth protecting is only a recent development dating back to the Second World War”, bemoans (Hall & McArthur, 1996 in Kamamba, 2003, p.3). Sethi (2005) decries that not enough money is spent on the maintenance of natural and cultural heritage resources with the latter not well addressed on any literature on sustainable development. Nonetheless, cultural heritage plays a significant role in sustainable development. The issue of authenticity is always present wherever cultural heritage tourism is being debated however. To

\(^{21}\) Gathered from Sustainable Tourism- Turning the Tide (p.1) at www.stakeholderforum.org/fileadmin/files/SF../bp_tourism.pdf
Urry (2002, p.9), the authenticity can be found in the everyday lives and expressions of the people.

Cultural tourism (or culture tourism) is the subset of tourism concerned with a country or region’s culture. This form of tourism is also becoming generally more popular throughout the world, and a 2009 OECD report\(^\text{22}\) has highlighted the role that cultural tourism can play in regional development in different world regions. Cultural tourism has been defined as “the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs”\(^\text{23}\). Tourism can present both advantages and problems. On the positive side are the unique cultural practices and arts that attract the curiosity of tourists and provide opportunities for tourism and economic development; especially when there is an existing heritage site housed nearby, and there is a well-marketed destination management area to take advantage of. On the negative side is the issue of how to control tourism so that those same cultural amenities are not destroyed and the people do not feel violated\(^\text{24}\).

Over the past couple of decades, heritage and tourism have become linked throughout the world. Tourism is used as an economic justification for heritage preservation, because it serves to preserve artifacts found in many parts of the world; indeed, historical artifacts and their associations have always been one of the tourism industry’s most marketable commodities, (Timothy, 1997 in Christou, 2005, p.4). It can be argued that the early twentieth century’s ‘grand tour’ around historical sites in search of educational or cultural knowledge was, along with the tradition of the religious pilgrimage, one of the oldest motives for travel, (Burkhart and Medlik, 1974 in Christou, 2005, p.5). It is said that, tourists however pay homage to an enormous array of objects that occurs hence the need to capitalize on the different centers that may exist in one locality. In relation to Butre, the attempt here also is to see what

\(^{22}\)Sourced from *The Impact of Culture on Tourism* at [www.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/display.asp](http://www.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/display.asp)

\(^{23}\)Culled from *Cultural Tourism* at [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_tourism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_tourism)

\(^{24}\)Culled from *Cultural Tourism* at [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_tourism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_tourism)
different facilities (cultural) might exist outside the artifact that might be an attraction to tourists in general.

As with tourism, there is no widely agreed-upon definition when referring to heritage tourism or to cultural tourism; in fact, there have been lively discussions (and in some cases strong disagreements) among researchers trying to distinguish cultural tourism from heritage tourism, according to Christou (2005, p.5). However, for the purpose of this study, and in agreement with this and other researchers’ views, I would state at this point that the term ‘heritage tourism’ would be used to refer to historic sites and buildings and the experiences which people seek to have in them, according to Hayward and Devlin (1998) in Christou (2005, p.5). This notwithstanding, the term ‘cultural tourism’ has been used interchangeably with ‘heritage tourism’, and the same will occur in this work.

Heritage tourism is a subgroup of tourism, in which the main motivation for visiting a site is based on the place’s heritage characteristics according to the tourists’ perception of their own heritage. Some other well-known researchers in heritage tourism have adopted another approach, mainly focusing on the past and on nostalgia. According to this view, heritage tourism is a form of special tourism that offers opportunities to portray the past in the present. Tourists show particular fascination in the real lives of others; and this can only be found backstage- creating therefore, an obvious intrusion into people’s lives, says Urry (2002, p.9). Gazing on history has caught on in some areas, notably Britain which has successfully specialized in selling history.

This is not peculiar to Britain alone. In Ghana, some coastal areas, which served as homes for colonial powers, package this fact to attract tourists. Butre community which is a community of some 1,000 inhabitants located in the western region of Ghana, has a legacy which seems to suggest that its story and history is of extreme interest to the hundreds of tourists who troop there each year, perhaps not only to explore Fort Bastenstein which is housed there, but possibly also to revisit the history and perhaps experience the heritage surrounding the colonial power. Is the culture,
way of life and lifestyles of the people any draw at all? To what extent are the people involved? Sections below further explore these angles.

2.6 Participatory community involvement

“Taking into consideration the complete tourism supply chain”, said Gabor Vereczi, Chief of Quality and Environment at UNWTO’s Sustainable Development of Tourism Department, “Heritage sites cannot be managed in isolation”25. The several vehicles that affect the supply chain from transportation to information services, accommodation etc. must be considered. The community is an integral part of this chain. Beeton (2006, p.47) says that community development must be acknowledged and considered in the light of those visiting to experience the traditional indigenous lifestyle.

A holistic and all-encompassing discussion on the issues of tourism sustainability in the specific location amongst all actors is not only important but also imperative, because it must make the tourism industry accountable to locally defined development guidelines. This is evidenced in Butre’s Town Tourism Development Committee (TTDC), albeit there is the limitation posed by the sitting number of 7 with only 3 being currently active. It was born out of the desire of the whole community to collectively benefit from the proceeds of the thriving tourism industry that exists there. This 7-member committee has for the past few years been in charge of managing the community’s tourism resources and proceeds. Castellani and Sala (2009, p.14) indicate that among the 12 aims for sustainable tourism identified by UNWTO/UNEP is- local control, i.e. engage and empower local communities in

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25 Extracted from Seminar on Ecotourism and Protected Areas in Africa: Contributing to community development and conservation Summary Report (p.21) at anna.spenceley.co.uk/.../UNWTO_Report%20Ecotourism%20Protected%20Areas.pdf
planning and decision-making about the management and future development of tourism in their area. Another one is cultural richness—i.e. respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, tradition and distinctiveness of host communities.

The true proof of ‘sustainable tourism’ will be the sustainable development of local communities that serve as tourist destinations. According to Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.9), evaluating a community’s sensitivity to tourism development is the first step in planning towards sustainability. As pressure for tourism in growth gathers, the need to promote sustainable tourism development in harmony with community expectations mount. As already mentioned, tourism activities can in particular, degrade the social and natural wealth of a community. Specifically, a constant stream of tourists in and out of a locality can disrupt the social relations that may exist there. This is particularly a problem where tourism business is centered in traditional social systems, such as isolated communities or indigenous peoples. To this end, Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.12) say that, authenticity of experience often resides more in people than in a given place, but there must be a balance between host privacy and visitor satisfaction.

Most literature on the subject adequately mention the benefits of tourism to developing countries; but it is also worthwhile to consider that it can have the opposite effects on the environment, i.e. local culture/economies if not well checked. Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.113), say that destination areas carry with them the potential seeds of their own destructions, as they allow themselves to become more commercialized and loose their qualities which originally attracted tourists. Also oftentimes profits tend to be ‘misplaced’. Thus, it is advocated that we examine further

\*\*\* Gathered From Tourism And Sustainable Developments/sustainable Tourism: A Local Authority Perspective Background Paper # 3 Prepared By The international Council On Local Environmental Initiative (p.4) at www.Scribd.Com › Research › Business & Economics \*\*\*
the levels of power and control; given that effective management is key to controlling this negative trend. Cultural integration therefore is a way to go to achieve this.

To Richards and Hall (2000, p.27), the key thing to note here is the scope of participation i.e. the number participating from among the relevant community stakeholders. Sharma (2004, p.3) says that not all community involvements are sustainable. Butler and Hinch also say that though indigenous culture has become a powerful attraction for tourism, there are several fundamental issues that challenge the long-term viability of indigenous tourism initiatives, (2007, p.3). A major one being that culture is dynamic. Local communities are identified as being at the receiving end of the negative results of visitor influxes such as price hikes, loss of privacy etc. Which is the reason why such issues that affect community well-being be factored into planning and implementation activities. To this effect, “by involving the local communities and other stakeholders in the planning process it might, be possible to avoid some of the potential conflicts between visitors, residents and the environment”, says (Timothy et al, 2003 in Kamamba, 2003, p.7). The challenge to this assertion as indicated by various researches, is that not everyone in the community can be involved or understand the processes. So all said and done, participatory community involvement can only go so far, and do so much.

2.7 Summary

The catch phrase ‘tourism for development’ might not be so much of a fallacy after all. Heritage tourism as a sustainable development force is increasingly being recognized on the African continent, and also other parts of the developing world. The involvement of a strong heritage-aware local community would greatly impact on this
development effort. This involvement is made possible by multi-stakeholder participation which should be operational, consistent and sustained over time.

Butre as a community has laid the foundation for this by virtue of being part of the west coast destination management area, first and foremost; and by having an existing TTDC (albeit a bit an under-functioning one). It is also well-placed by housing a significantly renowned heritage site- Fort Batenstein which continues to attract attention not only from the Tourism Board; national government; but also from international interest organizations because of its UNESCO-recognized world heritage site status. The issue of culture being an under utilized resource generally, and with specific relation to the Butre community is advanced in this study.
3.0 Methodology

This chapter details justifications of methods and methodological considerations as well as how I went about choosing location and respondents, collecting materials and analyzing them.

3.1 Method, design and sample

My objective before embarking on this specific study was to examine first and foremost, to the extent possible, local community knowledge and identification with the historic artifact- Fort Batenstein. The second objective was to further explore heritage tourism development potentials of this site and the extent to which the culture- i.e. the everyday lives of the people of Butre is intertwined with it.

Given the above, face-to-face exchanges that allows for greater observer-participant interrelation was imperative. A qualitative study consisting primarily of semi-structured informant interviews, and some amount of observation was therefore employed- i.e. ethnographic. Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings by methods of data collection which capture their meaning and ordinary activities, involving researchers participating directly in the setting, according to Neergaard and Ulhoi (2007, p.98). I was searching for ‘thick descriptions’, nuance and meaning, and to do this I needed to study behaviours in everyday, naturally-occurring contexts. Culture in its most anthropological sense is the product of the social interactions of everyday life, (Gray, 2003, p.2).

The choice of the semi-structured type of interviews was to ensure that a greater amount of time is spent with respondents, while at the same time being able to effectively cover all the different elements in the questions that I was pursuing. It also allowed me to better understand motives and feelings- important components given
my objective, which could perhaps have been lost if I were to employ another method. Additionally, it allows for reflexivity on my part as the observer. Reflexivity in this kind of study is essential, as I needed to understand that social research is part of the world that it studies.

These interviews were semi-structured in that I consulted my questionnaire guide as I went along. Observations were also a major aspect, as I needed to see for myself a bit of what the respondents were describing. This was because, as a researcher veering into a sort of one-sided look into community-tourists engagement, (because I only looked at hosts); I needed to observe for myself what this relationship constituted. Observations and studying journals must complement the interviewing process, as advocated by Neergaard and Ulhoi (2007, p.410).

This method, like all other qualitative research methods has its advantages and disadvantages. It works for me in this instance in that, it gives room for a deeper understanding of the issues; but the limitation here is that more often than not, it would be a product of my own thoughts and interpretations on the subject. A researcher’s self and identity would affect the meaning attributed to the data, as affirmed by (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p.241).

*How the interviews were made:*

What I intended to find from my time in the community was in a couple of strands. First I wanted to know their level of historical knowledge based on if they were natives or migrants, so I asked questions related to the history of Butre community, Fort Batenstein and the European colonialists etc. And in relation to this, what values are placed on the Fort.

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27 Full questionnaire in appendix
Secondly was local tourism knowledge- i.e. perception of why tourists visit and their experiences with them; the current site management institution and how it evolved etc.

Thirdly, I looked at cultural awareness and integration by asking questions such as: what are some of the community tangible/intangible cultural norms; how are they often portrayed and how can it be further promoted?

In addition, I asked the tour guide/tourism committee chairman questions bordering on tourist traffic and statistics, tourist behavior etc.

Which brings me to the point of who was interviewed and why. I employed what is known as purposive sampling to select key informants in the community to interview. A purposive sample is one in which respondents are selected by the researcher subjectively. The researcher attempts to obtain a sample that appears to him/her to be representative of the population and will usually try to ensure that a range from one extreme to the other is included. In short, purposive sampling is best used with small numbers of individuals/groups which may well be sufficient for understanding human perceptions, problems, needs, behaviors and contexts. Each of the 8 respondents that I interviewed in total was specifically selected to represent a particular group. They are the TTDC chairman, a tour guide, a traditional leader, an elderly inhabitant, a middle-aged inhabitant, a youth, a local government official, and a member of the town cultural troupe. Gender wise, there were 4 males and 4 females.

I wanted to blend in as much as possible-look like a local, but just after a few hours into my very first visit to Butre in February, I had to give up that idea. This notwithstanding, I was a black woman who spoke some of the local language Akan (albeit with a very funny accent) and that was enough to get me going. By the 2nd visit to Butre, when I met Auntie Vida, and Ekow with whom I spent a greater part of that

\[28\] Culled from Sampling at http://www.cemca.org/books/chap13.htm
particular visit; I was well versed in the daily lives of these people, i.e. what they do, how they do it, and how these processes relate specifically to my study subjects.

### 3.2 Methodological considerations

My approach is ethnographic as stated above and the analysis was interpretive in a way that allows me to have an understanding of the social construction that characterizes Butre. “An interpretive approach provides a deep insight into the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it”, says Andrade (2009, p.43) quoting Schwandt (1994). Reflecting on this statement, I essentially sought to get a deeper understanding of ‘what is’, from those whose daily lives are rooted in it. Here again, Andrade notes that, “Interpretive research assumes that reality is socially constructed and the researcher becomes the vehicle by which this reality is revealed”, (2009, p.43). In my study also, the interface between the informants on one hand, and I as the researcher on the other, seeks to show forth this social order. This then becomes my ontological and epistemological premises- that this social reality is created specifically by humans through interactions, and that findings would evolve as investigation proceeds.

I would attempt to justify this stance somehow. Interpretive analysis is intended to develop understandings into the representative meanings of experiences for participants. I went into this study conscious of the fact that people and things are always connected in someway; that everything has a meaning, thus every detail counts. I needed to attribute to each practice of everyday life some meaning somehow, that could explain why it is so. To further explore this, I needed the interpretive ethnographic standpoint. Essentially interpretivism would help me answer the ‘question’ why do people do this. I needed to Immense myself in this in order to find it.
Since I didn’t intend to prove (or disprove) anything by this study, but rather to examine what is and therefore to increase knowledge; the methodology (how research proceeded) was Abductive. Reasoning moved therefore, from relevant evidence (specific) to the best possible explanation (principle). “Abductive reasoning typically begins with an incomplete set of observations and proceeds to the likeliest possible explanation for the set”\(^{29}\), as pertained in particular, in my study. I employed the use of micro-ethnographic styles of interaction analysis to study the construction of social order. As studies show, it is intended to be reflexive so as to allow for the researcher to identify the understandings (biases) with which s/he approaches the research, and acknowledge its ability to influence interpretations got, (Marcus, 1999b and Scholte, 1972 in Davies, 1999, p.148). Data was processed manually (by reading transcripts, generating themes and identifying patterns from the responses). Even though some recording was done and later the transcribing; much of the information got was through the taking of copious notes.

### 3.3 Process

I concentrated on interviewing and observing community people over different time periods between the months of February through to early April. Butre is heterogeneous community- natives and a few migrant inhabitants. 2 local languages are mainly spoken, one native and the other migrant i.e. Fante and Ahanta respectively. I spoke very little of both languages which meant that I needed a translator for at least 3 of my interactions with the informants. Adapting to different ways of posing the questions to different informants was necessary throughout the process. Deep probing was vital also for me, whiles conscious not to lead respondents.

\(^{29}\)Sourced from *Deductive, Inductive and Abductive Reasoning* at [http://www.butte.edu/depa ... /reasoning.html](http://www.butte.edu/depa ... /reasoning.html)
During the 2nd weekend of February, I embarked on a ‘pre-test’ sort of trip to investigate methods; and also sort out practical details, such as whether I would need an interpreter, and whether it would be easier to conduct my interviews with a known community member. Additionally, I looked at what kind of community approaches I needed to employ, do I need to revise my notes and questions, whether I needed a letter or prior appointment to speak to village heads etc. I arrived there on a Friday night. I did a transient walk through the community and went up to see the fort before retiring to speak to my contact. Because I did not do any interviewing on this trip, it was an opportunity to engage in much observation. I however tried to as much as possible, not let what I observed influence how I asked questions and interacted with my informants on subsequent visits. Consequently, I was introduced first of all to the homestay owner, who later became a respondent; and the other contacts were made gradually as I proceeded with the field exercise. Most of the interviews took place at their work places, except with the elderly ones who I had to visit in their homes.

These are the descriptions of the 8 people I interviewed in no particular order30:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quayson</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>TTDC chairman</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Esi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fishmonger</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auntie Vida</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>former farmer and cook</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Tour guide</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekow</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Fishmonger</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Traditional leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Shop/Homestay operator</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 To maintain anonymity of research, all names have been changed
3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations during this study, just like any other was taken seriously. This is because with all the good intentions a researcher might have, coupled with excellent craftsmanship and due diligence on his/her part, representing ‘others’ is always inevitably a complex undertaking that raises questions of ethics and representation. Representation has consequences- how people are represented is how they are treated, according to (Richards & Hall, 2000, p.5). Nevertheless, the subjects themselves should be the focus, so that their voices could carry forward meanings and experiences that might be dissimilar to those of dominant discourses and practices. The position of the ethnographer is vaguely present but not addressed, taking note that ethnography trespasses on the domain of the ‘other’, said (Gray, 2003, p.7). However, given that in reality, what is observed and heard is then understood based on what the researcher’s own influences are; then I guess it is fair to allow myself also some margin of error with interpretation. Our intuition, senses, and emotions are powerfully woven into and inseparable from this process, and we are inviting an ethics of accountability by taking the chance of being proven wrong, says (Thomas, 1993 in Madison, 2004, p.8); to buttress my point.

Ethical relativism approach, according to de Laine (2000) assumes world is socially constructed and open to various interpretations, in Neergaard and Ulhoi (2007, p.116). The position as researcher also creates (unintentional though it may be) power relations, which needed to be managed. More often than not, it translates into respondent biases which lead to the “conflicts and inconsistencies in the statements made by the informants (or community insiders)”31. As mentioned earlier, mine own attitudes and biases toward the community and its culture also needed to be addressed. Some perspectives also changed during the course of the research. I must say that I have had some informal engagements with the west coast destination management area and was acquainted with at least half a dozen people who worked

31 Sourced from Deductive, Inductive and Abductive Reasoning at http://www.butte.edu/depa ... /reasoning.html
in various NGOs/ private sector operatives involved with it. Hence I had heard stories of the people, resort owners, tourist lifestyles etc. This said, I did go into the community with preconceived notions of how this person would act; how this particular situation would play out etc. However, all this had to be managed carefully and this is reflected perhaps in the analyses where I simply looked at what was observed and heard, and not any prior knowledge I had had.
4.0 Analysis and discussions

The fieldwork greatly informed what I am presenting in this section. Findings to do with the key themes of participatory communication, culture and history would be gone through. Firstly, I would revisit my research questions and what specifically I intended to find out by asking those particular questions. I would then look at Butre as a historical community and the emerging perception of the cultural setting that exists there-i.e. their way of life. Lastly, I would look at local community participation in tourism; and conclude with a discussion on how various factors of which globalization is one, could influence how communities showcase their culture.

4.1 What I investigated

These findings came from interviews undertaken as well as what was observed over the period spent with respondents in the field. Since it is not possible to account for every answer that was received; I would relate answers to the particular responses where necessary. My objective was to ascertain if and how the Butre community can more sustainably advance cultural heritage in the area by identifying the ties between the lives of the people and the Fort Bastenstein, (which is the heritage tourism draw). Here I looked at the distinct ways they as a people represent their everyday experiences, as demonstrated through their actions, events, behaviours etc. I investigated cultural interactions with tourism in the area; and the level of local knowledge and awareness. This notwithstanding, I expected patterns, categories, and themes to evolve as data collection proceeded so I was careful about imposing them a priori.

The first strand of questions was basically demographical:
What is your status here, are you a native or a migrant? How long have you lived here? What do you know about the history of this 'artifact'; and the Butre community? Etc.³²

Answers to this strand of questions informed me as to the status of the respondent; but more importantly it enlightened me as to how knowledgeable he/she is with regards to the history of the artifact/community. It enabled me to see if information on this history is readily acquired whether orally or otherwise; and what personal or communal values are attached to it. The not so obvious discoveries from these set of questions is how community people are engaged with the artifact and the resultant tourism draw. Participant attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and practices emerged as they responded to these questions, but were also evident from what was observed as they went about their daily routines.

In my encounter with the informants, and considering that I asked the questions randomly, and interspaced with questions about their personal lives and work etc.; I discovered that they immediately provided that they were either from the community originally or were migrants and how long they have lived there; sometimes without even my asking and kept referring to it a few times during our discussions. Disclosing this fact to me was very important to them; as if they had the need to justify why they responded as they did to my enquiries. Both Quayson and Bernard, who were very well versed in the history of Butre and had greater interactions with tourists, emphasized that they have been living there all their lives and I should consider what they say seriously.

The second strand of questions constituted the bulk of what I intended to investigate. It was about existing awareness of local culture and the possible modes of integrating it. Questions asked were:

How would you describe general awareness of cultural heritage in this community, particularly the intangibles? What are the examples of the intangible culture norms in this community? How are the music, dance, and oral, culinary arts, drama, folklore traditions of these people being promoted? Etc.

³² See appendix 1 for full questionnaire guide
The correlation between these set of questions and those before are not immediately obvious; hence the answers took some time to arrive, which was good as the intention was to get respondents to think deeper and reflect more on the answers. As expected, the answers got displayed the various levels which the respondents occupied with respect to what they know about and regard as cultural norms. For one, they did not really know what it was. Ekow, the 24-year-old fisherman for instance, could not really say anything about it despite how many times I kept coming back to that question; and this was not peculiar to him. Given that when we say culture here, we mean the ‘way we are’; I expected informants to be quite vocal in describing each and everything that identifies them. However after I prodded and got across to them what I meant by cultural norms, they then started telling me all there is to ‘traditional’ life in Butre. Nana Esi, who sells a traditional cooked meal, then told me, “ahh, sometimes I would be selling my ‘etuo’ here and when the ‘obroni’ come and buy they ask me all sorts of questions about how it is made”. She then went on to recount a story of a certain tourist who wanted to remake it herself at her place. These are indications of the things that could be lost under the radar when we put a problematic tag like ‘culture’ on them; and this is especially significant since what I was looking for in particular as cultural norms are examples such as this.

Thirdly, I looked at community tourism awareness and participation through questions like:

*Who manages tourism in this place? Who constituted this arrangement and why? Are there instances when you do not have access to this site, and/or any of the natural resources around it? Why do you think tourists come here? Etc.*

Answers to these questions were also another important component of what I intended to investigate. To effectively digest these answers, I needed to distance myself from any prior conceptions I had. The need to practice reflexivity was particularly important here. Since my own work in the area involved some direct
knowledge of tourism in the west coast destination management area\textsuperscript{33}; I had to put aside my preconceived concepts, and listen to the people as much as possible without assuming for them or trying to answer the questions I presented myself. “This process of self-examination and self-disclosure about aspects of your own background, identities or subjectivities, and assumptions that influence data collection and interpretation” is very necessary\textsuperscript{34}.

I asked those directly involved with local tourism operation these additional questions:

\begin{quote}
How many tourists come here and how often? Describe the type of tourists who come? How do they hear about this site? Why do you think they come here? Etc.
\end{quote}

Answers obtained here did not stand on their own; I used some secondary data which was obtained from local tourism records; and also did an assessment of the west coast website\textsuperscript{35}; I as well employed what I had observed during the time I spent hanging round the tourist information center and the homestay. It is recommended “one shows evidence of triangulation, a systematic process of looking across multiple data sources for findings and confirming or disconfirming evidence”\textsuperscript{36}. This said, since basically there are no ‘correct’ or ‘wrong’ answers but rather personal accounts, triangulation does not really suffice here.

As already mentioned, observation is a major aspect of finding information and understanding the processes fundamental to my study. It was particularly important for me because, community members were initially not very informative, and I later observed that they are generally simply people who did not say much to outsiders, the

\textsuperscript{33} The NGO I work for has a tourism component which I am not directly involved with; but I do have some knowledge of what pertains in the sector

\textsuperscript{34} Quoted from \textit{Qualitative Research (Critical Ethnography Guidelines)} from http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/sec_document.asp

\textsuperscript{35} www.ghanawestcoast.com

\textsuperscript{36} According to \textit{Qualitative Research: (Critical) Ethnography Guidelines} at http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/sec_document.asp?CID=476&DID=2157
moment they perceive you as one. By this I mean mostly tourists, and the occasional visitors who are there for reasons other than visiting family/friends. I later discovered from a couple of the respondents that the severe illiteracy—i.e. the lack of understanding of the English language, is a strong reason for this. “I do not understand the English they are speaking, so I cannot talk with them, except say hi or hello”- Auntie Vida. Given that Auntie Vida used to at some point provide meals at her home for some tourists who were affiliated with her husband, this is hard to reflect upon. Subsequent interactions revealed that, even though her oral dialogue with them might have been limited; there were still exchanges from both sides. Most of what she recounted to me about tourist behaviours are things she had observed.

4.2 Butre as a historical community and its cultural heritage

How do the community people of Butre see it as a historical town? I must say that the findings with regards to this particular theme were particularly surprising and revealing for me. I discovered quite a lot, when researching secondary data literature about Butre (and Fort Batenstein for that matter) from a myriad of sources, (chiefly the internet and the local tourism office), about the rich history of Butre and the significance of this area as far as the colonial history of Ghana is concerned. I immediately assumed that such knowledge was readily available to community members through oral storytelling or otherwise; but I was to find out that it was not so. Most of the respondents shared the general view that they are not privy to such information especially those not directly involved in the area’s tourism. “I don’t know anything about the fort because I am not from this area, I only came here with my husband to work”. This was supplied by Aba, the migrant fishmonger who has been living in Butre for the past 12 years, and is part of the traditional dance troupe known as apetemma. Apetemma by the way is one of the dance pieces performed in this area. The dominant one in fact, whose origin goes back decades.
Auntie Vida, who is 83 years old, informed me that she was part of the troupe that performed this, years earlier. She stated that interest in this however has waned, even though in recent times they are performed for tourists at the resorts. This fact was collaborated by both Aba and Nana Esi. This detail is interesting on many fronts. On one hand is a dying tradition resurrected due to tourist interest and generating economic benefits; and on the other hand is a community taking a giant step back into its past, to pick up an age-old established norm to be repackaged and showcased and offered for sale to tourists; even though it does not presently occur in the daily expressions of these people. Sharma (2004, p.89) says tourists often demand ‘authentic’ exhibition of culture and lifestyles which are considered different from their own. He identifies 3 types of cultures attractive to tourists but susceptible to change, i.e. inanimate forms e.g. buildings and monuments; normal everyday life and activities; and animated forms like festivals. My emphasis here is on the second type. However also, the preservation and conservation of the animated ones can contribute not only to the strengthening of the social and cultural identities of host communities but also to the stimulation of economic activities. In this regard, what pertains in Butre with respect to the rebirth of the dance form apetempa can be seen as a positive outcome of tourism. In addition, the commercialization of culture can bring about positive results in this locality; unfortunately though, this is just in the domain of generating revenue for Butre, and this revenue could be used for other things aside the development and betterment of tourism here.

Not all such touristic influences are positive however; the negative effects include changes in traditions, customs, languages etc. The authenticity of displayed culture is another debated area. What grave changes did the apetempa receive to merit being showcased to visitors in a way that they would understand and appreciate? It must be noted that, tourists often come with preconceived notions for which reason they would find that ‘authentic culture’ is too different or odd to fully comprehend. In such instances, it is not uncommon to find cultural norms being altered to respond to expectations.
For Sharma (2004, p.102) however, it is not a bad idea for hosts to preserve and maintain cultures if nothing at all, for future generations without thinking about if or not there is a demand from tourists for it in the present.

My initial encounter with any community member was with Quayson, the 70-year-old chairman of the Town Tourism Development Committee (TTDC). My immediate impression of him was someone who was not just very knowledgeable about the history of Fort Bastenstein and the Butre community; but was also very engaged with the culture there. I observed a lot from my interactions with him; as well as those between him and the community members on one hand and tourists/visitors on the other. I was regaled with tales of the area and its history, a combination of myths, fiction and facts. It was on subsequent visits that he admitted that most of them were made up, mostly by him. This points to the fact that story telling still remains a strong form of oral communication in Africa. “This tales are never short in supply to tourists”, was what he said and I observed that it was so. Tourists enjoyed hearing them and lapped it up. Once again, it is a case of demand-driven cultural norm. Tourists who visit (and stop by the Tourist Center) are very interested in the story behind every rock, stick and art piece, so to say. From what I perceived from Quayson's narrations; tourists are often disappointed and do not believe that these pieces, songs etc. do not have a story behind them. In order to satisfy this curiosity, he started making up one tale after the other and now has dozens on offer. My research revealed that these stories are not on record anywhere. Quayson’s personal opinion is that, these stories should be published and formerly adopted, as historical recounts would be bland without these colorful anecdotes. I must say that I agree with him, I spent hours soaking up these stories and later took photocopies of the short stories with me to my hotel room to read. Afterwards, I left them there knowing that the next occupant (tourist) would be interested in reading them and might even carry them back home with him/her.

An analysis of the tourist registration book (at the tourist office) as well as what was provided by Quayson, Bernard and Grace indicates that no particular trend exists
amongst the visitors to Butre, and for that matter Fort Batenstein. One is led to conclude that the tourist who visits this fort is just that, a tourist. Not necessarily a heritage tourist, cultural tourist, ‘black’ tourists etc. “The tourists come here because of the fort, beach resorts, and the popularity of the west coast destination management area”- Bernard. He continues, “The tourists who come here are mainly students, volunteers, travelers etc. They hear about the place from Busua (neighboring community, also a big DMA). They see the Butre community in the distance from Busua and want to visit it. They also read about it from the travel guidebooks. Some of them too, come here without thinking they will see anything particular and end up seeing the fort”. At this point, it might appear hasty to be making such a generalization but a bit further into this discussion, you would understand the rationale behind it. Quayson supplies here that, “In telling stories of the colonial period and Fort Bastenstein to tourists, I usually leave out the parts about the Dutch fighting with the local Ahantas when I find out that my audience is Dutch.” “Why is that?” I asked and he replies that, “I just don’t like telling them unpleasant things about our past and theirs”. Even though this is an isolated case, it still points to the issue of authenticity, which is raised by countless researchers about just what is presented by hosts to tourists.

4.3 Perceived cultural setting

What the people of Butre perceive their everyday lives and activities to be, (and made available to tourists) is what I am driving at in this section.

“Note that because of its firsthand, experiential nature, ethnographic knowledge is necessarily tied to particular contexts and periods of time; though most contemporary ethnographers view it as important to acknowledge the instability and ever-evolving
nature of the cultures under study"\textsuperscript{37}, as advocated in the \textit{Critical Ethnography Guidelines}. I took this into account and investigated to the extent possible the likely evolving nature of culture in the Butre community; and its individuality from those of neighboring cultures, given that it is a heterogeneous community open to constant entry by fishermen from neighboring communities with different cultures.

Even though I put forth generalizations about the culture as I experienced it researching for this study; I still state and make room for what is peculiar to the study site alone in terms of diversity and heterogeneity. The culture at Butre, as I observed it to be, (and heard from responses) follows a similar pattern, so I’m a bit cautious about making claims that I insist apply to all, considering the fact that I did interview only a total of 8 people. To almost all the informants I interacted with, the culture as it is (the everyday life) is not that much of a ‘big’ deal- i.e. they do take it for granted. "The food we eat here is Fante kenkey, rice, gari...I think that is all; and its like elsewhere"- Nana Esi. Ekow was also of the opinion that the culture here is not solid/substantial or rooted enough; “the ‘apetempa’ and the rest- people are not interested anymore”. Surprisingly, he was also quick to state that the commercialization of these norms could have benefits that go beyond financial. In fact he was one of the two inhabitants who identified that linking culture to tourism creates/fosters a sense of unity or community feeling. It is said, “the benefits to the host may include reciprocity, community pride, tolerance and a stronger sense of ethnic identity”\textsuperscript{38}.

It is interesting to reflect on what Ekow said with regards to his interactions with the volunteers who visit and spend some time in Butre. He mentioned, "\textit{They follow me to fish on the river, and I sometimes visit them}". He also mentioned that he regards this as one of the positive experiences of having tourists/visitors in the community. Despite

\textsuperscript{37}This portion was culled from \textit{Qualitative Research: (Critical) Ethnography Guidelines} at http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/sec_document.asp?CID=476&DID=2157

\textsuperscript{38}Quoted from \textit{Cultural Impacts of tourism: a literature review} at http://city-tourist-attra ... literature.html
an obvious language barrier, this interaction brings him closer to an understanding and perhaps an appreciation of other cultures. In the 2010 paper, Valachis observes that, “residents are educated about the outside world without leaving their homes, while visitors significantly learn about a distinctive culture”. However, Bernard laments that, “The general awareness of intangible cultures in the community is sadly lost, like the ampe game, the ‘apetempa’ and folktales. I think however that, awareness can be simply raised by meeting as a community, forming groups and deliberating on ways of revitalizing it”.

He further supplies that, “If the community members are aware that they can commercialize it and get paid for it, then they will be keen to revive it. This cultural linkage would bring additional revenue and promote cordial relationship between the community people and tourists”. This indicates the simplistic way they look at what the solutions could be. Simply acting out culture to tourists whether for money or otherwise will not suffice in this case. This brings me to the very important point of authenticity, which is a well-beaten drum as far as tourism is concerned.

I can conclude from Richards and Hall (2000), that the issue of authenticity is inevitable in any discussion on heritage and tourism. The question of authenticity is always raised here because the ‘genuineness’ often is the very basis of tourist attraction to a destination, the number one quality in most cases. The general thinking from here is that, tourists would inevitably be witness to staged authenticity as opposed to any genuine experience from a touristic context. Going by what informants think, and what I observed in Butre, I believe that this statement unfortunately has in it some bit of truth. In witnessing the funeral event39 where young ones were seen dancing to ‘hiplife’/hip pop; and then later on observing the play of traditional folk songs (accompanied by traditional instruments) at the beach resort to tourists; I could make this judgment. Phenomena such as this illustrates that when events which are no longer part of everyday life are however portrayed to tourists as if it were (because

39 Described in opening lines
they are expected, therefore demanded); then one can indeed begin to cry foul that ‘authenticity’ has been violated.

It is noted that the demands of particular cultural tourism products easily outstrip the supply in many areas. In effect, the staged authenticity which has been discussed earlier is put forth to satisfy this demand- evident in certain cultural lifestyles been portrayed to tourists as if they were everyday occurrences, when in actual fact it is not so. Valachis (2010) further notes that the staging of such artificial experiences is a way for the visitor to remain out of touch with the places visited, ironically. Examples such as the native dances in Hawaii, fire-walking display in Fiji, and mock wedding ceremonies in Tunisia, are cited to support this. Bernard, the tour guide provides an explanation of experiences such as this in particular reference to Butre, “The culture is not so solid here because of the heterogeneous nature of the community. To the extent that we sometimes invite dancers from the neighboring town of Asemasa, who are purely indigenes to come and perform some traditional dance pieces during our events and festivals”.

“Tourism can turn local cultures into commodities when religious rituals, traditional ethnic rites and festivals are reduced and sanitized to conform to tourist expectations, resulting in what has been called reconstructive ethnicity”, an idea put forward by Mathieson and Wall (1982), and identified by Valachis in his 2010 paper. There is also the chance that some destinations are simply marketed to conform to a general sought-after standard; instead of carving a niche. This assertion is at the risk of being true in Butre as well going by what some respondents feel is the solution to having greater community involvement/higher profitability of the sector. Nana Esi states that, “we know in certain areas like Kumasi and the north; people travel far to come and watch their dances but it is not the same here”. Aba is also of the view that, “if we have photos of our dances, and festivals done into a brochure and placed at the tourists offices, then it would become very popular”. This kind of thinking has its merits though. Rithie and Crouch (2003, p.20) say that destinations can look at ways of marketing themselves competitively whiles staying sustainable. They explain that
competitiveness is viewed as combining both assets and processes where assets are inherited or created, in this case Fort Batenstein; and processes can transform assets into economic results. It is less and less a product of natural endowments, but then more and more a matter of strategizing. A marketing strategy, which places images and information of Butre at the places where tourists can access them, opens doors for such strategic tourism development.

4.4 Local community participation in tourism
Local community participation is essential to sustainable heritage tourism development, as introductory literature indicates. A local community’s culture is directly related to this development. A critical look at the setting of traditional everyday life, i.e. behaviours and activities in Butre would throw more light on the prospects if any. I must point out that I discovered here a culture of divorce from national/community artifacts. Indications show this is true also for their association with Fort Bastenstein. “There has not at any point in time been restricted access to the fort, yet I haven’t been there much. I don’t know why tourists come here, but I see them when they do come- Nana Esi.

The interactions tourists have with locals during their brief stays could lead to better relationships being fostered between these two (often antagonistic) groups. At Butre, this particular propensity of tourism is definitely lacking although pockets of it may exist (as exemplified by Ekow’s personal account). Vida, the 83-year old resident also notes that “I have had very little contacts with typical tourists; except the Peace Corps and other volunteers who come for relatively longer periods and do some things for the community like teaching school or constructing houses”. Narasaiah (2004, p.42) says that when only a few open-minded people seek to submerge themselves in the culture and society of the host country, this may lead to more interaction and intercultural understanding, and is more sustainable. Bernard, the tour guide whose job it is to
interact with tourists admits that it is sometimes very difficult to interact with the tourists. “They can be quite stubborn, when you ask them to come and register, they don’t want to. Some tourists too do not trust the tour guides, which makes for a very uncomfortable situation”. Sharma (2004, p.228) decries that the positive impacts of tourism are mostly financial and the negatives are to do with social and cultural understanding. With Bernard (and the other tour guides) experiences such as these, which he admits can be quite unsettling; it is easy to see that the economic benefits might be the only motivation for carrying on with it. In this vain, one can see that the promotion of tourism here is only intentioned to bring about increase in cash revenue as opposed to a holistic all-round development of the community.

Agya Boamah, the traditional elder however appreciates that all is not negative as far as relations with these tourists are concerned. Some positive experiences with them as he recounts, is the effort made by some tourists to interact with him despite speaking limited Fante; though he admits that more often than not, he is not greeted despite the fact that he is seated right at the foot of the fort. This to him is worrying given that in the traditions of the Ghanaian culture, into which he is deeply rooted; acknowledgment of the elderly is the norm. He intimated that this practice might be rubbing on youth in general. It is necessary to reflect that between generations, norms change. Individuals, regardless of the source of that influence, initiate all cultural changes. These individuals simply adapt to different ways of acting as they continually come into contact with diverse norms and attitudes.

Culture apart from being the way people live, also embody the values that shape these individuals collectively. A deeper understanding of this culture through ethnographic enquiries sometimes leads to biased representations of social life. This is because as researchers (though unintentional), we sometimes interpret things said without considering the whole context in which it is reported. Grace, the homestay owner remarks that, “tourists are difficult to deal with and understand; like for instance, they take things away from my home and give conflicting commands”. At another point though, she notes, “some are however very friendly and give me advises about my
business”. She recommends that it is important to know each individual’s quirks in order to better engage with them; but admits this is difficult due to the short length of their stay. Beeton (2006, p.5) acknowledge that each community, i.e. the host and visitor influences the other, thus any change to one would affect the other. Consequently, tourism is one of the most significant community development tools, particularly in indigenous/remote communities.

Sometimes also, one might be tempted to put forth some interpretations to things left open by informants; and as a researcher you have the right to do so. Especially if you are coming from the point where you have some prior understanding through previous research. “There is unlimited access to the fort by the community members but they do not go there often, if at all because they always see it and it is no longer a novelty to them” – Agya Boama. To the outsider, this might not be the only reason why the indigenes do not visit. Maybe a lack of understanding of the tourism process-why tourists visit, how the management of the site works etc., could account for this. Moscardo (2008, p.3), states that certain factors can limit local access to certain places; conflicts being one. It has been identified that when there are gaps in community knowledge of tourism; this could become a critical barrier that leads to lack of local tourism leadership, causing the domination of external agents, or the emergence of few local leaders as in the case of Butre’s TTDC. The institution of an effective coordination mechanism, partnership and cooperative ventures are suggested ways of overcoming the barrier; but in the first instance, a community must have the capacity to do this. In Butre, the various informants (who are not involved in the TTDC’s work) displayed different levels of knowledge when asked about the formation, institutionalization and the workings of the TTDC. Ekow says, “Quayson and his team look after tourism here. I do not know their name or why they do that”. Auntie Vida also pointed in the direction of the Tourist Office when asked about the custodians of tourism management in the area. These existences limit citizens’ abilities to engage in the dialogue on development of tourism in their area.
4.5 Influences on culture

Sharma (2004, p.88) says that tourism development has often been wrongly accused of being the sole agent of rapid social and cultural change in host communities. Other reasons such as globalization forces and national/international media influences play a major role. Globalization in particular, and its effects on local indigenous culture is a topic that has flooded the many debates and discourses at various forums all over the world. The culture of Butre, whatever it exists as, is not immune to these influences. A walk through the narrow lanes of the small community will reveal TV antennas and the occasional satellite dish; an indication that despite the rural nature of the community, access to the outside world via television is very much important to them. Exposure, albeit very little to tourism could be a factor in this. Butler and Hinch (2007, p.8) say there are multiple cultures interacting in an indigenous tourism context-the host indigenous culture; the mainstream one that dominates the national/political region; and the global culture that characterizes the international tourism industry of which the host destination management area is part. Quayson affirms that, ‘Civilization also, has eroded the little cultural norms we had significantly, e.g. storytelling- which parents used to do for their kids in the night around the fireside”. His motives for saying this stemmed from the fact that he believes the reasons why the youth in particular are unable to provide any concrete recounts of Fort Batenstein’s history, and that of Butre is because the old daily tradition of storytelling has disappeared with time.

Shaw and Williams (2002, p.26), say that the term globalization is widely used in tourism studies suggesting somewhat imprecisely that there has been intensification and a geographical widening of the linkage between places leading to the internationalization of tourism and leisure cultures etc. Relating the globalization debate to sustainable tourism therefore is not too far fetched. This said, the thoughts on this phenomenon are not rooted in pessimism and negativity. Tourism does not necessary rip local cultural settings apart just because it is a factor in the civilization that Quayson talks about. The exchange of cultures that takes place is something which should rather be embraced. Sharma (2004, p.94) is of the opinion that if
tourists are tolerant of host cultures and hosts are in control of the relation (though most often than not, this is not the case), then such a positive cultural exchange can be possible.

4.6 Summary

Culture being dynamic is not just another cliché; hence it must be at the forefront of any ethnographic study on the subject of sustainable tourism that is put forth. This culture would constantly be displayed in whatever form it exists at any particular time; and when there are price tags on it, then the propensity for them to be altered/adulterated is higher. This culture also is open to influences from a myriad of sources. These changes have pros and cons; but locals must note that the pros lie in their ability to maintain control of the sector's development in their locality. A community having an active knowledge and ability is inherent to this. Cross-cultural influence however is unavoidable and must be contained.

By all means, the fort would hold different meanings for different people; both to those within the community, and to those out of it. As long as it exists in the community however, the destination management area tends to milk it for all it's worth. Destination competiveness behooves on strategizing according to the particular peculiarities of the area. Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.34) are of the opinion that, that the goal is not to perpetuate tourism at all cost, but rather to work towards asking the question whether and in what form might tourism contribute to sustainable development and lays the focus then on means for assessing and ensuring that a particular type of tourism is appropriate for a particular situation. Studying the tourism context of Butre from the point view of the hosts is one step towards this assessment and understanding.
5.0 Concluding reflections
A lot has been discussed in the previous chapter about the level of awareness of heritage and culture on the part of community members and the form in which it exists in Butre presently. This chapter attempts to bring it all together by looking at what are the possible suppositions for future heritage development in Butre given the present state of knowledge and engagement by inhabitants. It also proposes some recommendations and concludes.

5.1 Possible Suppositions
Based on the current level of disinterest in the history of Butre and Fort Batenstein, it is fair to assume that this knowledge is at the verge of going extinct. This goes to answer or reinforce what I sought to find out in my first research question about level of knowledge concerning the site’s history and the perception of its value. When I asked Agya Boama, the traditional elder of Butre- in his capacity as the custodian of the history, laws and stories of Butre whether he passes on this piece of history to the younger ones in his community, he answered in the negative, “I would certainly tell it to them if asked, but no one has done so”. The fact that migrants feel they should not be knowledgeable about the history of Butre and the Fort because of their migrant status despite having resided there for more than a decade, is an indication of the level of disengagement with their host community. This is further evidenced by the responses given to probings about cultural norms existing here as well. Ekow, the 24-year-old fisherman born in Butre to migrant parents regards himself a migrant and responded that his lack of appreciation of Butre’s culture is due to his migrant status.

Another note of concern is the detachment of community members of Butre to the management and development of tourism in Butre in general, and Fort Batenstein in particular. This is found from the second research question about the interrelation between the heritage site/artifact and the people; as well as the third question which talks about level of community engagement with the site’s development. Analyses of
responses to probes on the subject suggests a trend where those not directly involved with tourism i.e. being tour guides, TTDC members etc. are not aware of the inner workings of the TTDC despite it being a unanimous community agreement to put this committee in charge. Some respondents did not know the full composition of this committee or even the name. The implications of such an occurrence on local community participation is enormous. Studies show that heritage tourism is likely to be made more sustainable with the active participation of community members. When such participation is absent due to many factors chiefly lack of identity with that sector, and an attitude of ‘that is them, this is us’ on the part of the community members; then such a quest to implementing sustainable tourism using this route in a particular destination area is defeated. This leads to a situation where community members and tourists lack an understanding of each other resulting in possible conflicts and negative experiences on either part. Overall, this puts the entire community in a position where they are unable to negotiate with government or the relevant authorities about putting in place policies and structures to promote and improve tourism in the area. The most important implication however is for the culture of the place and the high risk that cultural products would be developed for commercialization purposes without truly reflecting the everyday culture of the area.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Heterogeneity, hospitality and friendliness
The heterogeneous nature of Butre, which has been touted, as the cause of the lack of a solid cultural standing should be rather hailed as a positive element. Also the positive things about the culture such as friendliness and hospitality can be tapped into. Not surprisingly, majority of respondents mentioned that the positive experiences they have had with tourists have been when they interacted with them in
an informal friendly setting. Ekow says, "I however interact with the volunteers who live and work in the community, I go fishing with them and we exchange gifts which is a positive experience for me." Grace also said this about the tourists who visit her homestay, "Some of them are very friendly, they chat with me and give me advises about my business". As previously noted, such exchanges allow for a climate where individuals from different cultural contexts come to an understanding that fosters mutual growth; and these exchanges occur at the points where hosts are engaged in their normal everyday activities.

5.2.2 Culturisation and Globalization

This phenomenon of the cross transfer of cultures is a necessary evil as far as tourism is concerned. Nevertheless, it must be embraced, as its potential to improve the sector is enormous. Aside this, these cross-cultural relations aid in drawing people to an acceptance of the diversity in our various cultures; and we come to the point where we realise that what actually unites us as a people is more that what divides us; case in point, the universal values of hospitality and friendliness. Western cultural influence cannot be done away with altogether, as long as we live in what has now become known as the global village. Thus we must remember the growth and development that these tourism arrivals and activities bring to the local area. Aba says, “The positive thing about tourists’ visits is that the area is gradually being developed; they buy land here and build hotels etc.”

Closer contact between peoples and the exchange of human resources and ideas across national borders can lead to greater cultural diversity and enhance cross-cultural understanding. However, globalization also places pressure on local cultures and patterns of life, which will in some cases be in danger of disappearing altogether. It is at the same time important that local culture and knowledge are taken into account as an integral component of development programmes in sectors such as
education, health, agriculture and water – both for the benefit of local communities and as a contribution to continued global cultural diversity. Moscardo (2008, p.16) says that tourism has the potential to bring great benefits, but in the same breathe, cautions that tourism has frequently failed to live up to the unrealistic expectations that are placed on it. Tourism should not be approached as the solution to all of the destination management area’s social and economic problems. It only works when the foundation for all other developmental initiatives has been laid.

5.2.3 Strengths of a community

This is a significant recommendation to make here as inquiries to do with community participation, their culture etc. were well advanced. Wherever tourism research occurs, less appears to be written about the role of sociocultural aspects such as local community involvement in the development of sustainable tourism. In Africa, and which by inference is true for the Ghana and Butre context; the community is a strong feature. It is goes without saying that without holistic community participation and involvement, tourism development cannot really be expected to be sustainable. Sustainability is important because communities need to support themselves on the basis of available resources. Fort Batenstein is an asset that Butre as a community, is lucky to have. As a UNESCO-recognized world heritage site, the potentials for its future development are endless. This development can only be made sustainable if it involves the active participation of the community members whose lives are intertwined with it, because they live close by. This development should however provide trade-offs of what is the greater good which should be sustained, (and who decides), between individuals and communities, and the experiences that tourists seek to have in them.
5.2.4 Future Exploratory studies

The field exercise in itself is not useful just because it revealed the depth of knowledge of these people. It is also an opportunity to identify gaps that could be filled by continued research. The research on demand for cultural heritage has only begun scratching the surface, and while motivations and segmentations are important for site managers and marketers, there is a need to investigate deeper into understanding human experiences at places of historical importance, according to Timothy and Boyd (2006) in Isaac (2008, p.28). I have by this study, only began this process.

A future study on heritage tourism development in Butre could explore ways by which the culture, or rather the everyday life of ‘Butreans’ could be portrayed to the outside world. Not the fake or ‘non-authentic’ culture, but rather the real just made more vivid and appealing. Aba says strongly, “I feel the culture of the area could be promoted through radio adverts, TV ads, announcements and in tourism brochures; we would get financial benefits in the end”. In this way, community members can be involved and maybe seeing their own everyday lives portrayed in appealing, interesting and vivid colour might make them develop a greater appreciation of it too.

5.3 Endnotes

A WTO conference on cultural and heritage tourism according to Isaac (2008, p.18), suggested that culture and tourism have a symbiotic connection. Arts, crafts, dances, rituals and legends that are at risk of being forgotten by the younger generation may be revitalized when tourists show a keen interest in them. This definition is more political correctness than reality, unfortunately, he says and I agree. There is a need therefore to recognize that heritage tourism is a part of cultural tourism in a broader sense and that for most tourists, culture is a secondary attribute in the choice of
holiday destination and may not be consciously rated at all. The important thing is to remember that cultural tourism is driven by attractions; and for attractions to be developed, maintained and sustained, it needs people. Tourism, community development and cultural integration can be brought together to work towards the mutual benefit of all parties involved.
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Appendix 1: Interview guide

General questions for all:

Personal Bio

- Name, Age, Occupation, Language spoken, Educational Background, Marital status

Historical Knowledge

- What is your status here, are you a native or a migrant?
- How long have you lived here?
- What do you know about the history of this ‘artifact’?
  - Vis-à-vis this community?
- How did you come by this knowledge?
- What are some of the values you place on this place?
  - Personally, and as a town?
- How would you pass on this knowledge to your children?/others

Management/Development

- Who manages this place?
  - Who constituted this arrangement and why?
- What can you as an individual, and a community do to contribute to the development of this site, and the people living here as a tourist destination?
- How would such a development take place, in what shape or form?
- What are the benefits to be derived from such a development, individually and as a community?
• How do you see this development affecting your personal live, positively or negatively?

• Are there instances when you do not have access (or the right kind of access) to this site, and/or any of the natural resources around it?

Additional questions for local community members

Tourism Knowledge

• Why do you think tourists come here?

• When tourists come to visit this site, do you see them?
  -What is the level of engagement you have with these tourists, as an individual and as a community?

• Experiences with tourists, negative or positive?

• Are you aware of the current government tourism plan being implemented with regards to this place?

• How were you involved in this process if at all?

Additional questions for local tourism officer and tour guides

• How many tourists come here and how often?

• Describe the type of tourists who come?

• How do they hear about this site?

• Why do you think they come here?

• What do they want to see know?

• What else do they want to see apart from this site?

• What are some of their experiences, negative or positive?
• What is the latest government development plan for tourism?
• How does the current management and development of these sites fit in with this overall plan?
• By what arrangement did the government come by this plan?
• What do you think should be included if it’s lacking?
• How do you see the future for these communities and their people if this is done?
Appendix 2- Additional Notes from field

Butre is a small migrant community in the Western Region; with the inhabitants stay going back over five generations having arrived here at the turn of the century, from the neighboring Central Region. I took my first visit to this community on February 12, a Saturday. The purpose of this visit was mostly to observe. But I met the talkative Quayson, who provided me with the above information as well as many others during the course of the total of 12 days I spent in the community. I set out from the Regional capital that morning armed with the directions to the place and contact details of key people including the assemblywoman, a local tourist center officer, and a chief.

I arrived at the town, and the first thing I see after getting out of the bus is Fort Batenstein of course, an imposing and breathtaking structure nestled on the hill just on top of the community. Butre itself is pretty quiet, and clean. The next thing I see of course is a small kiosk with the universal signage for information, ‘i’ written boldly on it and the words ‘Tourist Center’, so I knew I had found just what I was looking for.

Quayson:

I immediately met Quayson who welcomed me heartily despite not knowing me, having never seen me before or even hearing of my intended visit to the community. I must say that even though I had the contact details of some key informants prior to this visit; I never intended to call them beforehand to perhaps set up an appointment. It was more of for persona protection just in case I was stranded. In a way, this is his way of receiving visitors to the community and the tourist center- with stories of the place.

I found out a lot about not just the fort, the community, and tourist life in general but also about the man- a former assembly member for the community, and who doubles as a tour guide and a member of the community Tourism Development committee. All these I got from him, in small doses from many different days as he tended to digress a bit at times. He told me the following:

“Fort Batenstein was built in 1640 by the Dutch and was abandoned in 1872 till 1969 when it was revamped by a Dutch historian whom I met and knew personally. ...but it
wasn’t until in 2005 when one American Peace Corps volunteer, Chad Hamilton came in to work with some of us to set it up as a tourism destination for the community. He helped to institute the benefit sharing system where the chiefs only take a small percentage. It was through his direct intervention that, this was managed by the Butre Tourism Committee and no longer by the chiefs; or even the district\textsuperscript{40}.

The fort however was a service fort and not for slavery. History has it that when ships passing through these waters break down; they are anchored here because the bay is quiet. I learnt this bit of history in elementary school and I in turn have been educating the people here through story telling. I have written 23 stories on the history of this place and want to publish it into a book. It is titled, ‘An anecdote from the Ghana west coast’.

Other places of interest here to tourists are the beggars rock and the rock bed - the rock bed is a table of ancient rock revolving around community members not farming on Saturdays. The ‘beggars’ rock is also has a tale about the place nearby where the people revere and sacrifice animals at; I made both of them up.

They also express interest in seeing some traditional dances and this is performed by a local troupe; they dance the local dance ‘apetempa’ to paying tourists. The TTDC has a membership of 7 but only 3 are currently active. Personally, the values I place on the Fort in this community are seen in my daily life as my work revolves around it. For the community as a whole though; they just view it as something that is part of their lives, even though as individuals, some people individuals may look beyond and see the potential it has as a tourism-drawing edifice.

Tourist numbers are particularly high during the month of November through to January, but peaks in August. These tourists come from all walks of life, not particularly the Dutch alone but other Europeans namely Germans, the French and the British; but mainly it is the Germans and the Americans.

\textsuperscript{40} Please note that all this information has been condensed, paraphrased etc.; although mostly it is the respondents own words.
The negative impressions/experiences that the tourists receive is mainly that begging children hound them, but this has since ceased.

He is 70 years old, a former seaman and assemblyman, now a farmer and chairman of the TTDC. He has had formal education up to the ‘O’ level; a bachelor and a trained tour guide. He is a native, born here and has lived all his life here except for frequent travels in the past to go and work, but not anymore since he retired.

In his own words, he loved history and was always curious about it so he searched everywhere for answers- books, questioned old people etc. He recounts tells this history to tourists but lives out the bad aspects of the colonial era, to be precise- the slave trade. To him, this fort has a high tourism-attraction potential even though it is not as large as the Cape Coast Castle.

The cultural norms as exists in the area, to him include the Kundum festival and dance troupes that dance ‘apetempa’. He says that the culture is not so solid because of the heterogeneous nature of community. To the extent that they sometimes invite dancers from the neighboring town of Asemasa, who are indigenes to come and perform some traditional dance pieces during events and festivals. Civilization also, has eroded the little cultural norms they had significantly, e.g. storytelling- which parents used to do for their kids in the night around the fireside.

Cultural awareness generally is going down and difficult to raise because people are not interested anymore. Hence, it would not only be very difficult, but it would also take a long time before we can get to the point of well branding, and commercializing our intangible cultural norms; such a link though will be beneficial and financially rewarding.

The tourism involving the Fort and every other attraction in Butre is currently under the management of the TTDC, formally the Fort Bostenstein Tourism Development Committee. All the community members instituted this arrangement unanimously. There is unlimited access to the fort by the community members but they do not go there often, if at all because they always see it and it is no longer a novelty to them. Tourists came
here for many reasons but mostly for leisure and to explore the castle. Does not see all tourists, but has a great amount of interaction with those he sees because of his position.

The positive experience he has had with them is the financial benefits- because they live him tips. The negative ones however revolve around some tourists not minding him when he approaches them in his capacity as TTDC chairman/tour guide. Last year, a total of 1,667 tourist visited, 138 in each month, 36 in each week, and 5 in a day, on the average. Majority of them are students and are Germans or Americans. They hear about the place from the Internet so are already aware of where they are going and what to expect to see. Tourists are curious about knowing the town, population, demographics, lifestyles of the community and its people and the relationship between the fort and the community. They also want to see the rock bed, crocodiles, monkeys, they are also interested in the stories he writes and encourage him to get it published. He is not aware of any specific government plans for the fort but feels that the government is generally now very interested in tourism and this will one day cause some positive changes to be effected in the fort and its management/development.

Auntie Vida:

She is 83 years, a widow, speaks only Fante, and has had no formal education. She is a native who has spent all her life at Butre. At first encounter, it appears she knows very little about the fort, which is just about 200 meters from her house and quite visible from where we sat to talk.

The closest encounter she has had with knowing something about the fort was when a Dutch man, Mr. Van Datzig arrived in 1969 to rehabilitate the fort and she cooked meals for him, as he was a friend to her late husband and a constant visitor to their home. Her grandmother though, told her the Dutch built it. This is the only knowledge she has so tells this to her children, grandchildren etc. The only value she can see of the fort is that, it brings tourists to the community; personally though she has no real connection to the place. The general impression I got from her is that, about intangible culture norms has eroded with time. Some of the dances in her time have gone extinct. She used to be part
of the drumming, singing and dancing troupe called ‘apetempa’, which has now being commercialized (previously, was all for entertainment).

She is aware though that the TTDC manages tourism in the community, or rather the individuals in the TTDC. She doesn’t know why and what the formal arrangement is. The only other display of culture, she can say she was involved in as far as tourists are concerned was when she sometimes cooked meals for them. According to her, now the tourists simply buy food from the town, so in a way, she can say it has been commercialized because it brings in revenue.

There has not at any point in time been restricted access to the fort, yet she hasn’t been there much. She doesn’t know why tourists come here, but she sees them when they do come. She has had very little contacts with typical tourists; except the Peace Corps and other volunteers who come for relatively longer periods and do some thing for the community like teaching school or constructing houses.

But on the whole, she foresees that there would be tremendous benefits from tourism to the community. Heterogeneous nature of community means that culture has been diffused to the extent that they sometimes go to the neighboring village to engage the native Ahantas to come and perform their traditional dances during and after the Kundum festival.

**Bernard:**

*He is 29 years and a tour guide. He speaks Fante and English, a junior high school graduate and is single. He is a native of Butre and has lived here all his life. He seems to know quite a bit about the history of Fort Batenstein; which is not surprising given that he is a tour guide. He narrates that; it was built in 1640 by the Dutch who built it as a services fort, which they then subsequently used together with the Swedish. But they (the Dutch) fought with the Ahanta chief from Busua*[^41], *created confusion between them for a while but were soon resolved.*

[^41]: The neighboring community towards the west of Butre
Some inhabitants of the community, however used the fort, after the colonialists have left; but it was neglected, and then later abandoned. Sometime elapsed after this before they chief of the community came in to take control. He got the inhabitants to clear the fort of weeds, and made it a tourist site. He was in charge of this as well as the proceeds from the tourism venture. Chad Hamilton, a US Peace Corps volunteer helped form the first Fort Bastenstein Development Committee in Butre. This committee, which was formed with some assistance of the Italian NGO Ricerca e Cooperizione (RC); later turned into the TTDC, took over control of tourism at the fort from the chief.

This is knowledge Bernard obtained by consulting chiefs and elders of Butre; and in turn passes it on by telling it to the children. These kids sometimes follow him as he shows the fort to tourists and listens as he recounts the history. The values he sees in the fort is that he sees it as a viable tourism destination, which could and does bring revenue to the community. The general awareness of intangible cultures in the community is sadly lost, like the ampe game, the apetempa and folktales. He thinks however that, awareness can be simply raised by meeting as a community, forming groups and revitalizing it (easier said than done, is my opinion).

Also if the community members are aware that they can commercialize it and get paid for it, they will be keen to revive it. This cultural linkage would bring additional revenue and promote cordial relationship between the community people and tourists. The community’s tourism is being managed by the TTDC; the chiefs, the community and RC instituted this arrangement.

The tourists come here because of the fort, beach resorts, and the popularity of the west coast destination management area. Yes, he sees the tourists when they arrive, but admits that it is sometimes very difficult to interact with the tourists, they can be quite stubborn, when you ask them to come and register, they don’t want to. Some tourists too do not trust the tour guides, which make for a very uncomfortable situation. The tourists who come here are mainly students, volunteers, travelers etc. They hear about the place from Busua (neighboring community, also a big DMA). They see the Butre community in the distance from Busua and want to visit it. They also read about it from the travel guidebooks. Some of them too, come here without thinking they will see anything particular and end up seeing the fort.
They then want to see the lagoon, beggars rock, rock bed, and the coconut rock beach. The positive experiences of tourists are that they speak highly of the place after visiting because of the great service from the tourist center; clean beach and the nice community. The negative experiences include some attacks from robbers/muggers (locals but not natives). He is not aware of any governmental plans for the area.

Ekow:

Ekow is 24 years of age, a fisherman, and married. He speaks only Fante, and has no formal education. He is a migrant from Shama. He was born here, and has lived here all his life. The only thing he knows about the fort is that tourists go there to visit. He knows nothing at all about its history, and for that matter its connection to the community, except some rumors he has heard from some elderly people that the fort was blasted sometime in the past.

He has not thought about any possible value of the place except that tourists sometimes visit it and this generates income for the community.

From him, I got to know very little about existing cultural norms is lacking; but admits that the dance apetempa, folktales and folklores are being gradually eroded. Commercialization of these entities will certainly help a lot if it were possible, he says.

The idea that the dance/music could be managed as a well-organized troupe was advanced by him. This he says would create exposure for the group and the dance/music. Through this, others from outside the area could engage the services of the group, and this would benefit them financially. The benefits of linking culture to tourism extends beyond financial and creates/fosters a sense of unity or community feeling.

He knows the TTDC manages tourism in the area but does not know its full name or who the members are. In addition, he does not know how the community arrived at such an arrangement. As far as he is concerned, there is no restricted access to the area by the locals, but feels tourists must always be made to pay. He thinks tourists come to see how

42 A fishing community about 100 kilometers from Butre, and also in the Western Region
the community Butre is, and to explore the fort. Yes, he sees tourists when they visit but does not interact with them, as he speaks no English. He however interacts with the volunteers who live and work in the community, he goes fishing with them and they exchange gifts which is a positive experience for him.

Nana Esi:
She is 30 years, a fishmonger, and a native. She is married, speaks Fante and Ahanta and has had no formal education. The only thing she knows about the fort is bit about the women slaves been made to satisfy their colonial masters. This she heard from some workers from the Cape Coast Castle who spent sometime in the community working on the renovations work on the fort. The value to the community is that the tourism revenue that it generates can be used for development initiatives e.g. the new bridge across the lagoon was constructed a few years back from the tourism-generated funds. They have unlimited access to the fort but she hardly visits there.

The heterogeneous nature of the community means that culture is not so solid or known. The apetempsa is the only organized foray into cultural display, which bring financial rewards. She thinks it can be further promoted (possibly by the TTDC) to heighten awareness of it. Ananseem (folktales) have been lost as well as the traditional dance atopahum⁴³. Yes, indeed the tourists are curious about their lifestyles; sometimes approaching them to talk to them, buying their cooked local food to taste etc. The positive thing about tourists’ visits is that the area is gradually being developed; they buy land here and build hotels etc. The negative thing though is that they sometimes restrict natives from having access to the area they have bought.

⁴³ Meaning ‘when we meet, pass away’
**Aba:**

She is a 48 year-old fishmonger, married, speaks only Fante, and has had no formal education. She is a migrant (together with her husband) from Komenda\(^44\), and has been living in Butre for 12 years. She is also a member of the apetempa troupe together with her husband and has been a member for a year. The group has 40 members who perform at a myriad of functions including funerals, and sometimes perform for tourists at the lodge on the beach.

In her own words, I do not know anything about the fort and the history because am not from here. But she appreciates that it does have tourism value for the community. She is aware only of the fact that, the TTDC and the whole community decided that the tourism revenue be used for community development e.g. the construction of the bridge. She says they do see the tourists when they come, and that they the locals have unlimited access to the fort. She feels the culture of the area could be promoted through radio adverts, TV ads, announcements and in tourism brochures; we would get financial benefits in the end.

**Grace:**

She is 46 years old and a farmer who also owns operates a shop and homestay. She speaks Fante and Nzema, is married and has been educated up to the secretarial level. She is a native of the town, and has lived here for nearly 30 years.

She knows the fort was built by the Dutch, purposely for ships to dock and reload supplies. She informs me that the inhabitants of Butre community are resettlers. She came by this knowledge through hearing it from elders, and would pass it on orally if asked just that no one seems to be interested. At first she thought the fort had no value until Chad Hamilton came to organize the TTDC that she stated seeing the financial value, and is very happy about this development. She says that apetempa (and local football) are cultural norms, and the community can raise awareness about them by doing it on a weekly constant basis. As far as she is concerned, it has great financial value to link culture to tourism; and cites the example that the local dance troupe as they are sometimes called upon to play at beach resort.

\(^44\) A fishing community some 150 kilometers away and is in the neighboring Central Region
She knows TTDC manages the tourism in the area, and says this was decided on by the whole community. She admits that she does not visit the fort even though locals have unlimited access. She knows tourists come to visit because of recommendations from the tourism office at the capital. When the tourists arrive, they visit the lagoon and other attractions. She sees and interacts with them the because of her homestay. She concurs that tourists are difficult to deal with and understand; and cited example like they take things away from her home and give conflicting commands. Some however, are very friendly and give her advises about her business. She recommends that it is important to know each individuals quirks in order to better engage with them; but this is difficult due to the short length of their stay. She is unaware of any local government plans for tourism management/development despite serving on the local assembly board for several years. She doesn't know much about the tourists who visit, and says that this is because she is handicapped by her limited literacy level.

**Agya Boama:**

He is 76 years, a traditional leader from the royal family, and is married. He speaks Ahanta and Fante, and has had no formal education. He is a native, and has lived here full time for 18 years. The only thing he knows about the fort is that Dutch built it. He came by this information from his elders before him, which he would pass on orally if asked but no one has done so. However he says that, as the chieftain of the community, he knows that the fort opens up the knowledge of Butre to the outside world. He mentioned apetempa, i.e. drumming and dancing as cultural norms displayed during the local annual festival. Communities can raise awareness of it when visitors take pictures and videos and send away, which may be used for postcards and brochures. The TTDC manages this areas’ tourism, and according to him, government instituted this arrangement. He obviously has unlimited assess to the fort being a custodian of the land; and when asked if people can be restricted from accessing it, he said at least the TTDC should be involved.

He thinks that tourists come here because they hear that Fort Batenstein is at Butre. His house is directly located at the base of the fort, and so he is greeted by tourist when they are on their way up and down. Some positive experiences with them as he recounts, is the effort made by some tourists to interact with him despite speaking limited Fante. The
negative one is that sometimes, he is not acknowledged despite the fact that he is seated right at the foot of the fort. He adds that, he sometimes observes the tourist going to view mangroves with some fishermen- evidence of traditional livelihoods.
Observations

At the beach resort/lodge located just outside the community, I observed the interaction between the tourists most of them Europeans and Americans and the local youth from the community, as they sit around a bonfire and strum guitar together, accompanied by some singing and drumming. I observed also on my way to the lodge earlier in the day 2 tourists, relatively young-looking students walking in the community shooing the children away; the kids were most likely begging for money.

I observed also 2 female tourists buying bread and milk at a shop in the community; interacting with the shop owner in Fante. I found out later when I met with them, that they were not tourists but have been living in Butre for a year constructing a new beach resort.

I observed some workers whom I was told were contracted by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) to do additional renovation works on the fort.