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Developing Ghana's Slave Route Project for cultural tourism: Planning and marketing implications

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Ph.D

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

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The Hong Kong Polytechnic University  
School of Hotel and Tourism Management

Developing Ghana's Slave Route Project for cultural tourism: Planning and marketing  
implications

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

June 2013

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Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes

## **DEDICATION**

To the memory of Wilmot Stanley Yankholmes (1944–2012)

## **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates whether a single unified collective memory can be imposed on different social groups of multiple collective memories. While tourism research has problematised the Slave Routes as a dissonant form of heritage, a strong body of evidence from a collective memory perspective suggests that multiple stakeholders with power imbalances attend to it. However, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation's intervention through the creation of Slave Route Project (SRP) has for sometime now promoted the idea of a single global collective memory on the Slave Routes. As result, the central theme outlined by the SRP homogenises and commodifies some memories while de-emphasising others. The study, therefore, draws on Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) thesis on collective memory, and Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concept of dissonant heritage in an effort to identify some verticals as well as parallels in multiple stakeholder articulation of collective slave memories across space and time.

To address the study objectives, a descriptive research design was adopted. This provided the basis for employing a multi-strategy approach to integrate multiple data sources and methods. The study, therefore, draws on elements of both positivist and interpretivist techniques in data collection. The quantitative research employed a questionnaire survey involving 1,028 local residents in five former Transatlantic Slave Trade (TAST) communities in Ghana, West Africa and 566 international visitors. The qualitative research used purposive and snowballing sampling methods, which resulted in 95 interviews involving descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers, traditional

authorities and expatriate diasporan Africans. The primary data collection was undertaken between January and June 2012.

The findings suggest that promoting the idea of a single unified collective memory on the Slave Routes is heavily contested given the subtle uses of collective slave memory within and between the different communities and social groups. Within each community, articulation of collective slave memories implicitly and explicitly reflect the power and social structures which, in turn, influences the uses and terms of meaning attending TAST heritage by the different social groups. Between communities, memory narratives were spatially constructed with different communities having different collective slave memory based on their historic roles during the TAST and local identity that tends to stress the unique attributes of tangible heritage attractions. The results further indicated that visitors to TAST memory sites had different motives and experiences. Some were closely tied to collective slave memory while many were tied to the recognition of some TAST cultural assets as World Heritage Sites and consequent interpretation as well as the presentation of global collective memory there.

The findings underline the point that tourism planning and marketing efforts on the Slave Routes should take cognisance of the complexities of multiple stakeholders and their contemporary use of TAST cultural assets, especially given the changing character of cultural heritage assets due to international tourism promotion. This is epitomised by the development of a conceptual framework that recognised the dominant stakeholders to the remembrance of collective slave memories and the multiple collective heritage created and shared by them.

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## ACRONYMS

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
GMMB	Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
GTA	Ghana Tourist Authority
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IDI	In-depth Interview
MMDA	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MOT	Ministry of Tourism
NRCPP	Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project
PAF	Principal Axis Factoring
PANAFEST	Pan African Theatre Festival
PRAAD	Public Records and Archives Administration Department
SRCTPA	Slave Route Cultural Tourism Programme for Africa
SRP	Slave Route Project
TAST	Transatlantic Slave Trade
UNESCO	United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WHL	World Heritage List

WHP

World Heritage Programme

WHS

World Heritage Site



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Study background

Can a single unified collective memory be attributed or imposed on different social groups sharing multiple contested memories? A well-established body of literature from Sociology debunks the validity of this proposition. The most widely accepted notion is that collective memory simultaneously belongs to different groups and heterogeneous societies (Halbwachs, 1980, 1992). Yet, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) intervention through the creation of Slave Route Project (SRP) is promoting a single global amalgamation of collective memory on Slave Routes in countries affected by the Transatlantic Slave Trade (TAST). Dismissing or ignoring memories associated with the tragic experience of the TAST is not a reasonable and workable option, but promoting the idea of a single unified collective memory is prone to multiple contestations in response to the pertinent question, for whom?

The SRP was launched in 1994 not only to highlight the international *modus operandi* of the TAST but also to deal with its manifold repercussions. Given the multiple interactions that the TAST generated, UNESCO endorsed the idea of "route" to capture the dynamics of social movement of people, cultures and civilizations, while that of "slave" denotes in a broader sense the universal phenomenon of slavery and how it reflects the contact between Africa and the outside world (UNESCO, 2004). The objectives of the SRP are three-fold. The first is to break the silence that has long pervaded academic and public discourse on the TAST and all forms of slavery. This cardinal issue is currently being addressed through academic inquiry. Second, it sheds light on the repercussions of the exchanges between the different people, histories, and

civilizations concerned. Lastly, to encourage intercultural dialogue among the different societies affected by the TAST. These objectives have been pursued through three major activities: multidisciplinary scientific research, education, and cultural tourism. The latter position has been the most viable illustration of the SRP so far. Consequently, some African countries, including Ghana, in dire need of foreign exchange and capital investments in tourism infrastructure by multinational corporations have developed heritage trails on the Slave Routes.

However, the political juggernaut of UNESCO promoting the idea of a global collective memory on the Slave Routes is potentially problematic in at least two respects (Aksu, 2009). In the first instance, political influences at the global scale mean that not all articulations of past narratives are collectively selected and remembered. Not only does this exemplify the importance of understanding the political nature of UNESCO's action, but it also has resonance for unlocking the innate political nature of collective memory. One can discern the subtle political manoeuvring of UNESCO's decision to christen the project "Slave Route" instead of "Slave Routes" to reflect the diversity of routes that supplied captives from Africa to Europe and Americas/Caribbean. The second reason relates to the ability to distinguish the concept of self from the *other*. In other words, the conceptualization of collective memory is useful in appreciating how the different social groups project their discourse against each other. However, when the global becomes the principal arena for memory articulation, there is a blurred line between the 'self' and the 'other' inherent in the understanding of collective memory thereby rendering shared memory ineffective (Aksu, 2009).

Some authors have alluded to the difficulties in developing the SRP for tourism (Teye & Timothy, 2004; Boakye & Dei, 2007; Yankholmes, Boakye & Wellington, 2010). Schramm (2008:79) for example notes that:

*The fact that the Slave Route is presented on the same conceptual and institutional level as the Silk Route, which has had a completely different impact on economic, socio-political, and cultural relations, indicates a distinctive heritage approach on the part of UNESCO, whereby history is treated as a cultural asset and not so much as a powerful political force.*

Similarly, Teye (2009) argues that compared to the Silk Route, which is also being spearheaded by UNESCO as a cultural route product, the SRP is multinational in scope; reaches a larger spatial realm; and subsequently exerts a degree of emotional influence on people of African descent. But it is perhaps more difficult to operationalise the SRP because it inevitably requires better informed planning, training and formulation of clear policies that ensure “balanced development, presentation, and interpretation of cultural resources, as well as sensitization and education of developers, tourism operators, residents, and visitors, both black and white” (Teye, 2009:182).

Others from the product development perspective argue that the Slave Routes presents a dilemma for marketers as its social implications transcend the traditional economic success criteria of efficient and effective marketing (Austin, 2000, 2002). Clearly, these issues illustrate the need for further research as well as formulating planning and policy responses to developing the SRP. It also highlights the challenges facing tourism at sites associated with depravity and atrocities that have received less scholarly attention due to nuances in the dissonant heritage and dark tourism literature (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Sharpley, 2009). According to Ashworth (2003), tourism creates its own heritage and consumes such heritage *in situ*

with local communities who find contemporary use for resources from the past in the same physical space or multiple spaces. As such, tourist access to the host community can also serve to perpetuate conflict to memory, identity and heritage. Despite the notion that former TAST communities are monolithic, integrated and a unified whole, without dissent and internal conflict, evidence suggests that these communities like, all communities, are heterogeneous with varying degrees of power base (Bruner, 1996; Boakye & Dei, 2007; Anquandah, Opoku-Agyemang & Doortmont, 2007; Schramm, 2008). Thus, with a single unified collective slave memory of the community, there is enormous likelihood that the interaction between host and guest will reinforce existing social structures or exacerbate the power struggles to the articulation of collective slave memories.

Whilst the SRP is helping to identify and preserve artefacts linked to the TAST, it fails to recognise the different social groups and collective interests (local residents, descendants of “slaves”, descendants of enslavers, traditional authorities, African Diaspora and tourists) connected to the TAST memory. As a result, the key interpretative theme presented by the SRP erases, reconfigures and commodifies some collective slave memories while museumising others. This has led to multiple contested memories in the construction of heritage and identity (MacCannell, 1976; Gillis, 1994; Gilroy, 1997; Hitchcock, 1999; Lovejoy, 2000b; Graham & Howard, 2008), interpretation of TAST history (Tilden, 1977; Lowenthal, 1985) and dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000).

Drawing from other streams of research on Holocaust memory, Misztal (2003:123) identifies three possible outcomes of contested memories. The first relates to

the misuse of memory through sacralisation. Second, memory can be abused for ideological purposes to which vested interests assert power and influences over others. Third, there is commercial exploitation of memory leading to its banalization and sentimentalization. Nearly all these outcomes encapsulate and underpin collective slave memories and TAST related sites; thus giving its emotional and painful undercurrents (Teye & Timothy, 2004). Although, actual victims and perpetrators involved in the TAST have long died, contemporary social groups (particularly African-Americans) recover the remembrances of their forbearers' traumatic experiences in an attempt to forge a collective identity (Gilroy, 1993; Eyerman, 2004).

Collective slave memories also constitute an ideological weapon for vested interests to exploit. The focus of contestation while occurring across a wide spectrum of issues (involving the transporting, selling, and inhuman treatment of enslaved Africans) become obvious when different stakeholder groups contest to the detriment of each other how best to represent, honour, commemorate, interpret, or even falsify their memories. Because collective memory becomes the language social groups employ to articulate the past in an unbroken trajectory, there are questions regarding the explanatory and narrative contexts to which collective slave memories should be situated or resituated. Commercial exploitation of collective slave memories, as demonstrated by the SRP, would not have been a good illustration but for the socio-economic changes and spatial disparities in development that have taken place within and between communities on the Slave Routes.

The TAST is also susceptible to commercial and emotional exploitation because the SRP presents a “disneyfied” kind of heritage experience epitomised in one collective

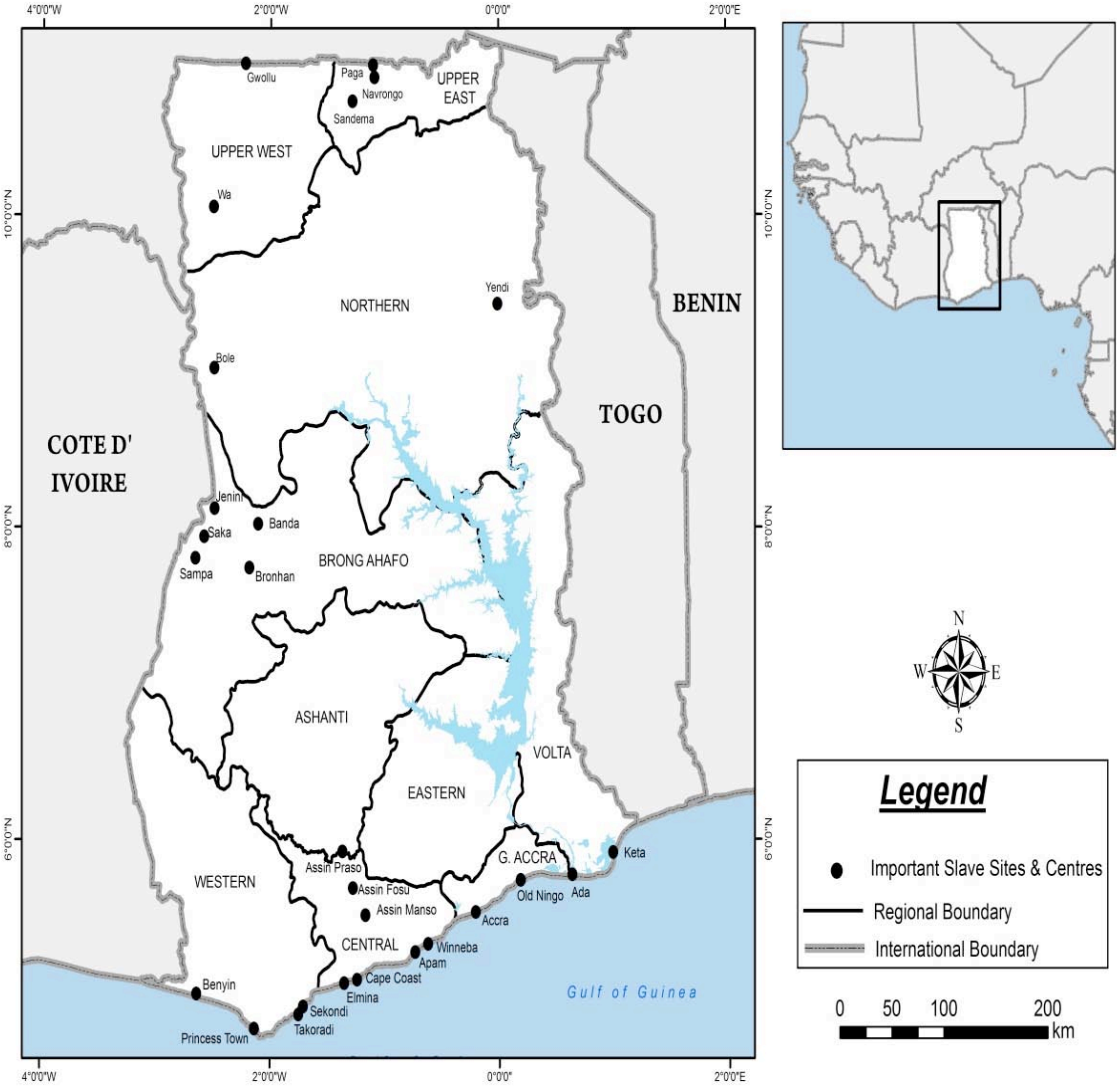
memory on a single route. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) suggest that there is a possibility for individuals and groups to attach different meanings to the same heritage creating dissonance. It, therefore, makes sense that the ascription of heritage is not absolute but determined by the “selective re-creation and reinterpretation of the past based upon contemporary values and ideas the inheritor feels should be passed on to present generation” (Olsen & Timothy, 2002:7). However, what has emerged is that gaining recognition as part of the SRP has taken on the status of ultimate heritage trophy worth fighting for by former TAST communities.

Consequently, the association made in this study between the SRP’s idea of a global collective memory and the polarity of views on how to proceed with tourism based on a contentious past event raise the question: whose collective memory does the SRP seek to preserve and promote for tourism? Given the possible responses to this question, it is evident that this study is not only an academic exercise, but also one with practical importance relative to the planning and marketing of TAST cultural assets in the context of national and international policy obligations and commitments.

### **1.1 Ghana with emphasis on the TAST**

Ghana (then Gold Coast, 1821-1957) is located in West Africa bordered by Cote D’Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east and the Gulf of Guinea to the south (Figure 1.1). It lies approximately between longitudes 1° E and 3° W and latitudes 5° and 11° N and spans an area of 238,535 km<sup>2</sup>. As the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from British colonial rule on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957, Ghana spearheaded the Pan-Africanist movement that encouraged solidarity with people of

African descent on both the continent and diaspora. The country has on account of its relative peace and democratic credentials in the sub-region over the past two decades has enjoyed massive injection of foreign aid and investment from abroad. However, her long history of contact with Europeans through the TAST shapes her relations with the rest of the world, making her a favourite slavery heritage destination in the sub-region.



**Figure 1.1: Map of Ghana showing important slave sites and centres**  
**Source: Adapted from Perbi (2004)**

The history of the TAST has been thoroughly documented by well-known scholars in the field and needs not be repeated here (Curtin, 1967, 1969; Daaku, 1970; Inikori, 1982; Lovejoy, 1982, 1983, 2000; Fage, 1989; Inikori & Engerman 1992; Richardson, 1989; Eltis 1990, 2000; Eltis & Richardson, 1997). Instead, we will point to those developments that inform the objectives of the current study. The TAST was the foremost link between Western Africa, Western Europe, the Caribbean islands, and the mainland of North and South America for at least two centuries.

With European colonization of the Americas and their realization that the indigenous population were physically incapable of performing the regimented form of labour on the plantations, African labour became a subterfuge for ransacking the then African societies and subsequently the enslavement of millions of Africans. According to Lovejoy (2000a), eight principal areas along the Atlantic coast of Africa were used by European maritime powers to buy and ship captives to the New World and western hemisphere.

However, the distribution from the source regions varied, with certain areas producing far more captives than others. The number of captives exported from Senegambia and the Windward Coast were initially higher but were taken over by West-Central Africa (the Kingdom of the Congo and neighbouring Angola) by 1650. Lovejoy (2000a) claims that between 1650 and 1900, 10.24 million enslaved Africans were shipped to the Americas from several regions in the proportions shown in Table 1.1. Earlier, Curtin (1969) put forward a figure of 9,566,100 as the total number of enslaved Africans imported into the Americas and other parts of the new world from 1451 to 1870. Even though Table 1.1 suggest that the TAST peaked during 1750-1850, evidence



compiled by respected historians including David Richardson, David Eltis and Stephen Behrendt provide the basis for more accurate assessment of regions of embarkation and disembarkation (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 2013).

**Table 1.1: Slave exports from various regions of Africa (1650-1900)**

<b>Region</b>	<b>1650</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percent</b>
	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1900</b>		<b>(%)</b>
Senegambia	51,000	109,800	205,100	113,900	-	479,000	4.7
Upper Guinea	4,100	20,000	210,900	160,100	16,100	411,200	4.0
Windward Coast	800	18,500	124,700	38,600	600	183,200	1.8
Gold Coast	85,800	374,100	507,100	68,600	-	1,035,000	10.1
Bight of Benin	246,800	708,000	515,000	520,300	25,900	2,016,200	19.7
Bight of Biafra	108,900	205,200	695,900	446,400	7,300	1,463,700	14.3
West Central	?	806,400	1,525,400	1,458,200	155,000	3,945,000	40.8
South East	?	19,400	44,000	380,700	26,800	470,900	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>497,500</b>	<b>2,261,600</b>	<b>3,828,100</b>	<b>3,186,800</b>	<b>231,700</b>	<b>10,005,700</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Lovejoy, 2000a

Most historians accept that Ghana played an important role in the TAST (Curtin, 1967, 1969; Daaku, 1970; Inikori, 1982; Lovejoy, 1982, 1983, 2000; Fage, 1989; Inikori & Engerman 1992; Richardson 1989). Perbi (2004), for example, surveyed about 30 coastal and 30 inland slave markets, and found *Salaga* as the biggest in the territory of modern day Ghana (Figure 1.1). She reckons that between 1733 and 1807 about 13.3% of enslaved Africans in South Carolina were sent from the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast also supplied 16% of slave requirements to Virginia between 1710 and 1769. In the total English trade, Ghana is estimated to have contributed 18.4% from 1690 to 1807. On the whole, the Gold Coast contributed 12.1% of the TAST period (Perbi, 2004). According

to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (2013), between 1626 and 1700 captives exported from the Gold Coast amounted to 108, 611.

The related consequence was that the various European trading companies from Portugal, Netherlands, Denmark, England, France, Sweden and the Brandenburg constructed numerous trading posts, forts and lodges to facilitate and protect their lucrative trade interests in gold, ivory in the seventeenth century. Starting with the Portuguese construction of the *São Jorge da Mina* (St. George of the Mine) Castle in 1482 to monopolize the trade, Ghana, witnessed unprecedented fortifications (over 60 trade posts) along her 200-mile (500-km) coastline (Daaku, 1970; van Dantzig, 1980; Anquandah, 1999). With steady increase in slave exports in the eighteenth century, some trading forts were reconstructed into castles not only to stockpile human captives but also house expatriate staff, traders and garrisons. In view of this, the trading posts at *Elmina*, Cape Coast and *Osu* (Christiansburg) were extended to castles. Anquandah (1999) observed that each castle could mount 100 pieces of cannons but very rarely used for military action. It appears, however, that each of their underground dungeons had the capacity to hold up to 1,000 captives.

Due partly to the geo-political jostling in Europe for colonial possessions in the new world, the Gold Coast became the battle ground for Europeans traders trying to establish or expand their foothold. The Dutch, for example, vigorously challenged Portugal's hegemony first by capturing the St. George's Castle in 1637 and finally sacking Portuguese interests by 1642 (van Dantzig, 1980; Feinberg, 1989). The English, after the construction of their trading post at *Kormantin* (built in 1618), moved quickly in establishing territorial control and by the nineteenth century possessed as many as

fifteen fortifications on the Gold Coast (van Dantzig, 1980; Feinberg, 1989). After capturing the Swedish fort (known as Carolusburg) at Cape Coast in 1664, they substantially developed the fort into a castle and headquarters of the Royal African Company in 1678. As profits plummeted due to increased competition from the British and other European traders on the coast, and desiring to strengthen trade ties with the East Indies, the Dutch sold their possessions in West Africa to the English in 1872. In 1874, the Crown Colony of Gold Coast was created with Cape Coast as its administrative capital until 1877. In the year 1805, the British Parliament passed a Bill to abolish the TAST after several petitions were sent by abolitionists and anti-slavery activists.

In tune with the polarised debate that surrounds the effects of the TAST on Africa and people of African descent, controversy rages over contemporary use of TAST related assets for tourism. While the two are clearly interlinked, it highlights the peculiarities of memorialization, preservation and interpretation of TAST cultural assets. Essah (2001) noted that Ghana is gradually turning her dark history into tourism's gain. In particular, TAST cultural assets have become flagship attractions for the tourism industry. To this end, the numerous fortified trading posts dotted along her coastline (three castles, fifteen forts, four forts in partial ruins, four with visible structures and two sites with evidence of former fortifications) were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) in 1979 on the basis of Criterion 4 (which stipulates "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history"). Timothy and Teye (2004:115-6) identified three reasons why Ghana is presently the preferred slavery

heritage destination in Africa. Firstly, it is evident that Ghana holds a major place of importance as the TAST left the country strewn with historical monuments. Secondly, it is equally evident that the numerous fortifications on Ghana's coast illustrate her pivotal role in Europe's engagement with Africa witnessed until the 1950s; and thirdly, her role in the TAST probably reflects the disproportionate number of African-Americans tracing their lineage to Ghana. However, Ghana faces stiff competition from other West African countries such as Gambia, Nigeria and Benin that have developed niche markets targeting members of the African diaspora. Nonetheless, Ghana's comparative advantage over her compatriots is her status as an English speaking country. This is an important consideration because African-Americans obviously constitute a single linguistic market unlike other diasporan Africans in Caribbean and Latin America, who speak various languages (e.g. English, French, Spanish and Portuguese) and various derivations of local and European languages (Timothy & Teye, 2004:115).

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

The major streams of previous research on the Slave Routes have examined tourism from the concept of dissonant heritage (Bruner, 1996; Austin, 2000, 2002; Essah, 2001; Timothy & Teye, 2004; Teye & Timothy, 2004; Schramm, 2004, 2008). A major thrust of the argument is that given the emotional pain associated with the TAST, any contemporary product created from such history is controversial in many aspects and may, consequently, not work. However, the perplexing argument in relation to the Slave Routes is that there are many interest groups and multiple stakeholders with power imbalances attending to it. Without any consideration of this issue, the SRP has not only failed to include coverage of more or different heritages, but also ignored the nature of

the contestations and their underlying causes. In the process, the reconstruction and articulations of the past are contested in the terrain of authenticity and truth (Megill, 1998; Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003).

By the same token, theoretical understanding of multiple stakeholders and social groups involved in remembering, forgetting and commemorating the TAST is weak. Indeed, few researchers have examined the multiple contested collective slave memories and linkage to TAST cultural assets; if they did, they would have given prominence to the differing levels of legitimacy in consideration of whose past is to be remembered and whose should not in commemorative ceremonies and opposing viewpoints on how TAST cultural assets should be developed, managed and promoted for cultural tourism. For example, Dann and Seaton (2001:20) took the debate from the dark tourism perspective and referred to the ‘domination’ framework but observed that its application to the TAST is untenable because it faces a double blind situation: “if slavery heritage is not memorialized, it can be read as suppression; if it is commemorated, such heritage may be construed as unethical or compromised truth”. Hence, it is important to develop a theoretical framework that explains the multiple contestations to developing TAST related assets for cultural tourism.

Developing the Slave Routes for cultural tourism is contested, not in the sense of a grand political conflict versus, say, UNESCO’s idealism of global collective memory and between collected memories, or African Diaspora cultural identities versus *other* tourists, or between descendants of “slaves”, and descendants of enslavers or local residents versus cultural outsiders, although it contains elements of these. The contest is within and between different social groups and mnemonic communities with their

attendant power/influences, which tend to include and exclude others to the remembrance, meaning and use of TAST heritage assets. How then do we approach the multiple contestations of collective slave memories involving different stakeholders in the management and promotion of the SRP for cultural tourism? First, deal with the dominant social groups and collective interests that lay claim legitimately or not to collective slave memories. Second, examine the multiple heritages created and shared by the different social groups each of which ascribes different meanings. If these suggestions have any merit then this study brings temporality and spatiality within Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) theory on collective memory and Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concept of dissonant heritage to bear in examining the phenomenon. The study's foundation is interdisciplinary, venturing into the fields of history, anthropology, archaeology, sociology, strategic management, heritage studies and tourism studies.

### **1.3 Research questions**

The key research question examined in the current study is whether a single collective memory can be imposed on different social and interest groups with multiple contested collective slave memories. Based on this, a series of core sub-questions are explored:

- whose articulation of collective slave memories should be privileged in the interpretation and representation of the SRP;
- what does 'identity' mean to the different social groups in the articulation of collective slave memories and how does it affect tourism;
- what are the underlying dimensions explaining the multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes;

- to what extent does multiple contested heritages provide a workable basis for developing the SRP for cultural tourism; and,
- to what extent does the articulation of collective slave memories highlight the spatial challenges of developing the SRP as a cultural tourism product?

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

The main objective of this study was to examine the multiple contested collective slave memories inherent in developing the SRP for cultural tourism. The specific objectives were to:

1. explore the different community articulations of collective slave memories in the portrayal of slavery heritage tourism;
2. ascertain the contestations of expectations, behaviours and experiences of visitors to former TAST communities/sites;
3. analyse the underlying heritage-related dimensions arising out of the development of the SRP;
4. propose a framework for examining multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes; and,
5. establish the implications of the above four objectives for slavery heritage tourism planning and marketing.

#### **1.5 Significance of the study**

This study contributes to existing knowledge in both theory and practice. As noted above, much of the literature on slavery heritage tourism utilizes the concept of

dissonant heritage (Bruner, 1996; Ebron, 2000; Austin, 2000, 2002; Essah, 2001, Shackley, 2001; Boakye, 2003; Boakye & Dei, 2007; Reed, 2004; Schramm, 2004, 2008; Timothy & Teye, 2004; Teye & Timothy, 2004; Leite, 2005; Teye, 2009; Yankholmes, Akyeampong & Dei, 2009; Yankholmes *et al.*, 2010). It is obvious that heritage dissonance on the Slave Routes is driven by the presence of multiple stakeholders who have different goals and viewpoints on developing tourism on their (embarrassing) past. However, the sustained application of the concept by writers in different case studies has not provided sufficient theoretical justification of why the Slave Routes are contested. A theoretical framework that appears to have the potential to address the central paradox of such multiple layers of contestations to the ownership, use, conservation, preservation, commemoration, interpretation and representation at TAST sites is Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) theory on collective memory.

In addition, despite attention paid to dissonant heritage, an understanding of the concept remains limited, particularly from a post-colonial context (Tunbridge, 1997). That is, the literature focuses primarily on dissonant heritage from Anglo-Saxon perspective; less attention, however, has been paid to post-colonial heritage issues in developing countries especially with regard to TAST heritage experiences and the tourism consequences of it. Central to this aspect of the debate are the dynamics of sites that are designated World Heritage Sites (WHS) by UNESCO for the sake of conservation as well as those socio-economic changes wrought by the designation as evident in many former TAST sites have not received scholarly attention (Black & Wall, 2001). The current study addresses these gaps in the literature by applying Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) theory on collective memory as the interpretative framework to understand



the multiple contestations of collective slave memories at TAST sites and the potential of developing cultural tourism as a means of confronting a contentious past. In so doing, it proposes a conceptual framework as a basis for further theoretical and empirical analysis of developing tourism on the Slave Routes.

Further, there has been little progress in contextualising TAST sites in theoretical discussions on dark tourism (Seaton, 2001). Indeed, it is uncommon to find descriptive studies still focused on earlier ones that dealt with visitor emotions (Bruner, 1996; Best, 2007), motivations and tourist taxonomies (Seaton, 1996; Beech, 2000, 2001) and anxiety (Foley & Lennon, 2000). While these issues are of overriding importance, few focus explicitly on developing theoretical perspectives, which ensure systematic accumulation of knowledge or even geared towards conceptual consolidation. Although a great deal of Sharpley and Stone's (2009) textbook covers demand and supply issues as well as theoretical considerations for the analysis of dark tourism, their categorizations of dark tourism sites makes a tenuous connection to TAST memory sites. Therefore, the current study provides a framework to facilitate understanding of TAST sites from the collective memory standpoint.

From a practical standpoint, the study makes three important contributions. First, it highlights the need for the tourist industry to take into account the diversity of mnemonic communities and social groups on the Slave Routes if the SRP is to be sustainable. Studies show that local residents' favour tourism development as a means to preserving and conserving TAST memory sites (Boakye, 2003; Boakye & Dei, 2007; Yankholmes, Akyeampong & Dei, 2009; Yankholmes, Boakye & Wellington, 2010). However, given the dynamics of each community, it is unclear whether the multitude of

interests and different social groups can come to a consensus in managing TAST sites. This then begs the question as to which type of tourism is appropriate and for whom? In a sense, this question underscores Ap and Crompton's (1993) point that local residents' reactions to tourism numbers and the behaviour of individual tourists are part of a continuum rather than discrete. Unlike other tourism products, the emotional undercurrents and subjectivities inherent in the recollection, representation and interpretation of the TAST event may hamper or arouse negative reactions towards tourism due to the presence of different social groups and mnemonic communities. In this sense, ensuring the sustainability of the SRP is largely contingent on the support of the various identifiable social groups and communities—those whose ancestors became victims, those whose ancestors profited and those who now share the same collective memory and collective heritage with both. Hence, the current study should inform UNESCO of why former TAST communities support or oppose such intervention, thereby assisting them to operationally expand and diversify their conceptualization of the SRP.

Second, the study expands upon on-going efforts by UNESCO to critically re-appraise the SRP through scientific research. Though the SRP is laudable—and one that recognises the conservation of TAST sites, its inherent tourism potential has since been harnessed. Though there are numerous plans, working documents and feasibility studies conducted, for example, on Ghana's Slave Routes, the fact that these efforts have not been successful in drawing visitor former TAST sites is enough justification for such a study. Thus, the policy implication is not only to provide an all-encompassing and

participatory tourist experience, but also generate economic, social, cultural and environmental benefits to former TAST communities.

Lastly, the study highlights the challenges faced by heritage managers, cultural management policy-makers and professional, private, and public sector organisations involved in cultural heritage management (Berry, 1994; Jacobs & Gale, 1994; Boniface, 1998; du Cros, 2001; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho & du Cros, 2005). The argument has been made that despite the connection between tourism and cultural heritage management (CHM), “the ideological and institutional contexts of heritage tourism is fundamentally different from that of general tourism” (Garrod & Fyall, 2000:684). In the case of Slave Routes, the question of ‘whose heritage’ blurs the conservation ideals of CHM as well as the economic rationalization for developing tourism aimed at expanding support for conservation activities. Thus, this study provides guidance on the duality of CHM and tourism.

## **1.6 Organization of the study**

The dissertation is organised into ten chapters. Chapter 1 has provided the background issues and objectives of the study. Chapter 2 presents the conceptual framework used to guide the study. A review of the previous literature relevant to the study’s objectives is provided in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, the study areas and the justification for their choice are addressed. A detailed outline of the methodological processes and their attendant epistemological and philosophical foundations are also undertaken. In Chapter 5, the qualitative research data related to descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers, expatriate African diaspora and traditional authorities is presented and analysed. In

Chapter 6, data relating to local residents' demographic characteristics and articulations of collective slave memories are presented and analysed. Analyses of multiple contested heritages and identities are detailed in Chapter 7 while Chapter 8 deals with tourists' behaviour and expectations at TAST sites. The penultimate, Chapter 9 further discusses the key findings emerging from the study. The final chapter 10 summarises the pertinent study findings and concludes by highlighting the planning and marketing implications of slavery heritage tourism in former TAST communities. Areas of further research are also suggested.

## **CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the conceptual framework underlying the study. Although heavily criticised in some forums, Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) theory on collective memory is employed here to examine the multiple contested collective slave memories of the different interests and social groups identified with the TAST. Intricately tied to the collective memory theory is the concept of dissonant heritage, which is seen to operate at TAST sites. Thus, the strengths and weaknesses of Halbwachs' conceptualization are recognised and inferences drawn from Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) work on dissonant heritage in pulling together a conceptual framework to examine the relationship set forth in the multiple contested collective memories and the collective heritage identified within the SRP.

### **2.1 Conceptualising memory**

For some time now, the literature of Sociology and Social Psychology has been captivated with the concept of memory (for an extensive discussion on how the notion has evolved see Yates, 1966). The various debates has centered on the epistemological and as well ontological underpinnings that surround memory processes. Given this context, it is perhaps surprising that memory is still a nebulous concept which leads to equally tenuous "representations or constructions of reality, a subjective rather than objective phenomenon" (Gillis, 1994:3). It is a common assumption to relate memory to an aspect of the brain responsible for experiencing, remembering and recollecting events. Young (1993) exemplifies the enlightenment version of this lay perspective. He

describes three aspects of memory whereby its mental capacity helps retrieve stored information; its sensory content helps recollections and the location where the recollections are stored. The psychology literature is also replete with studies examining how individuals construct and update their memories on a daily basis as they seek to validate their past in the present. In this way, the memory process plays a significant role in defining personality and stresses the notion of personhood in understanding human behaviour and emotions (Parfit, 1984; Warnock, 1987).

Cognitively there are many genres of memory; but inferences are commonly drawn from Atkinson and Shiffrin's (1968) conceptualization of short-term memory and long-term memory. As the name suggests, short-term memory deals with our ability to recall immediate information and events. Hence, a great deal of our daily routines involves short-term or working memory that may or may not be memorised, especially when it involves meeting our necessities. On the other hand, long-term memory, involves the ability to remember past events. In this case, long-term memory provides relatively permanent memory storage area for information that is no longer in use. However, durability becomes an issue especially in the event of brain damage or decay over time. The general implication here is that the evocation of TAST remembrances more than 200 years since its official abolition by actors who have long been remote from it is daunting and, to an extent, counter-productive.

Schank and Abelson (1995) argue that there was a symbiotic relationship between memory and storytelling. Most notably, they criticised Tulving's (1993) delineation of episodic memory and semantic memory arguing that the distinction was probably too simple and untenable. Consequently, they proposed two kinds of memory;

namely story-based memory and generalised event-based memory. The major difference is that in the former typology, one remembers the sequence and connections of different events whereas in the second, there is disconnect between the events and the narrative context. Three basic precepts underlie their preposition:

1. virtually all human knowledge is based on stories constructed around past experiences;
2. new experiences are interpreted in terms of old stories; and,
3. the contents of story memories depend on whether and how they are told to others, and these reconstituted memories form the basis of the individual's "remembered" self (Schank & Abelson, 1995:1).

Interestingly, they recognise the idea of "place" in memory process. In this vein, the occurrence of important events imparts knowledge, which, in turn, updates one's memory regarding the event or experience.

Finally, cognitive psychological theorists and affective neuroscientists have also explored how people accurately remember events that elicit emotions (LeDoux, 1996). Indeed, the evidence suggests that emotional impacts of past events may explain future emotional events. A distinctive characteristic of memory for emotions is its tendency to be "long standing, vivid and easily retrieved" (Levine & Safer, 2002:170). As such, it would be interesting to determine how the different stakeholder groups recall the emotional context (situation, place, time, perceptions) of the traumatic experiences of the progenitors during the slavery era. In short, while current interpretations of the TAST experiences especially from those whose ancestors were perceived to be victims demonstrate emotional memories that are convergent, divergent or a mixture of both, the

accuracy of emotional recall in time-space dimension is open to contest (Loftus, 1992; Levine, 1997).

Overall, the typologies of memory discussed above are largely significant in the context of individual memory. However, recalling remembrance transcends the individual's daily routine. In the following review, Halbwachs' sociological approach to memory is presented.

## **2.2 Halbwachs on collective memory**

As mentioned earlier, memory goes beyond individual cognitive abilities. In sociology, memory is inherently constructed and shared within a society or group. The focus is on how people form present day discourse about the past, the corollary of which is assumed shapes their behaviour in the present and future. Maurice Halbwachs' work on collective memory is seen as significant to this perspective. He used the works of Emile Durkheim (1857-1917) and Henri Bergson (1859-1941) to define and clarify the sociological approach to memory. The major starting point was his work on *the social frameworks of memory (Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire)* first published in 1925 and reissued in 1952. The second, *The legendary topography of the gospels in the Holy Land (la topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte. étude de mémoire collective)* was published in 1941 and reissued in 1971. It was, however, his work on *The collective memory (La mémoire collective)* posthumously published in 1950, reissued in 1968, and published in English in 1980 that is most widely known today. Since sections of that manuscript was translated and edited by Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter in



1980 and later by Lewis Coser in 1992, there has been a large body of published works on the theme of collective memory and even in reports of organizational consultants.

Given his goal of furthering the sociological theory of collective memory, Halbwachs (1980) discussed extensively its formulation and context. From his notes and writings on *The social frameworks of memory*, he discussed the frameworks within which individuals are able to reconstruct their memories. Using dreams as an example to illustrate the varieties of human experiences that occur outside social framework, he observed that memories are different from dreams because the latter lacks structure, continuity, orderly progression and regularity. For him, “no real and complete memory ever appears in our dreams” because they include fragments of memory mixed up and disordered that the individual is unable to recognise as memories (Halbwachs, 1992:41). However, because memories are intricately linked to social relationships, there is a sense of belonging, reasoning and comparison that guarantees its integrity. Moreover, memories are shaped by a person’s point of view, principles and value judgments within one group or another. This implies that by employing social pressure, an individual can reconstruct or transfigure the past, to suit societal norms and values. Says he:

*Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not possess (Halbwachs, 1992:51).*

This highlights the crux of Halbwachs’ argument that society becomes the arena for contestations between rival notions of the past given the presence of multiple social and interest groups. Ultimately, memories of the dominant sub-group become the ‘official’ memories of the collective. It can then be argued that collective memories exist insofar

as the group's consciousness is alive. In other words, societies develop memories of their own to reinforce their unique identity; maintain its boundaries and sense of belonging of its members. Therefore, the idea of *collective memory* excited Halbwachs, not simply as a sociological concept, but also a psychological one.

Halbwachs discussed the context of collective memory by distinguishing between individual memory and collective memory. Linked to our personal experience of past events, autobiographical memory is defined by group membership or affiliation. "It stands to reason, however, that autobiographical memory tends to fade with time unless it is periodically reinforced through contact with persons with whom one shared the experiences in the past" (Coser, 1992:24). Historical memory, by contrast, is the storage and interpretation of the past through social institutions. In this regard, a person does not recall historical events directly but is stimulated through reading, listening or commemoration ceremonies.

He also makes the distinction between historical memory and autobiographical memory in order to emphasize the multiple ways in which the former takes precedence over the latter. However, as discussed later, critics of the theory point out that the argument undermined this goal given that historical memory pervades autobiographical memory. Halbwachs argued the point most forcibly that social frameworks are crucial for individual recollection of memories. For him, underpinning historical memory is the social framework within which individual memory thrives: a framework where one remembers the things that mirrors oneself. He observed, "[I]t is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localise their memories" (Halbwachs, 1992:38). From his writings, it is clear that he

believed that individuals remember or forget particular events based on the degree to which they rely on social frameworks for recollection. Hence, collective memory encompasses individual memories although distinct.

Closely related is the historical context within which collective memory is retrieved and how that past becomes relevant to the present. To Halbwachs (1980), differences exist between collective memory and formal history. While this is heavily contested in the literature, his analysis informed the current study's use of memory as opposed to history in the context of the TAST. Halbwachs view is that collective memory differs from history in at least two ways. While collective memory is the continuous stream of thought constructed through social action on a sustained basis, history tends to record changes and sequence of events. This view is encapsulated by his discussion on the necessity of an affective community.

*A remembrance is gained not merely by reconstituting the image of a past event a piece of time. That reconstruction must start from a shared data or conceptions. These are present in our mind as well as theirs because they are continually being passed back and forth. This process occurs only because all have been and still are members of the same group (1980:31).*

This quote is important because it shows how the group recalling the remembrances sees itself and its experiences through time and space. Yet, the social condition is necessary for the recall of a remembrance, for without the condition there is no memory. This reinforces Halbwachs' argument against the individual memory.

The second difference is that history is unitary and can only represent a specific point in time. In this, the "the continuous development of collective memory is marked not, as is history, by clearly etched demarcations but only by irregular and uncertain boundaries" (Halbwachs, 1980:82). This may also be interpreted as an implied criticism

of cognitive psychology because recalling specific changes, events and actions of the past is intricately linked to how the mind functions. That is to say, history keeps factual details to bridge the gap between the past and the present. Taken together, asking people to recall facts about the TAST would mean asking them the history of that event and how it unfolded. Because we do not expect the generation of those who experienced the TAST to be alive, generations of descendants (either in the diaspora or Africa) have wholly or partly passed on remembrances that give an image of the past. This evokes historical consciousness as commemorative ceremonies reinforce the past or in the consideration of the current study stir controversy in the process of heritagization. Connerton (1989:4) noted that, “if there is such a thing as social memory.... we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies because commemorative rituals are a means of transmitting social memory”.

Concomitantly, forgetting is critical to the evocations of the past (at both the individual and collective levels). Halbwachs discussed forgetting under the rubric of dreams. He considered forgetting the inevitable and necessary condition of change for individuals as well as groups. For Halbwachs, it is on the basis of the constraints imposed by remembering that societies and individuals forget especially when recollection evokes emotions. Referring to the incongruity between our present experience, the past and uncertain future, he goes on to suggest that “...the most painful aspects of yesterday’s society are forgotten because constraints are felt only so long as they operate and because, by definition, a past constraint has ceased to be operative” (Halbwachs, 1992:51). He provided two reasons for forgetting: disappearance and spatio-temporal variations. Disappearance of social frameworks (or of a part of them)

results in forgetting because our attention is no longer able to focus on recollecting the past or distracted from the process. Spatio-temporal variations occur because the frameworks are not linear and deterministic. Halbwachs (1992:172-3) puts it this way: “*depending on its circumstances and point in time, society represents the past to itself in different ways: it modifies its conventions. As every one of its members accepts these conventions, they inflect their recollections in the same direction in which collective memory evolves*”. Thus, forgetting allows for the disposal of elements that are no longer purposeful and creates space for the new frameworks of remembering or reconstructing the past.

### *2.2.1 Criticisms of the theory*

Though Halbwachs’ theory is consistently referred to in academic journals and textbooks, its advocates have been beset by epistemological and ontological difficulties (Connerton, 1989; Gedi & Elam, 1996; Confino, 1997; Klein, 2000; Kanesteiner, 2002; Misztal, 2003, 2010; Bourke, 2004). Much of the criticisms of the theory come from scholars in the field of social psychology. Social psychologists contest the linkages between individual and group consciousness, which provides the framework for memory. The argument is that because heterogeneous societies comprise diverse and opposing groups, individuals choose which group support their particular worldviews. Thus, the individual is influenced by the values and attitudes of the group and whether consciously or unconsciously refers to the group to reinforce a sense of identity.

Given this context, Gedi and Elam (1996) contend that the proliferation of collective memory has contributed little to our understanding of how societies function

given precursor concepts such as myths, tradition, customs, and historical consciousness. They argued that Halbwachs did not lay the theoretical foundation of collective memory let alone provide a working definition that will advance scholarly research.

Klein's (2000) critique of collective memory is perhaps the most vociferous. He suggested that memory stirred up a widespread interest that pundits were ready to accord it a historical role so that eventually "we enter a new age in which archives remember and statues forget" (2000:136). For him, academic treatment of collective memory concentrates so much on the material artefacts rather than identifying 'who' was doing the remembering and the forgetting. Fentress and Wickham (1992: ix), go so far as to ask whether it is possible "...to elaborate the conception of memory which, while doing full justice to the collective side of one's conscious life, does not render the individual a sort of automaton, passively obeying the interiorised collective will?". Olick (1999), in his review of collective memory literature, argued that although researchers purport to examine the collectivity of individual thoughts and behaviour it often leads to "residual individualism" because public goods like monuments are not necessarily collectivistic. For him, collective memory implies "subjective perceptions of individuals" (Olick, 1999: 341). On the basis of that, Kansteiner (2002:185) noted that, "collectives are said to remember, to forget, and to repress the past; but this is without awareness that such language is at best metaphorical and at worst misleading about the phenomenon under study". Supporting this view, Bourke (2004) emphasises the need to gain an appreciation and knowledge of the lived experiences of individuals because they obviously remember, repress, forget or are traumatised; not societies.

The issue about how identity influences collective memory is also a source of disagreement. Noting that social identity essentially determines the content of collective memories, Halbwachs argued that identities are historically specific and not bound by space or time. Megill (1998:45), invoking Anderson's (1991) concept of 'imagined communities' suggests, that the "more a community is imagined, the more 'memory' (and 'forgetting') is necessary to it". However, it seems the reverse is also true: "... the less rooted the community is in extant and well functioning practices—that is, the more problematic its identity—the more constitutive for it is its 'remembered' past" (Megill, 1998:45). On this account, Misztal (2003:55) pointed out that "*such an assertion not only prevents us from accounting for the changes in a group's perception of the past, which could arise due to its new conditions, but also it presumes a vision of a frozen social identity*".

Halbwachs is also criticised for not effectively dealing with the dynamic and complex relationship between memory and history (Olick & Robbins, 1998). While the debate is now widely recognised as polarised, proponents of each school of thought are apparently wary of censuring it. In particular, it is hypothesized that because collective memories are selective and manipulative, the relationship between history and collective memory in pursuit of truth become a complex one. The popular conception is that history aspires always to reach towards truth. In contrast, there are competing truths given the inherent political nature of collective memory. As a result, some historians criticise Halbwachs' treatment of the issue of power in the localization and recollection of the past. Burke (1989) tells of a situation where it is possible to have different 'memory communities' within a society. In this case, he poses perhaps an important

question and one that is applicable to the SRP: “who wants whom to remember what, and why? Whose version of the past is recorded and preserved?” (Burke, 1989:107). Hence, there is an obvious aspect of memory that can be used to serve the whims and caprices of those who hold power or influence. Halbwachs, perhaps, undervalued the issue of power relations in the process of remembering and forgetting.

### **2.3 Collective memory: The state of knowledge**

In the wake of criticisms against Halbwachs’ perspective on collective memory, disentangling individual memory from collective memory and drawing the line between historical and autobiographical memories has gained currency (Barnier & Sutton, 2008; Hirst & Manier, 2008). Wertsch and Roediger (2008) endorsed the idea of collective remembering over collective memory because the former better captures the social and political contestations inherent in recounting the past. Their argument is that because historiography and philosophy are unsettling about the dichotomy between history and collective remembering, collective memory suffers the collateral damage in the discourse that ensues. They further argue that history presents a version of the past that is romanticised and sanitized from everyday experiences and as a result poses a threat to historical representations that seek to educate or inform the public of the whole story. For them, collective remembering is ‘resistant to change even in the face of politically contestable evidence. Indeed, Assmann (1997:9 as cited in Wertsch, 2008:60) observed that “the past is not simply ‘received’ by the present. The present is ‘haunted’ by the past and the past is modeled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present”.



Olick (1999) identified two sociological schools of thought studying collective memory. The first, collected memory approach draws on individualist principles and defends the view of memory as an aggregate of individual memories. The second, collective memory conceptualise group memory both as the hub around which memory is recollected and as what is invoked to explain behaviour. Yet, Olick (1999:334) claimed “an unresolved tension between individualistic and collectivist strains running through Halbwachs’s work on collective memory...”. In a nutshell and used in the sense that Olick intended, collected memory and collective memory may be diametrically opposed to how memory manifests in societies but they do not pinion the processes of constructing memory, how they function and how they are reconstituted. For, between the two schools of thoughts are extended worldviews, which largely borrow from both. However, Beim (2007) argues that attempts to present and discuss collective memory and its relationships to collected memory exclude analysis of collective *sui generis* and the mechanisms of collective memory’s production and reception. Drawing insights from culture and cognition theories, Beim (2007:8) highlights the significance of the “bundles of memory schemata that are located at supra-individual level and of social life, which form social interaction”.

To proceed in this manner alone would be to neglect the academic literature that concentrates on public memory, war memory and commemorations. Most of the studies on the subject matter examine the construction of collective remembrance and memories of particular historical events and their meaning in present cultural and political contexts. On this score, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) put forward the concept of ‘invented tradition’ to illustrate how the state through public commemorations,

education systems, mass media and official records and chronologies, manipulate public notions of history. The creation of memory is a political process, argue Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), for the exercise of power, to construct or legitimize institutions, demonstrate a sense of presence and cohesiveness within sub-groups and to socialise individuals to the existing order. They use the idea to describe the remarkable changes that occurred in Western European states (from 1870 to 1914) and some countries in Africa because of mass politics. But by contrasting contemporary democratic states and in particular demands for greater transparency and openness, Misztal (2003) disagrees that it is practically impossible to impose on people totally invented or fabricated traditions. Osiel (1997:113 cited in Misztal, 2003:60) supports this assertion by suggesting that if a central power denies the reality of any group's memory and experience that discredits it. Anderson's (1991) notion of the nation selecting and excluding others relative to memory buttresses this known fact.

Rather than attempting to fully implicate the state in the construction of collective memory, the Popular Memory Group (1998) at the University of Birmingham assumed that remembering and forgetting is symptomatic of every society. Based on Foucault's concept of popular memory and counter-memory, they offered valuable insights into the hegemonic struggle between different social actors attempting to construct versions of the past and elements of popular memory. They approached popular memory both as an object of study and an aspect of political practice. As an object of study, the group suggested that the social production of memory is participatory but unequal. Therefore, a distinction can be made between public representations and private memory. Public representations refer to representations of

the past involving all sections of society albeit with obvious contradictions of history, heritage and traditions presented. This suggests that a ‘dominant memory’ emerges from contestations between the individual and group conceptions of the past. However, they believe that not all groups and individuals who have access to the public eventually dominate the historical field: “certain representations achieve centrality and luxuriate grandly; others are marginalised or excluded or reworked” (Popular Memory Group, 1998:76). In contrast, private memory, as the name suggests, refers to the more privatised sense of the past generated in mundane forms of everyday chores and narratives. Some of these routine activities are reflected in letters, diaries, photograph albums and collections of things that remind us of our past associations.

There is also a growing body of literature examining commemorative and non-commemorative activities. Misztal (2003) explains that even though commemoration and recollection have intertwining and complementary facets, they are diametrically opposed to each other in terms of research focus. She noted that those engaged in recollection have an interest in the narrative representation of the past, while the protagonists of commemoration develop approaches to performances, habits, and body automatisms. Subsequently, some studies focused on the complex manipulations and negotiations that occur between the various agencies (state, civil society, private social groups, and individuals) in the production of war memory and commemoration (Moriarty, 1999). For instance, Winter (1995) and Winter and Sivan (1999) explored the ‘existential’ function of mourning in commemoration. They suggest that the individual and group agency help assuage the grief of individuals in war commemoration because mourning for the victims and survivors may never end and may not be recuperative.

Thus, shifting the focus from the state enables social agencies to be involved in organising a range of activities using the affective bonds of the community and establishing local associations and networks to address the psychological aftermath of war.

Taking the point further, Cappelletto (2005) examined the reasons why social actors view themselves as constituting mnemonic communities in relation to past events.

Accordingly, she defined mnemonic communities as

*Social groups with shared experiences; interests and identities shape their memories in daily interaction by telling and retelling selected parts of a shared past and condemning to oblivion other parts of that same shared part. In this process and through their social networks they try to establish control over the memory of certain events and to legitimise actions of their group in the past and in the present. Yet this control is never able to 'domesticate' completely alternative versions of the past, which emerge from individual narratives and often challenge or contradict the 'approved' versions of their own group. It would be wrong, however to see this social structuring of memory as a process based on rational choice. Mnemonic communities are also 'affective communities' (Halbwachs), both because their past is a traumatic past and because their members are tied by affective bonds in the present (Cappelletto, 2005:4)*

This somewhat lengthy quote resonates with purpose of the current study for one reason.

The author, while identifying the dissonance in the interpretation of memory among communities of war survivors, underscores the ethical dilemma of entering such communities to understand the meanings ascribed to collective remembrance. With this issue in mind, the methodological techniques adopted for the current study will be iterative and in a manner that not only encourages the identifiable stakeholders to air their views freely but also the opportunity to reappraise their responses in the light of those made by others.

One of the critical observations on war memory and commemoration can be attributed to Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (2000:10) who abhorred the impoverishment of our discourse on the 'politics of memory'. They criticised earlier theorists, particularly, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Winter and Sivan (1999) and the Popular Memory Group (1983) for having had "a deleterious effect on the study of war and remembrance". For them, the complexities of relationships between the various different agencies and arenas (individual memory, remembrance in civil society and national commemorative practises organised by the state) should be the focus of any scholarly attempt on the politics of war and commemoration. Consequently, their model describes elements of the political and cultural struggles to articulate war memories within narratives, arenas and agencies. Narratives of memory articulation refer to "shared formulations within which social actors couch their memories" from political power and symbolic potency, hegemonic official narratives, through oppositional counter memories, to locally shared memories or individual accounts (Ashplant *et al.*, 2000:16). These narratives focus not only on national identity, but also religious and political discourses, and human rights issues.

On the other hand, arenas of articulation refer to the socio-political milieu within which social actors advance a claim furthering the use of war memories, while seeking benefits. These arenas of articulation include families or kinship groups, communities of interest (returned soldiers of a particular unit or battle), to the public sphere of nation states and transnational power blocs. Whilst there is participation of groups or network of individuals in the creation of remembrance, some due to psychological (state of being a victim) and social (existence of perpetrator groups) reasons are unable to collaborate thereby leaving the state arena for articulating their memories and commemoration.

Finally, agencies of articulation “refer to those institutions through which social actors seek to promote and secure recognition of their war memories”—which include officially sanctioned state bodies or governmental agencies, civil society organisations and groups (Asplant *et al.*, 2000:17). Although linear, collective remembrance and commemoration is top-down, resulting in contestations between agencies of unequal power and influence.

#### **2.4 Dissonant heritage and contested spaces**

Tunbridge and Ashworth’s (1996), in their seminal text *Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict*, emphasise how the past can be used to shape social, cultural and political identities of individuals, groups, places and states. The authors contend that discordance or lack of agreement and consistency to the meaning of heritage “*provides a means of taxonomic description of the issues but also leads directly to the management of behaviour to reduce its incidence. It provides both a tool of description and a guide to planning interventions*” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:21). To be able to appreciate the dissonance in heritage, they make a distinction between the past (what has happened), history (selective attempts to describe it) and heritage (a contemporary product shaped by history). In this context, the concept of dissonance is relevant to heritage because of two main reasons. First, dissonance is an innate potentiality of heritage. Especially because of its zero-sum characteristic, heritage is most often than not multi-interpreted by those who have a claim to it. Secondly, and while stressing the selectivity and bias of heritage, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:21)

remind us that “dissonance is universal in that it is a condition, whether active or latent, of all heritage to some degree”.

As noted earlier in this chapter, these characteristics apply to the TAST. Nevertheless, the embeddedness of multiple social groups who are unsettling about how the past should be interpreted, whose past should be interpreted and whose history should be transformed into heritage makes any development effort that require their support daunting, if not impossible. If that is so, then a paradox emerges regarding the interpretation of heritage presented by the SRP. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) make the point that the content of messages contained in the interpretation of heritage could create dissonance among particular groups of recipients. They identified four modes of dissonance in message content: contradictory transmissions, a failure in transmission, obsolete transmission and undesirable transmission. Most obviously, undesirable transmission highlights one of the key tensions in the collective slave memory discourse. This involves messages that society or some groups within it find highly sensitive or unsavoury and so unsuitable for them to hear or permit others to hear. That is to say, passing on to the public such messages can hurt some stakeholders. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth:

*This can create dissonance among previous victims, their descendants or those who fear they might be future victims. Equally it can be dissonant to previous perpetrators and their descendants, or to society as a whole, or generations within it, which would rather not be constantly reminded of the depths that can be reached by their shared flawed humanity (1996:29).*

The outcome inevitably is that the choice made by each social group is likely to disinherit another, especially when all of them share common past. In this sense, if a different social group with no kind of dependency relations wants to avert conflict by

embracing a number of different but exclusive heritages, they can do so in three ways. That is: “mutual indifference, tolerant acceptance as of necessity, or a mutuality of esteem leading to mutual association and participation” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:30). But where there is unequal acknowledgment of social and economic dependence between and among the social groups as is most evident on the Slave Routes, disinheritance with potentially serious repercussions is boosted. Their view on this is worth stating in full:

*Master-servant relationships, whether arising from a segregation of social classes or cultural groups, as in colonialism, endow disinheritance with a further and potentially unsettling twist. In these cases both the identification and interpretation of heritage in favour of the dominant group is likely to entail inheritance of those who physically created it at the behest of their masters, or were dispossessed from it by their advent in the first place. The stigma of such disinheritance and historical pain endured in its creation may eventually result, when the servants have acquired political power, in their denial of such heritage, in effect a self-disinheritance, in favour of alternative heritage identification whether from pre-subservient times, previously undervalued resources or newly created focal point of group identity. The empowerment of a former subservient group may thus lead to the destruction, decay or marginalisation of the heritage from which they were hitherto excluded: it may also lead to, however, its valued retention and reinterpretation along radical lines, scripting quite different parts for the preciously subservient and dominant groups (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 31-2).*

Because heritage of atrocity and human trauma portend an extreme form of dissonance, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) discussed the subject separately. In relation to slavery, they claimed because of the large groups of victims or perpetrators involved, atrocity interpretation was less effective with one or either interest group. They also further raised a number of issues regarding the goals of management of involved parties in addressing such dissonance. The current study brings together many of such commentaries in investigating the phenomenon under study.



Several other researchers have touched on Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) work in conceptualising different types of contested heritage in different contexts and situations. For example, Olsen (2000) examined the divergent perspectives of history between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Community of Christ. He, essentially, identified three types of contested heritage germane to the current study. The first of these involves different groups claiming the same heritage asset with different interpretation of the asset. Here, the same spaces have different meanings for different groups and each group believes they are true custodians of the past, while disinheriting other groups. The second is likened to contestation within one single or sub-group. Here, conflict arises over what aspects of heritage is presented, interpreted or shared with the public. The third scenario describes contested heritage involving colonised versus the coloniser. Although the two different groups share the same heritage, there are questions about which, or whose, heritage should be preserved. At the very least, the first scenario is evident at TAST cultural sites but not the same as described by Olsen (2000). In this sense, collective slave memory is as important as collective identities linked to heritage interpretation. The central argument is that the contemporary use of TAST cultural assets are intricately shared among three different stakeholders. They include those African countries instrumental in slave exports; the numerous European countries who took part in the acquisition and sale of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic, and members of the African Diaspora who have now recognised the relevance of the past in the (re)construction of collective identity. This apparently captures the zero-sum tradition of heritage and emphasises the assumed conflict at TAST sites. This much is widely acknowledged in the slavery heritage

literature (Bruner, 1996; Ebron, 2000; Austin, 2000, 2002; Essah, 2001, Shackley, 2001; Boakye, 2003; Boakye & Dei, 2007; Reed, 2004; Schramm, 2004:2008; Timothy & Teye, 2004; Teye & Timothy, 2004; Leite, 2005; Teye, 2009; Yankholmes *et al.*, 2009; Yankholmes *et al.*, 2010).

Clearly, many “ifs, buts and maybes” will arise when the past is turned into a heritage commodity. Likewise, contestation regarding the treatment of heritage is unavoidable when the heritage assets is linked to a burgeoning tourist industry, or when the artefacts or symbols of personal, social, historical or political significance are selected for promotion or commodification (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). It is also a truism that as the appropriation of heritage becomes discernable, certain aspects of it are inescapably excluded and a meaning created to which not all can relate. Jacobs (1996:35) argues that heritage sites undergo a cultural politics of transformation with influences from both the local and global. Thus,

*Which places do or do not become part of heritage and what transformations places undergo in this process of recognition is a key arena for combative struggles of identity and power. It is not simply that heritage places symbolise certain values and beliefs, but that the very transition of these places into heritage is a process whereby identity is defined, debated and contested and where social values are challenged or reproduced (Jacobs, 1996:35)*

Urry (1995) alluded to multiple levels of contestation that result when socially or politically invoked memories embedded in a place are sold as tourism products. This unique character grows up around heritage assets especially those related to collective memory or instances of it. It should, therefore, come as no surprise the conflicting interests of people who lay claim to a particular heritage asset. Nonetheless, contestation of the TAST heritage, while occurring across a variety of scales, need not merely be an exercise in valuing the dark, tragic collective past because the picture is complex.

Similarly, the reasons why spaces, places, and human experience are contested have been a major research theme in heritage studies (Lowenthal, 1985; Wright, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991; Norkunas, 1993). A useful analogy can be drawn from Chidester and Linenthal's (1995) essay in which they discuss three reasons why spaces are contested. The first is spatial and the tendency for people to compete over resources and place in human relations. As observed by Urry (1985, cited in Chidester & Linenthal, 1995:18): "whether explained as competition over scarce resources in human ecology, or as relations of domination and resistance in class struggle, conflict has been analysed by geographers as a necessary feature of spatiality". In short, contestation on the Slave Routes is unavoidable because different social groups cannot occupy the same point across space and time. Secondly, sacred spaces are contested because of their surplus significance. Chidester and Linenthal (1995) further argue that, as containers of signs and symbols, conceptions of sacred spaces are arbitrary and conditional; not absolute, but remain a plausible starting point for unlimited claims to its meaning. Thus, sacred spaces are to be found at the intersections of social, economic, political, and religious and to some extent parochial interests. Equally, illuminating are the complexities of conflicts in humanity's quest for modernization, tourism development, heritage preservation and conservation, which make the stakes high for appropriation of sacred spaces.

It is now widely accepted that slavery heritage sites are contested sacred sites for a variety of reasons, beyond the oft-cited emotional undercurrents and ideological overtones. Indeed, the idea that TAST memory sites are sacred has received initial but not sustained attention. Reed (2010) based on MacCannell (1976) identified five stages

of site sacralisation both at the Cape Coast Castle and *Elmina* Castle. She noted that the third stage of sacralisation process at those sites involved the display of culturally significant objects. This is evident at Cape Coast Castle Museum, where a room simulates the hull of a slave ship making its journey on the middle passage, complete with shackles. The fetish made out of the shackles in this room is meant to help visitors imagine memories of the trauma suffered by the slaves. There are also shrines erected at both castles for visitors to place wreaths at the “Condemned Cells” where the slave masters starved notorious and rebellious slaves to death. While the sacralisation process enumerated by Reed (2010) enables us appreciate the processes through which sites of memory become embedded with heritage meanings, within the framework of the SRP, it has further implications. It is suggested that even though TAST memory sites are embodied as symbols and icons of tragedy and of man’s inhumanity to man, local, national or global legitimacy to the use of such shared memories bespeaks of conflicts. For example, visitors’ ascription of sacredness to TAST memory sites depends on their ethnic or racial orientation and to an extent, their own personal and national heritage linked to the site (Bruner, 1996; Austin, 2000, 2002; Shackley, 2001; Yankholmes *et al.*, 2010). On the other hand, local communities with the presence of descendants of enslavers and descendants of ‘slaves’ all commemorate the TAST in a manner that mirrors their collective memories but without mnemonic consensus. Thus, description of sacredness of the Slave Routes is contested and can be internal or external to the zero-sum quality of heritage. Further, contested spaces on the Slave Routes have different meanings in the context of cultural representations of individuals and social identity.

Still on the issue of why sacred spaces are contested, Chidester and Linenthal (1995) describe four considerations for deciding who ultimately claims ownership of sacred spaces. They include appropriation, exclusion, inversion, and hybridization. On one hand, both appropriation and exclusion are usually used to enforce authentic and legitimate ownership of the site while maintaining its sanctity. Thus, as an authentic owner of the sacred site, one wields the legitimate power to appropriate it in a manner that excludes others to its meaning and use. Appropriation and exclusion strategies are the primary cause of contestation, especially on a global scale because “no appropriation can ever be final, no exclusion can be total, and, therefore, conflict over ownership and control of the symbolic surplus remains endemic in sacred space” (Chidester & Linenthal, 1995:19). On the other hand, inversion and hybridization are brought together to resist domination. Inversion strategies deal with a “prevailing spatial orientation—the high becomes low, the inside becomes outside, the peripheral becomes central—but they may subtly retain their basic oppositional structure” (Chidester & Linenthal, 1995:19). By contrast, hybridization strategies mix or fuse existing conventional spatial boundaries.

From a policy perspective too, it seems evident that Ashworth’s (2010) prognosis is appropriate for managing ideologically contested heritage. One is re-interpreting the site to reflect the current ideological constrictions or adopting ways that neutralise the message so they are not contradictory. A second option is to marginalise those heritage sites that do not conform to current tastes by shifting meanings, behaviours, and experiences, through a process of folkloreisation. The intention is to

*remove the contemporary relevance of heritage by treating it as an historical curiosity or even aberration, which has no useful meaning to*

*modern society other than to demonstrate and enhance its progressive modernity in comparison with an atavistic and backward, if sometimes quaint, past. If as is often said, the winners write the history then the losers are destined to be deposited in a folklore museum (Ashworth, 2010: 1270).*

This process aptly depicts UNESCO's approach of inscribing sites on the Slave Routes as WHS. In the end, emphasis is placed on museumifying TAST sites and relics for tourist consumption or conserving and protecting such heritage for humanity. McKercher and du Cros (2002:78) remind us, if we ever need reminding, that is because the tourist needs a break from the regular routine while on holiday, the "cultural tourism product may be presented in a challenging and confronting manner but cannot be presented in an intimidating or accusatory manner". In other words, though visitors to slave heritage sites are deemed to be in search of their "roots" or retracing routes, they may not be receptive to the narratives being presented at site if their heritage is excluded, appropriated or misrepresented. Such polemical representation manifests itself in the overall experience and determines the level of engagement with the site.

Demolishing the heritage site or erasing the message associated with it is the last and default option available if the earlier proposals prove ineffective or inappropriate. Interestingly, the vast majority of heritage sites have been demolished, replaced, erased or recreated for ideological reasons (Ashworth & van der Aa, 2002). Though many TAST relics have not suffered demolition, it is abundantly clear that government and the heritage industry do not have clear answers to what should be done with them. Apart from the castles and forts (notably Cape Coast Castle, *Elmina* Castle, Fort St. Jago and recently Fort Amsterdam) that were either rehabilitated or restored, there are serious

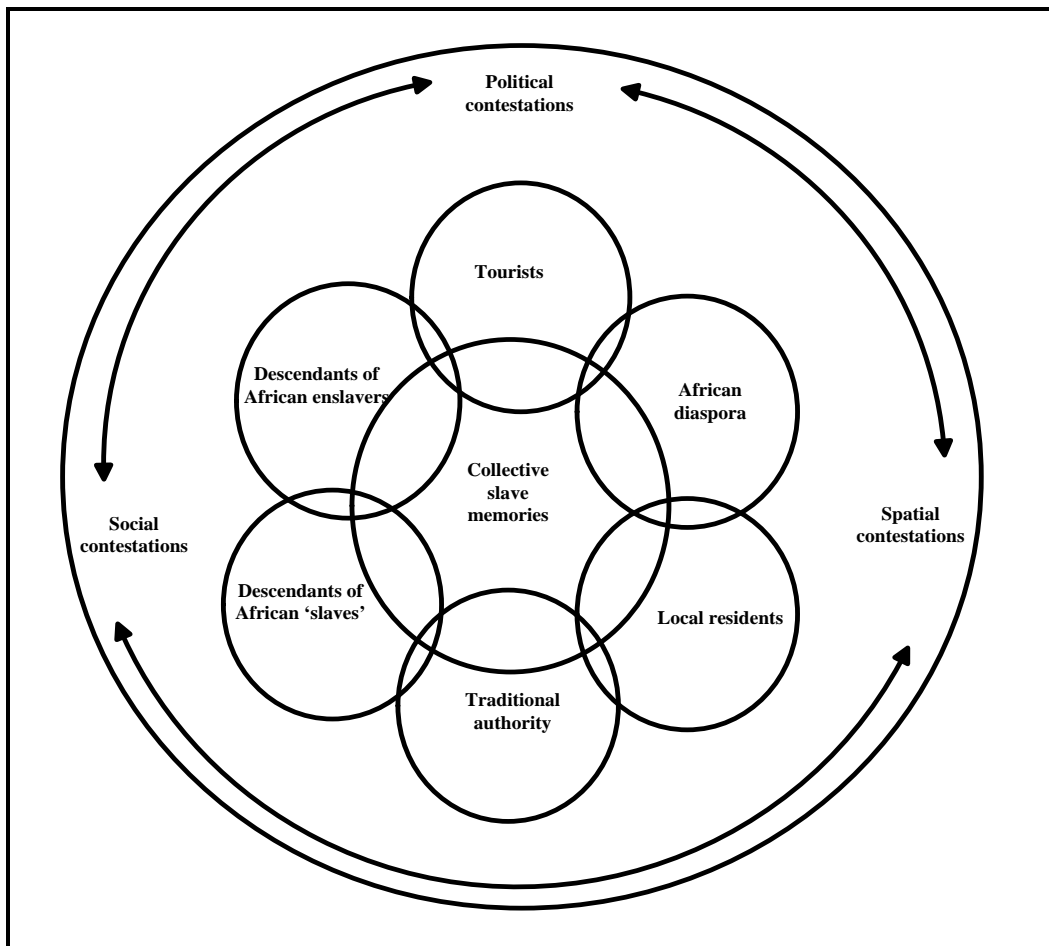
doubts whether the many other fortifications can withstand the test of time given their present physical state of despair.

## **2.5 Conceptual framework for the study**

The thrust of this study is to examine the multiple contested collective memories embedded in developing the SRP for cultural tourism. To facilitate a better understanding of the complexities involved, a framework for interpreting collective slave memory is presented in Figure 2.1. The basic tenets of collective memory and dissonant heritage are implied in the framework since it assumes that developing the SRP for tourism purposes cannot ignore the multiple stakeholders and collective interests contesting the dominant narratives and interpretations associated with the TAST. Indeed, the contested interpretations to TAST memory imply dissonance in social manipulation, interpretation and representation that derive from them. While the study recognises heritage as intrinsically contested, it does so against the backdrop that the multiple collective interests and mnemonic communities are involved in the heritagisation process to achieve whatever ends, including tourism. Hence, slavery heritage sites are physical spaces, which is why different social groups and communities are important arenas of collective slave memory articulation.

Further, the study moves beyond the invented tradition of recounting history and popular memory, and delves into what is selected, written and institutionalised by the different social groups (Ashplant *et al.*, 2000). It problematizes collective slave memories from UNESCO's official recognition of the TAST as "crime against humanity", and the SRP, which by promoting the idea of a global collective memory

determines which and whose collective memories are admitted to public recall and which and whose are tourismified.



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework on multiple contested collective slave memories**

Source: Author's construct

Consistent to the preceding points are issues of power and vested interests, group dynamics and conflicting idiosyncrasies that attend recollection of collective memory at all levels of society. Nearly all supporters and critics of the concept of collective memory acknowledge its political underpinnings. Extending these notions to the Slave Routes, collective memory helps to understand the underlying internal and external relations of power brought to bear on social groups and mnemonic communities. Thus,



the emphasis is on the multiple heritage contestations among and between the varied interests: local residents, traditional authorities, African Diaspora, tourists, descendants of African enslavers and descendants of African ‘slaves’. Moreover, without a platform to interact and decide whose collective slave memory and collective heritage should be remembered or forgotten, reconstructing the past for the tourist gaze would be daunting.

These ideas have not previously been fully appreciated in the extant tourism literature (Marschall, 2012). Buzinde and Santos (2008) utilised collective memory as the conceptual framework for explaining the dominant narratives at the Hampton Plantation and State Historic Park in South Carolina, United States. They reported that the dominant narrative automatically moulded into a political binding force “aimed to unify America into an imagined polity of ‘shared’ experiences and communal history complexly linked to nationalistic goals” (Buzinde & Santos, 2008: 483).

Winter (2009) also applied the theory of social memory in the domain of tourism. She analysed the use of relics of the Great War (1914–1918) for tourism from an Australian context and conclude that

*“the involvement of tourism in the creation of social memory means that a broader range of visitors can participate in the memory of the Great War, including those who may have previously been excluded from other rituals and activities..... Tourism also provides remembrance activities that are not restricted to particular dates and times, thereby giving long haul tourists greater flexibility for commemoration”*(Winter, 2009:622).

### **2.5.1 Description of framework**

A description of the framework for interpreting collective slave memory is presented in the following section.

### 2.5.1.1 *Descendants of African 'slaves'*

For a considerable length of time, the definition of 'slave' and meaning of slavery has been an intellectual minefield. Hernæs and Iversen (2002) examined the theoretical definitions and historiography of slavery across time and space. According to them, two definitions serve to enforce the contention and debate over the meaning of slavery: property versus alienation. Apparently, the definition of slavery as property was informed by the Roman Law which identified a 'slave' as a "total" or "absolute" property of another man. This meant that: i) a slave could never become an efficient, competitive producer (a person) because he himself was property, and ii) a slave could not actually be a human being with a free will and at the same time a 'thing', i.e. without free will (Hernæs & Iversen, 2002:ii). This conception of slavery informed much of the discourse in Western Europe during the nineteenth century.

Although this notion resonated well for some time among learned commentators it was later considered inconsistent with western 'pillars' of hegemony in the spheres of economic efficiency and inconsistent with Christian humanist values (Hernæs & Iversen, 2002). Kopytoff (1982:220) noted the property definition not only "dehumanizes" slaves, but reflect the "contradiction" that has long haunted western intellectual thought between the notions of "people-as-things and of people-as-people". Later definitions, particularly by Petterson (1982) helped dispel the notion of a slave as property. A key feature of this definition is his allusion of a slave as *naturally alienated*, which meant a slave had no birthright and the condition could be inherited. For him, slavery was "the permanent violent domination of naturally alienated and generally dishonoured persons" (Petterson, 1982:13). He argued that the West became engrossed

with the idea of a slave as an outsider who could never achieve honour, that it could not call any treatment of its own people 'slavery'.

Yet the conceptions of slavery in the Western context run counter to those from Africa. Pioneered by the influential works of Meillassoux (1975/1986), Miers and Kopytoff (1977) and Cooper (1977), slavery has drawn increasing attention from African scholars. Generally, the literature suggests a form of African slavery, which is completely different from the medieval conception of slavery. According to McPhee (1970), the existence of slavery in West Africa was due to the absence of free labour, portable currency and adequate means of transportation. This obviously made slaves the labour force, currency as well as means of transport. However, Miers and Kopytoff (1977) identified the characteristics that distinguish slavery practiced during the TAST from other forms of servitude practised throughout history. First, the slave is a commodity to be sold and inherited. Second, that he/she is a chattel and is, therefore totally in possession of another person who uses him/her for private ends. Third, the slave can be inherited, moved or sold without regard to his/her feelings and may be ill-treated sometimes, even killed with impunity. Fourth, his/her progeny inherits his/her status. Perbi (2002:160) added two more useful characteristics a) slavery was a perpetual condition; and b) the slave was kinless, marginalised and an outsider.

Perbi (2004) later distinguishes five forms of servility from the Ghanaian perspective: servant, pawn, slave, war captive, and slave under capital punishment. She suggests that although slavery was an immemorial institution in all-African societies, in none of these traditions was a slave an owned chattel entirely without rights as witnessed in the TAST. Donkoh (2007:311) also draws comparison with Perbi's (2004)

variation on slavery practised in the fifteenth century to that practised from the seventeenth century onwards. For Donkoh, three distinct characteristics make the term slave stand out in the nineteenth century Gold Coast: accumulation of wealth, ownership and social ranking.

It is clear, however, that the TAST did not supersede the indigenous form of servitude; the two systems existed side-by-side sustaining each other. When the British abolished the TAST legally in 1807, the domestic trade persisted until its legal abolition in the Gold Coast Colony in 1874 and the Northern Territories after 1908 (Perbi, 2004). The immediate consequence was that slaves under domestic slavery system opted to remain with former slaveholders while some took advantage of the situation to assert their liberty. Consequently, there has not been any successful differentiation between descendants of 'slaves' from indigenous slavery system and that of the TAST in the literature. This Perbi (2004) attributes to the fact in both indigenous slavery and the TAST, kings, chiefs, members of royalty and commoners were able to buy slaves directly from the numerous markets although kings, chiefs and conquerors held the upper hand in the TAST.

The current study proceeds with the assumption that while Africans in the diaspora are presumed 'fortunate' to have survived the middle passage and now widely considered the immediate descendants of 'slaves', similar argument can be made for those who never made the journey from Africa. Indeed, it is now established that the number of enslaved Africans natively displaced from their 'homes' but who never made it to the New World due to the abolition of the TAST equal the number who made it across the Atlantic (St. Clair, 2006). Lovejoy (2000b) and Donkoh (2007) forcefully

drive home the point that analyses on the TAST now should focus on experiences of descendants of ‘slaves’ who never crossed the Atlantic. Representing a step in the right direction, some documented accounts of the lived experiences of descendants of African ‘slaves’ exist although few (Bailey 2005; Opoku-Agyemang, 2007; Greene, 2011).

This study argues that descendants of African ‘slaves’, despite the social stigmatization and discrimination they suffer, reflect the authentic experience of the past, an articulation of memory narratives, which now serve the tourism industry. However, there is ambiguity surrounding their intrinsic connection to collective slave memory, the complexity has not been explored in previous studies (Keren, 2009). In order to properly conceptualise and classify descendants of African ‘slaves’, a distinction is made between the TAST and other forms of human servitude (especially indentured slaves), in both form (institutional arrangements) and substance (lived experience). The focus of this work therefore is to explore the collective slave memories that characterise the social discourses between descendants of “slaves” and other members of the community and implications thereof for developing the SRP.

#### *2.5.1.2 Descendants of African enslavers*

Although the TAST involved Africa, Europe and the Americas, European intermediaries on the coast mainly controlled the trade. Contrary to Rodney’s (1982) suggestion that “only the European capitalist had such world-wide power, and they used Africans for their own purposes”, some evidence support the view that Africans were also involved (Shumway, 2011). Postma (1972) observed that the selling of slaves to the Dutch by Africans prior to the 1730s never seems to have been a large business. Apparently, many

of the Gold Coast societies were not specifically organised to exploit the TAST, nor did the trade seem to serve as the backbone of the economies of the Gold Coast states. However, St. Clair (2006) writing about British slaving era identified three major parties involved in the buying and selling of slaves: African suppliers, the castle and fort governors, and the ships' captains.

It is clear from even a cursory examination of the literature that two identifiable groups of African suppliers existed: (a) the elite African merchant class, and (b) slave raiders. Reynolds (1974) examined the rise and fall of African merchant class and how their activities influenced political activism in the late 1860s. He noted that during the nineteenth century status was achieved through the creation of wealth by trade and production for market. With the boom in gold, ivory and later slave trade, many of the African merchants came to wield considerable commercial and political influence between 1830 and 1850. But their prosperity declined in the 1860s; rose again briefly between 1870 and 1890, only to fall in the 1890s (McPhee, 1970). Not surprisingly, the merchant class were mainly *Akan* and *Ga* speakers from southern Ghana as well as Africans of European descent (Feinberg, 1989; Shumway, 2011). A number of studies suggest that many Afro-Europeans were also slaveholders (notable were James Bannerman, F. C. Grant and J. E. Richter who were of British and Danish descent respectively). By way of example, Yarak (1989) examined the Afro-European community that rose to prominence in *Elmina* and became a commercial and social force to be reckoned with during the slaving era.

Similarly, there is now a considerable body of historical work on how the TAST gave rise to warfare and slave raiding, especially in northern Ghana (Der, 1998; Howell,

1998; Perbi, 1992, 2004). While prisoners of war constituted the largest proportion of enslaved Africans exported, raids by powerful states was an indispensable source in decentralised societies. Particularly in northern Ghana, slave-raiding activities became rampant because the *Dagomba* and *Gonja* tribes had to pay a tribute to the *Ashantis* in the form of slaves (Der, 1998). Because of the tribute, slave raiding intensified during the mid to late 1800s. In its wake, many people including those from *Gurunsi*land (which includes the *Sisala*, *Konkomba*, and *Tallensi*) were enslaved (Eyre-Smith, 1933).

Figure 2.1 acknowledges the social sub-text that prevails in relationship between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. Within the SRP, this relationship is conceptualized as being one of a resource subject to exploitation given the silence that has hitherto engulfed the TAST. Specifically, descendants of enslavers consciously or unconsciously articulate their memory narratives in reference to descendants of ‘slaves’ resulting in the creation of counter memories and counter commemorative rituals. The reason for this is rooted in the historical unequal balance of power between “slaves” and their masters. As a result, descendants of enslavers continue to constrain the oppositional accounts of collective memory experience by the descendants of ‘slaves’ and in the tourism sphere, collective slave memories are contested for economic gain. Drawing on extant literature, major pathways linking descendants of enslavers to descendants of African ‘slaves’, local residents, tourists, traditional authorities and African diaspora are described to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the multiple contestations in the articulation of collective memory and collective heritage.

### *2.5.1.3 Tourists*

Since the 1960s, there has been substantial interest by tourism researchers in developing theoretically the characteristics that distinguish between groups of travellers and the nature of experience they derive. Most of these studies were drawn from phenomenology, neo-Durkheimian perspective; Goffmanian role-theory, conflict and cultural criticism, and constructivist narrative-oriented approach (Uriely, 2005). While a complete review is beyond the scope of this study, what follows provides insights to the motivations and actions of tourists.

One such contribution pertinent to the current study is Cohen's (1979a) phenomenological typology of tourist experiences that identified five modes of tourist type as 'recreational', 'diversionary', 'experiential', 'experimental' and 'existential'. Cohen asserts that tourist experiences could be located on a continuum, with a desire for pleasure at one end of the spectrum and a search for meaningful experiences at the other. Thus, the recreational tourist seeks recreation devoid of any deeper spiritual meaning or influences from his social and cultural milieu. He/she does not have a deep appreciation of the trip, does not intend to seek durable experience or authenticity of the host cultural landscape. Rather, the whole trip is primarily hedonic. Similar to the recreation-seeking visitor is the diversionary one who seeks to escape from the everyday mundane life to re-create (Cohen, 1979a). The difference between the recreational and the diversionary tourist is that the latter is in a meaningless pursuit of pleasure by a centreless person.

On the other hand, the experiential tourist undertakes the trip to fulfil personal educational interest. Although authenticity is crucial to the overall experience, the



experiential tourist is only fascinated and prefers to remain a passive observer while feeling 'disinherited'. Conversely, the experimental mode experience is "characteristic of people who do not adhere to any spiritual centre of their own society, but engage in a quest for an alternative in many different directions" (Cohen, 1979a:189). This traveller engages in an authentic lifestyle but is not fully enmeshed in it because he/she refuses to commit to one. Eventually, he/she chooses one that suits his/her needs and desires. In a way, the experimental mode seeks to discover a form of life that mirrors his person; a sort of religious quest without predetermined goals. Lastly, existential tourist is one who is committed to a spiritual base, outside the boundaries of mainstream society and culture. He/she is deemed to live in two worlds: one that reflects his/her everyday life and pursuits without a deeper meaning and other elective centre where he/she derives spiritual sustenance.

The current study uses Cohen's (1979a) approach to understand the experiences of tourists who patronise the Slave Routes. As physical spaces, TAST slavery sites have become imagined communities for tourists who play a significant role in the arena of collective slave memory thereby giving prominence to narratives by certain social groups or collective interests. While commemoration of the TAST helps the heritagisation process, whether manifest or latent, collective memory projected by tourists at TAST sites is seen as a means to healing the host community or, as empirical evidence produced so far suggests, deepen the field of contestations. That is, because the TAST has become important for African diasporic identity and history, TAST sites are prone to multiple contestations to collective memory articulation and collective heritage representation.

Drawing on Cohen's (1979a) typologies of tourists' experience, this study postulates three modes of tourist experience at TAST sites which serve to deepen contestations of collective slave memory and collective heritage: 'roots' tourists, colonial-linked tourists and *other* tourists. Drawing on Haley's (1976) famous book and docudrama series, the 'roots' tourists are members of the African Diaspora who situate their cultural identity within collective slave memory. Their return journey is to reconnect with their presumed homeland and to pay homage to their ancestors. However, homecoming is non-touristic because collective memory is the major pull and participants take umbrage at such categorization. They are by Cohen's typology, existential tourists who adhere to an 'elective' centre that evokes the traumatic experiences of their forebears. Their decision to visit the 'elective' centre derives not only from tracing ancestral roots but also in relation to exigencies such as philanthropy, volunteering and business/investment opportunities. More importantly, their visits to TAST sites amounted to increased sense of appreciation of family legacy and historical identity (Gilroy, 1997).

Colonial-linked tourists refer to tourists from countries that directly or indirectly participated in the TAST. Given that colonialism was a two-way relationship between the colonizer and colonized (Robinson, 1972; Stoler & Cooper, 1997), there is an important element in understanding the experiences and behaviours of tourists from the former to sites linked to their colonial past. Though dated, Manning (1978) and later Britton (1979, 1982) make an observation critical to contextualizing the experience of colonial-linked tourists at TAST sites. They observed that tourism is inextricably linked to neo-colonialism in the sense that those who once exercised political power hold sway both over tourist flow and multinational corporations who supply and manage the

tourism facilities to the former colonies hindering efforts to build national identity and sovereignty. Thus, touristic representations at former colonies have the potential of eroding local imaginary and meaning of place. This encapsulates not only the power imbalances between the former colonised and colonizer but the intricate contestations that attend to the former's heritage. While attention has been given to neo-colonialism and post-colonialism in the tourism literature (Britton, 1979, 1982; Palmer, 1994; Hall & Tucker, 2004), few scholars have investigated the behaviours of tourists' from colonial metropolises interested in their colonial patrimony at TAST sites. This lack of attention may be partly due to the racially biased perception of the TAST as suggested by Austin (2000) or social amnesia of the patrimony of slavery in former colonies as noted by Timothy (2011). Even without empirical verification, St. Clair (2006:146) asserts, "there are stories that people of European descent are not permitted to visit some sites that are regarded sacred". On the contrary, Teye and Timothy (2004:150) earlier noted that "White and other non-African races also have an interest in visiting West Africa for a variety of reasons, and most of their itineraries and attractions are the same as those for tourists of African descent". They identify three reasons why Europeans need mentioning in the discussion on Black diaspora tourism. Of particular importance to the current study is their suggestion that TAST-related assets illustrate the distasteful or undesirable European and American legacies in Africa. Though this suggestion makes sense particularly within the discourse on the power dynamics of cultural identities, it is important that some empirical evidence buttress them (Buzinde & Santos, 2009). There is, therefore, a need to examine the experiences of tourists from colonial

metropolises visiting TAST sites and the meanings they ascribe to the collective slave memory and collective heritage.

The study draws on Cohen's (1979a) experimental mode of tourist experience as a basis for discussion in relation to colonial-linked tourists. Although their travel takes on many forms and the TAST maybe incidental to the search, touring includes sites that recall the grand narratives of the TAST—sites like the forts and castle with affinity to the colonial past. This is particularly relevant, as colonial-linked tourists become an external seeker but embroiled in the field of contested memories that includes the very possibility of their own. This influences their level of connectivity to the TAST site and the depth of their experience.

Lastly, *other* tourists are conceptualised as referring to visitors who frequent TAST sites for recreational or diversionary purposes. While the distinctions are blurred, the meaning attributed to collective heritage affects behaviour and depth of experience. For instance, not all diasporan African tourists consider TAST sites as places for pilgrimage or define themselves as part of the African diaspora. Likewise, some diasporan Africans relate to TAST sites in both historical and contemporary contexts (tourism and other adaptive reuse options) and there is little quest for authenticity. Another aspect that needs to be recognised is that even in cases where the collective slave memories invoke strong emotions for *other* tourists, it is unclear if they are fragmentary semblance of either 'good history' (does not cause feelings of shame or blame) or 'bad history' (can cause feelings of shame or blame) (Poria, 2001). The *other* mode of tourist experience at TAST memory sites, in the context of earlier works, suggests some previously unexplored research directions.

#### *2.5.1.4 Traditional authority*

The concept of traditional authority perhaps adequately captures the unequal power relationships within and between different social groups and collective interests in former TAST communities. Jackson (1980) draws a distinction between traditional authority and other forms of power that require behaviour change. The first distinction is between traditional authority and persuasion. Traditional authority followers do not need to adhere to the leader's political and religious stance. The second distinction relates to opportunities gained by being close to the source of power. Jackson argues that followers of a traditional leader do not seek any personal benefit or compensation from their relationship. Though this is an important distinction, it does not provide a clear indication of the relationship between the leader and his followers in time and space.

Jackson recognised that spatio-temporality is relevant to traditional authority and sought to answer the fundamental question of why this type of power is labelled 'traditional'. There are at least two answers to this question. One, the resilience of traditional authority relationships spans decades and built customs passed from one generation to another. The meaning of customs and practices passed from earlier generations are intangible; "the traditional authority bonds establish the continuity of the individual's place in the closed community of the past as well as the more open community of the present" (Jackson, 1980:180). Two, leadership derives from specifiable family (possessing unique sacred or secular knowledge or a distinct role in the historic evolution of the community) underlined by specific titles and privileges in that ruling class. While selection within the ruling class derives from long-established customs and social structures, few or no opportunities exist for others outside the ruling

class to assume political leadership by achievement (distinguished themselves in the acquisition of wealth, war and service to society). Questions such “Who is the most efficient leader?” or “What are his achievements?” are not usually asked about inherited authority but rather “Who is he?” “Who was his father?” and “Did his family treat my family well?” (Jackson, 1980).

It is clear from the above discussion that the mention of traditional authorities highlights the importance of power in the conflicts to public articulation of collective slave memories (refer to Figure 2.1). In Ghana, like in many African societies, the notion of traditional authority is not a new one (Hernæs, 2005; Odotei & Awedoba, 2006; Williams, 2010). In fact, chieftaincy in Ghana predates formal colonial rule as the institution of governance with legislative, judiciary and executive powers vested in the chief. It assumed a different characterization under the British colonial policy of indirect rule. Although the British colonial administration used traditional institutions to sustain and legitimise sovereignty in both non-centralised communities (mostly in northern Ghana) and centralised states in the south, the chieftaincy institution has generally evolved and remained central to governance structures in post-colonial Ghana. Consistent with the pre-colonial conception of *traditional* as ‘state’, ‘area’, institutions’, ‘ruler’ or ‘society’ as opposed to the *modern* notions of ‘state’ or ‘government’, in this study both are used interchangeably (Osei-Tutu, 2005). More importantly, traditional authority in Ghana now reflects both modern and traditional conceptions of authority and local governance.

The rationale for this position, as the proceeding discussion illustrates, is to draw the historical connection between traditional authority and the TAST. What seems to be

suggested is that even though the TAST was open, kings and chiefs held the upper hand. Bosman (1705:180) giving an eyewitness account of events reported that “most of the slaves that are offered to us are prisoners-of-war which are sold by the victors as their booty”. It is clear, that the primary means of acquiring slaves was through warfare and declaring war was vested in the traditional authority. For this reason, how to dispose of prisoners-of-war was also the prerogative of that authority and in most circumstances, they were sold as slaves. Barbot (1732:270) averred “the trade in slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of Blacks”. Many eyewitness accounts and documents show that slave dealing and trading included the cooperation of local authorities who not only profited in selling slaves directly to slave traders but also received customs duties in exchange for giving the Europeans the right to buy slaves.

Since the abolition of the TAST, traditional authority in former TAST communities faces a quandary with dire political implications. First, they have to struggle for political legitimacy given the numerous succession challenges many of which are rooted in the institution of slavery within the ruling class. Second, apologize and atone for the actions of their ancestors who helped to raid and kidnap defenceless community members and traded them to Europeans. Generally, it appears the process of atonement has started and varies from one community to the other. Some traditional leaders are purported to have performed public ceremonies of atonement and incorporated such rituals into their annual cultural practises. In some cases, Africans from the diaspora have been installed as *development* chiefs (locally called *nkosuohene*) and offered land entitlement in former TAST communities and land (Benson, 2003).

While the phenomenon of ‘development chiefs’ has stirred controversy, partly because of the numerous chieftaincy conflicts and the relevancy of the institution in the current democratic dispensation, it has also brought into sharp focus the effect of tourism on intangible cultural heritage (Smith, 1987; Steegstra, 2012). More pronounced is a memorial tablet purported to have been installed on the walls of the Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle on behalf of traditional authorities in Ghana that dictate the type of atonement possible:

*In everlasting memory/ Of the anguish of our ancestors/ May those who died rest in peace/May those who return find their roots/ May humanity never again perpetrate/ Such injustice against humanity / We the living vow to uphold this.*

Thirdly, and related to the historical context, traditional authority in Cape Coast, *Elmina* and recently *Assin Manso* are up in arms against government over revenue from tourism at TAST related sites. The argument is that traditional authorities in former TAST communities are custodians of the land where the attractions are located. The foregoing observations, although highlighted in the literature, have not yet been investigated. In this study, an attempt is made to examine the power relationships between traditional authorities and other social groups and collective interests in developing the SRP. This study argues that while traditional customs incorporate formal commemorative rituals associated with the TAST, dissonance in memory articulation emerges when the economic benefits of tourism are inequitably distributed. Thus, collective memory becomes a deliberate political strategy as tourism offers an alternative means of preserving the TAST relics while providing an arena of contest between the dominant and privatised memory narratives.



#### 2.5.1.5 Local residents

Murphy (1980:1) argues, “tourism is an industry which uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of everyone”. For this reason he later contends that “the product produced by a community should be a ‘community tourist product’; it should be one that the community, as whole, wishes to present and sell to the tourism market” (1985:37). Thus, community remains one of the core concepts for gauging local residents’ support for and acceptability of tourism. Research attempts to pinion tourism from the community perspective whether as economic activity or social behaviour have emerged over the last two decades (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996; Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003). The existing research suggests that local residents’ attitudes towards tourists and the industry are constantly in a state of flux. While Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) identified five clusters of residents support for tourism development which they named ‘Haters’, ‘Lovers’, ‘Cautious Romantics’, ‘In-betweeners’ and ‘Love’ Em for a reason’, Ryan and Montgomery (1994) named ‘Enthusiasts’, ‘Somewhat Irritated’ and ‘Middle of the Roaders’. On their part, Aguilò and Rosellò (2005) segmented community support for tourism into five clusters namely, ‘Development Supporters’, ‘Prudent Developers’, ‘Ambivalent and Cautious’, ‘Protectionists’ and ‘Alternative developers’. However, the concept of “community” as used by many tourism researchers is loosely defined and in most cases inconsistent (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

The seminal works of German sociologist, Ferdinand Tönnies provided an initial framework for developing the social theory of community. Tönnies (2002 [1887]) identified two forms of social organisation; namely communal society (often translated

as *Gemeinschaft*) and associational society (often translated as *Gesellschaft*). He argued that people in communal societies are much more tighter in personal relationships and form a more cohesive social entity because of a strong 'natural will'. Additionally, family and kinship were not the only expressions of communal societies, but that other shared characteristics, such as place or belief defined relations with each other. In contrast, social relations in associational societies are impersonal, indirect and mostly driven by 'rational will' that may reflect political and economic idiosyncrasies. However, the major criticism of the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* approach is that it fails to explain the extent and forms of community organization found in modern society.

From Tönnies onwards, there has been little attempt to integrate or differentiate community as anything other than social structure of groups. Hillery (1955) attempted to classify 94 different definitions of community by content to see whether he could identify agreements or common grounds. He found out 69 of the 94 definitions were "in accord that social interaction, area and a common tie or ties are communally found in community life" (Hillery 1955:118). Of particular interest here was how ecologists had radical ideas about the notion of community compared to those who defined it from the social interaction perspective. Worsley (1987) identified three groups of definitions of community within the sociological literature. The first portrays 'community as a locality', which survives within a permanent and bounded local area. The second denote a "network of interrelationships". In this regard, the community relationship is characterized by conflict as well as by mutuality and reciprocity. The third, refers to a particular type of social relationship; one that embodies community spirit or community feeling. Significantly, however, Worsley's differences between the second and third

usages are somewhat vague. Community and its features are central not only to sociologists and geographers as constituting a set of social interrelationships operating within certain milieu but also locality or area. In the current study, community is used to describe the set of indigenous and non-indigenous residents who influence, and are influenced by the public articulation of collective slave memories in former TAST communities. The concept of multiple stakeholders recognises the functional interaction and real potential dependencies of those affecting tourism in the destination.

Increasingly, tourism is seen as a panacea for preserving cultural resources; whose development should bring about concrete benefits for the community and provide its members with sufficient resources and incentives to look after and maintain their heritage and distinct identity (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Ashworth, 2003). But often at the community level, there is a deeper understanding of heritage that is not reflected at the national or international levels. It is hardly surprising, then, that when heritage values are imposed there is often a lot of community resistance because heritage is seen as preservation that contributes to distinct sense of community identity (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Graham *et al.*, 2000; van der Aa, Groote & Huigen, 2004). Consequently, the conflict between groups of users of cultural resources within the community needs addressing. Nuryanti (1996) noted that in developing countries there is intense interaction between cultural heritage attractions and community lifestyles. This gets even worse when within communities, different interest and social groups select, interpret and use heritage differently from one another.

It has become an axiom of practice that the aspirations, needs and values of local communities be incorporated in the management of heritage sites. Various authors

have repeatedly emphasised the importance of community participation, empowerment and shareholder collaboration in the management, interpretation and development of heritage tourism in order not to cause offense or distress to local communities (Hall, 1997; Yuksel, Bramwell & Yuksel 1999; Reid, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). With reference to the SRP, stakeholder collaboration is critical given the multiple stakeholders to the collective memory of the TAST, which make tourism a daunting task (Boakye, 2003; Teye & Timothy, 2004; Boakye & Dei, 2008). Idyllically, planning for tourism on the Slave Routes should recognize the different stakeholders and the devolution of power amongst them. But from the very onset, identifying such stakeholder interests poses a major challenge.

Even though there is a line of research that shows local residents in former TAST communities have positive attitudes and perceptions towards tourism impacts, there is limited research on local residents' acceptability of developing slavery related assets for tourism. To help redress the dearth of knowledge, Figure 2.1 emphasises the spatial and temporary dispositions that conflate collective slave memories by identifying local residents in former TAST communities as arenas of collective memory articulation. Thus, unravelling the subtleties within the community towards tourism—that and the fact that there still exist some apprehensions over whether former TAST communities have overcome the idea of a tourism product on their 'embarrassing' past exist. As such, local residents in former TAST memory sites constitute mnemonic communities with reference to the historic TAST. However, the mnemonic process impact on individual self-representation as well as the political and social structures defined slave descent and proximity to real power holders among others.

#### *2.5.1.6 African Diaspora*

Given the plethora of research into the African diaspora, an exhaustive review of the literature is beyond the scope of this work. Indeed, the study of the African diaspora has been the concern of a number of scholars from a number of academic disciplines. For example, some prominent historians have examined the diasporic nature of African cultural history, and their effects in the New World history (see for e.g. Curtin, 1990; Gilroy, 1993). Thus the review here synthesizes the current works that are germane to the multiple contestations of collective slave memories present on the Slave Routes.

As important as the study of African diaspora is, it is important to state that the term ‘diaspora’ is originally associated with Jewish dispersion. As Safran (1991) notes, ‘diaspora’ is employed as metaphorical designation to describe alien residents, expellees, political refugees, expatriates, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities. His contextualization of Diaspora produced six comprehensive taxonomies of traits that are worth repeating here:

1. they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “centre” to two or more “peripheral”, or foreign, regions;
2. they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements;
3. they believe that they are not— and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;
4. they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate;

5. they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and,
6. they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (Safran, 1991: 83-84).

Few today would adopt these criteria without many qualifications. However, in considering the different diasporic communities, Safran (1991:84) argued, “we may legitimately speak of the Armenian, Maghrebi, Turkish, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek, and perhaps Chinese Diasporas at present and of the Polish diaspora of the past, although none of them fully conforms to the ‘ideal type’ of the Jewish diaspora. Growing awareness of this fact had previously received considerable attention from scholars re-examining the appropriateness of the term *diaspora* in African Diaspora studies. In its wake, some scholars questioned the use and applicability of ‘diaspora’ because of its Jewish connotations. Racine’s (1982) interview with the late poet Leon Damas buttresses this perception. Jews, Damas argues, chose to emigrate in response to a perceived fear, successfully intending to preserve their culture and language. Africans by contrast, were transported against their will, enslaved, and largely deprived of their culture and language by design. Martin (1982:243) argues the point with force and clarity: “the term *diaspora* be deleted from our vocabulary, because the term *African diaspora* reinforces a tendency among those writing our history to see the history of African people always in terms of parallels in white history”. However, Clifford (1994) cautioned authors about narrowing their conceptualization of diaspora to the ‘ideal type’ analogy, because groups become identified as more or less diasporic, having only two, or three,

or four of the basic six features proposed by Safran. Indeed, he forcibly makes the point that large segments of Jewish historical experience do not meet the test of Safran's last three criteria and put forward a definition that differentiate diaspora from travel. Cohen (2008) also suggests five nomenclatures of diaspora: victim, labour, trade, imperial (which may be considered a form of trade Diaspora), and cultural (not indigenous to the area from which they dispersed). He highlighted the differences in the Diaspora experience in relation to identities shaped in line with socialization. Lovejoy (1997) also argues that Diaspora has meaning only so long as the notion of 'ancestral home' is kept alive. The challenge is to define where is 'home' and where one may feel comfortable as Diaspora, especially when the motivation for returning 'home' and activities to be pursued are considered hedonic, racially implied or a combination of both.

These approaches to diaspora studies have opened up fresh and interesting means of enquiry on African diaspora for some time now. This is evident in the definition of African diaspora proffered by the First African Diaspora Studies Institute (FADSI) to include:

*the voluntary and forced dispersion of Africans at different periods in history and in several directions; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad without losing the African base, either spiritually or physically; the psychological or physical return to the homelands, Africa. Thus viewed, the African diaspora assumes the character of a dynamic, ongoing and complex phenomenon stretching across time and geography (Harris, 1982:5).*

From this perspective, African Diaspora not only connotes dispersion but connected to the past as well. This casts everywhere the net for potential clients but obviously African diaspora constitutes a major stake in the recollection of collective slave memories and use of TAST landmarks and legacies for tourism. It also reinforces the multiple

attachments to collective slave memory and complexities of the question of whose collective heritage, and whose history the SRP embodies and represents. Harris (1982) provides one form of explanation for the presence of multiple stakeholders even within the African diasporic community. He points to the multiplicity of African diasporic movements in time and space, putting to rest the lingering perception of the African diaspora as a single imagined community. Harris identified the primary, secondary, tertiary and the circulatory phases of the African dispersion. The primary stage was the original dispersal out of Africa as a consequence of the TAST; the secondary stage involved migrations from one overseas country to another; the tertiary stage was movement to a third area abroad; and the circulatory stage involved movements among the several areas abroad and may include Africa.

In a subsequent paper, Harris (1996) examined the global dimension of African history since ancient times stressing the difference between the historical and contemporary forms of diasporas and how they consciously identify with Africa in their host countries. Scott (1991) argued that even though Africans in the sixteenth century were dispersed into foreign regions they retained a collective memory, vision, or myth of the homeland. Manning's (2009) essay analysed the multiple routes that brought Africans and people of African descent into contact with one another in Europe, Asia, and the Americas while Akyeampong's (2000) paper examined the different trajectories and experiences of the African diaspora (a case of Ghanaians abroad) in the twentieth century using Harris's circulatory phase.

This study attempts to fill in one of the numerous gaps in the literature on the African Diaspora. As previously mentioned, there are published works from various



disciplines, especially history and anthropology about African diaspora (Harris, 1982; Jalloh & Maizlish, 1996). African diaspora tourism, however, has been late in emerging with regard to the Slave Routes (Goodrich, 1985; Bruner, 1996; Timothy, 1997; Ebron, 2000; Timothy & Teye, 2004; Reed, 2004; 2010; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Leite, 2005). Even where research exists, African-Americans have received considerable attention because they represent the significant, visible presence of vocal black constituencies compared with those dispersed in Europe, Asia and Middle East (Akyeampong, 2000). Therefore, this study considers in more detail the nature of the complex, nested relationships between African diaspora and their presumed homeland (Figure 2.1). In considering the influence of African diaspora in the memorialization of the SRP, it is necessary to state that African Diaspora here refers to members of the expatriate African diaspora who because of filial piety have ‘temporarily’ re-located to Ghana. Indeed, researchers have discussed the involvement of the expatriate African-Americans in the restoration of the Cape Coast and *Elmina* castles as well as their interactions with local Ghanaians (Kreamer, 2004; Osei-Tutu, 2004, 2007; Reed, 2004, 2010).

#### *2.5.1.7 Political contestations*

Political contestation refers to the political context in which behaviour occurs. In Figure 2.1 political contestations is assumed between designated WHS and non-designated WHS Slave Routes sites and how that works in the framework of the SRP. Apart from national governments selecting sites to represent national heritage, international organizations like UNESCO have taken giant steps designing a criteria measuring outstanding universal value for the sake of conservation (Black & Wall, 2001). The

current study proposes that political contestations emerge over heritage status acclaimed by UNESCO amidst “buying in” by communities with varying degrees of acceptance or resistance (van der Aa *et al.*, 2004). Though the idea of using the SRP as platform to preserve and conserve the collective memory of TAST heritage makes some intuitive sense, it fails to recognise the localised heritage and contestations therein. This has ramifications for former TAST sites, whether designated as WHS or not. More so, the issue of whose history, collective memory, and value system should define the SRP needs to be tackled. Against a backdrop of universal application of world heritage by UNESCO, the study assumes conflict to the collective memory of the TAST at the local level.

#### *2.5.1.8 Social contestations*

Social contestations are assumed between heritage users and cultural ‘outsiders’ within and between communities and among the different collective interests on the Slave Routes. For example, while African-Americans continue to criticise the Ghanaian government over the management of the forts and castles, local residents in some former TAST sites complain of being economically worse off since the introduction of tourism (Bruner, 1996; Teye *et al.*, 2002). Given the need to better understand the dominant ‘communities’ and power imbalances that underpin collective slave memory, it is reasonable to deduce that the broad notion of power and identity, is capable of astutely identifying the community socio-political structures that provide insights into the multiple stakeholder contestations to collective slave memory (Hall & Jenkins, 1995).

#### 2.5.1.9 Spatial contestations

Accompanied by the scenarios enumerated above are the growing spatial contestations on Ghana's Slave Routes. Outside the immediate tourism realm, there is huge development disparity between the southern and northern parts of the country. Langer, Mustapha and Stewart (2007:15) attribute the north-south divide to a combination of circumstances and policies. These are:

1. the geographical concentration of most agricultural activities/resources, particularly tree crops such as cocoa, as well as natural resources, notably minerals and forest resources, in southern regions;
2. the British colonial policy of investing more heavily in those regions exploitable resources, such as gold, diamond, timber, and cocoa, were available or readily produced and cheapest to export; and,
3. post-colonial development strategies and investment patterns.

A similar pattern seems to exist regarding tourism development. Schramm (2008) identified three reasons in this regard: relatively short tourist length of stay, inflexible itineraries and concentration of tourism investments in the south. Therefore, if one is to understand the spatial contestation on the Slave Routes, the inter-relationships between the general developmental paradigms and various elements within the tourism system(s) must be appreciated (McKercher, 1999). Thus, while slave narratives in the north are presented as sites of resistance, those of the south are mentioned as final stops on the routes. This and many others perhaps have informed the national amnesia and kneejerk attitudes to publicly debating the significance of the TAST in Ghanaian historiography (Akyeampong, 2001; Anquandah *et al.*, 2007). What is perhaps most intriguing is that in

the process of breaking the silence on the TAST, remembering and forgetting collective slave memories has been become subjected to the nuances of external forces and commentaries (Keren, 2009).

Likewise, when examining spatial contestations, it is impossible to separate the tourist from the spaces visited and the value sought and gained from visiting TAST attractions. Beyond the discourse on the 'uses' and 'users' of heritage, the argument concerning heritage interpretation and management will undoubtedly go on for some time (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Regardless of the outcome of this debate, a number of authors have suggested that tourists behave differently in many respects and have different experiences at heritage sites. Ashworth (2001) sees heritage spaces as multifunctional in that they serve tourists who participate in a wide array of activities with varying behaviours.

## **2.6 Summary**

This chapter presented and discussed the conceptual framework underlying the current study. The framework outlined the processes by which the multiple stakeholders recollect, reconstruct, interpret and share collective slave memories that produce the vagaries of multiple social, political and spatial heritage contestations on the Slave Routes. The next chapter, introduces the reader to the contextual issues pertaining to the problem identified.

## **CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUAL ISSUES**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature and research that informed the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. It focuses on the extant literature dealing with the landmarks and legacies of TAST, tourism on the Slave Routes, authenticity of heritage experiences presented on the Slave Routes, critical issues within the WHS debates and issues of power relations.

### **3.1 Researching the landmarks and legacies of the TAST**

To what extent should slavery shape contemporary discussions and engage scholarly attention? Anquandah (2007) refers to some issues that need to be tackled vis-à-vis TAST enquiry in Ghana. In the first place, purely epistemological considerations arise when we question the different knowledge claims; how we know we know; and what methods may be used to generate verifiable information to expand existing knowledge for posterity. The second concerns the outcomes of knowledge and how they are related to contemporary times. Anquandah (2007) asks if such undertaking should be academic or emotional restitution, “or should it be an applied or developmental type of investigation whose fruits will exert a lasting influence on different aspects of Ghanaian society, political morality, social cultural or economic” (Anquandah, 2007:23). Considering the deafening silence that hitherto engulfed public discourse on the TAST in Ghana, these comments are critical to engendering research that seeks to inform both public and intellectual discussions on such an emotionally charged subject. As previously indicated, one critical objective of the SRP is to ensure that the enduring

landmarks, legacies and expectations remain a subject of trans-disciplinary scholarly attention.

Until recently, a large body of literature on the TAST much of it from Anglo-Saxon perspectives, has been the portrayal of depopulation and its economic aspects: gains, losses, competition, volume, prices, supply, profits and spatial distribution. (For an extensive discussion on this point of view (see Curtin, 1967, 1969; Gemerya & Hogendorn, 1979; Inikori, 1982; Lovejoy, 1982, 1983, 2000; Fage, 1989; Inikori and Engerman, 1992; Richardson, 1989; Eltis, 1990, 2000; Eltis & Richardson, 1997; Eltis *et al.*, 1999; Klein, 1999; Solow, 2001). However, one salutary consequence of the SRP is the international dimension to the TAST scholarship. As described by Anquandah (2007), many international scholars interested in the subject have had access to huge archival holdings of the Royal Danish Archives in Copenhagen (*Rigsarkivet*), Hague and National Archives (formerly Public Records Office) in London. In this context, the works of Postma (1972) and van Dantzig (1978) have revealed convincing evidence of Dutch involvement in the TAST using documented records from the Dutch West Indian Companies (WIC), which bolstered Dutch interest in slavery activities on the Guinea Coast for 165 years. Other eminent scholars such as DeCorse (1987, 1993), Hernæs (1995, 1996, 2002), Dako (1976/2002), Winsnes (1992, 1994) have produced valuable information on the Danish aspects of the trade.

A wealth of multi-sourced research has been conducted on the landmarks and legacies of the TAST in Ghana (Der, 1998; Perbi, 2004; Anquandah *et al.*, 2007). Overall, archaeology, history, anthropology and ethnography have contributed overwhelmingly to the total TAST bibliographies with oral traditions having now

become the predominant form of acquiring knowledge of TAST history and collective memory. While some doubt the potency of oral tradition in documenting the “lost” slave traditions in African communities (Austen, 2001), they have proven indispensable in the works of Bailey (2005), Opoku-Agyemang (2007), Donkoh (2007) and Greene (2011). Contemporary use of oral traditions and other primary sources from former TAST communities have helped fill the lacuna in European archives and highlighted many aspects of the slaving period, thus providing answers to hitherto unanswered questions.

The combination of oral tradition and archival documents have produced a reasonable amount of information on how post-TAST societies have constructed, transmitted, maintained over time or reconfigured their collective slave memories (Perbi, 2004; Schramm, 2008; Keren, 2009). In addition, historical archaeologists have unearthed evidence on how captives were treated, their dietary conditions, health, spiritual, social status and means of resistance (Bredwa-Mensah, 1996, 2004; Anquandah, 2000; Boachie-Ansah, 2005; Perbi & Bredwa-Mensah, 2007). For example, Okoro (2003), using various sources (archival, archaeology and ethno-history) investigated the indigenous water management (underground water cisterns and wells) and the slave system (slave market, slave routes, slave baths, slave villages, slavery related artefacts as well as the slave raids and wars that produced the bulk of slaves) in *Salaga*. Similar investigations of the causes, methods, and consequences of TAST have been undertaken by archaeologists and historians from the University of Ghana.

Reviews of the research examining UNESCO’s *Breaking the Silence Programme* suggest some former TAST communities are aware and acknowledge their past links to the TAST. Besides, being the first study undertaken within this project,

Boakye (2003) recognised how the feelings of local residents of *Assin Manso* that the TAST was linked to their strong attachment to the Slave River. His study found that residents regarded the Slave River as sacred and was a unifying point of the Black race (a painful break from the past, a place of cleansing and re-unification). Even though it was socially abhorred to trace one's roots, the taboo is only as strong as preventing the open identification of slaves. Furthermore, identities of slave descendants were known and their status formed the basis of discrimination in terms of marriage and leadership succession. While some local residents interviewed would allow their children to marry descendants of slaves, they unanimously agreed that descendants of 'slaves' should not be considered for chieftaincy succession. Bailey (2005) and Schramm (2008) believe slave descent is a major factor in the struggle for power in many violent chieftaincy disputes.

Yankholmes (2008) explored the perceptions of local residents towards the tourism use of TAST relics in the Danish-Osu community. The study found that residents remember the Danish slave market, a major site on the southwest Slave Route. Residents' knowledge was handed down to them from previous generations through oral tradition. In particular, the study demonstrated that residents of Danish-Osu were knowledgeable about the SRP; had strong community attachment despite its slavery image as well as being comfortable with visiting with desire to learn about slavery. Contrary to findings by Boakye (2003), descendants of the slaves were known by their names, lifestyles and inscription on houses. A unique feature of the town was the presence of large Danish mullato families, which informed local residents' perceptions about slave descent. Nonetheless, abusive words such as '*nyon*'—slave and others were used to describe descendants



of slaves. Local residents took a slightly different view of the relationship between indigenes and descendants of ‘slaves’, arguing that although descendants of ‘slaves’ were often denigrated and often experienced discrimination with regard to chieftaincy succession, they were part and parcel of the community.

Schramm (2008) discusses this impact on the SRP. She observes that although the SRP purports to be an all-encompassing description of all social actors with connection to the collective memory of TAST, “the non-reconciliatory stance of groups of slave-descendants is even not acknowledged” (Schramm, 2008:91). As a result, much of everyday social intercourse between descendants of enslavers and descendants of ‘slaves involves the expression of contest over “roots” and social space. She wrote in relation to a ‘lost’ son from Ghana who travelled to Burkina Faso in search of his lineage only to be rejected by the surviving family.

*Thus, while the descendants of former masters and slaves often share a given social space, there does not seem to exist a ‘victim’s tale’ or a sense of solidarity with those who, in the terminology of contemporary public discourse, lost their home and try to recover it. (Schramm, 2008:87).*

Interestingly, the constraints imposed by perceptions of slavery within communities on the Slave Routes thus play a role in the articulation of collective slave memories between communities. Schramm claims that collective slave memory is polarised between northern and southern Ghana and even among descendants of families of victims, perpetrators and preeminent slave profiteers since the launch of the SRP. Therefore, articulations of memory narratives tend to portray northern Slave Route sites and communities as authentic sites of “living memory”. In a paper that discusses the *Pikworo* Slave Camp in Northern Ghana, Schramm (2011:104) notes, “themes that

were emphasized in those representations were firstly, the victim status of northerners; secondly, the resistance that some communities put up against slave raiders; and, thirdly, their ancestral connection to present-day African-Americans”. A somewhat similar claim concerning the connection between present day northern Slave Route communities and African-Americans were made by Der (1998) who observed that not only has Southern Ghana established its political and cultural hegemony, but also reconstructed, appropriated and culturally institutionalised heritage and memory of the TAST with its resultant economic benefits. Der (1998:32) contends, “the roots of the African Americans and West Indians of Ghanaian origin do not end at the forts and castles on the coast, nor in the coastal states and in Asante. They can be traced further to northern Ghana”.

A discussion of the literature on African Diaspora as a phenomenal legacy of the TAST seems appropriate here. Interestingly, the nature of contested collective slave memories noted by Schramm (2008) and others do not only occur within the different former TAST communities. Contested articulation of collective slave memory underlies the discourse among the African Diaspora dispersed in many countries outside Africa, and between the African Diaspora as a group and the African continent. Several issues are raised regarding the different viewpoints and representations in the articulation of collective slave memories amongst the African Diaspora. An example of a comprehensive case to better contextualize these issues is the African-American Diaspora.

The first issue relates directly to who should be blamed for such a terrible act. Although seemingly innocuous, this question is difficult to answer because of the

obvious political and ideological backlash, especially from a post-colonial tourism context. Whilst no single group of people (except perhaps those affected) can be absolved from complicity, the debate continues as to who should ultimately bear the greater guilt about the TAST. Whilst some African-American groups and advocates place it squarely on the doorsteps of the European or “Whiteman” slave raider for perpetrating the heinous trade, some highlight the role of Africans in the whole enterprise. Gates (2010), the revered African-American scholar and activist, suggested in a publication in the *New York Times* that African tribal and ethnic rulers raided, captured or demanded slaves as compensation which they sold to European traders for handsome trophies and benefits. Gates lambasted advocates of reparations for African-American slave descendants for glaringly ignoring the role played by Africans in the slave trade and deluded themselves into believing the “romanticized version that their ancestors were all kidnapped unawares by evil white men, like *Kunta Kinte* was in “*Roots*” (2010:27). Despite the fact that his views (and many others who share similar views) attracted rejoinders from some African-American slavery reparation activists and academics (see for example Akurang-Parry, 2010) they suggest that representation among African-Americans has become a burden for collective memory. Schramm (2008) notes the issue of UNESCO not recognizing that contestation of representations to the repatriation and reparation debate.

The second issue concerns the unfortunate circumstances surrounding TAST, which continue to determine the fate of the African diaspora. Because of the notion of the African as inferior, the Black race has since time immemorial been subject to racial attacks and slurs (Fage, 1969). According to Eyerman (2004), the idea of African-

American arose because of the ‘trauma of rejection’ felt by the black community in the United States after the Civil War. The African-American label was therefore not a natural category to assume, but rather borne out of collective memory of slavery.

*“It was slavery, whether or not one had experienced it, that defined one’s identity as an African-American; it was why you, an African, were here, in America. It was within this identity that direct experience, the identification of “former slave” or “daughter of slaves” became functionalized and made generally available as a collective and common memory to unite all blacks in the United States” (Eyerman, 2004:76-77).*

Thirdly, Afro-Diasporan relations are at best described as ‘uncomfortably cordial’ and portend a high level of mutual mistrust (Lamousé-Smith, 2007; Osei-Tutu, 2007). It remains true, of course, that the Government of Ghana applied for world heritage designation for the forts and castles. However, since UNESCO’s designation and the attendant tourism use of TAST memory sites, both Africans and African in the diaspora (particularly African-Americans) have instead been distrustful of each other and have shown ideological aversion to each other’s cultures and societies, especially within the context of tourism. In this sense, it is worth repeating that the whole gamut of contestations to TAST heritage is inevitable in any form of tourism on the Slave Routes. The works of Bruner (1996), Kremer (2004) and Schramm (2008) abound in anecdotal evidence of suspicions in the manifold interactions between local Ghanaians and their African-American counterparts.

Lastly, African Diaspora more than ever is presently voluntarily created. If nothing else, it can be said that much of what constitutes the African Diaspora were formed during the TAST period. Nevertheless, while the TAST as forced migration is easily distinguishable from present day forces shaping migration around the world, what

constitutes the African Diaspora has extremely ambiguous connotations in contemporary times (Sefran, 1991; Tololyan, 1996; Cohen, 1997b; Akyeampong, 2000; Butler, 2001).

### **3.2 Tourism on the Slave Routes**

The growing body of research on the TAST is not only related to its landmarks and legacies but also expectations. It has been claimed that the TAST heritage is both physical and intangible (UNESCO, 2004). While the empirical data gathered so far is invigorating, what should be done about the 500 years of collective memory is even more imperative. As previously mentioned, among the key priorities for the SRP is to develop cultural tourism on the Slave Routes. To this end, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in conjunction with the SRP formed the Slave Route Cultural Tourism Programme (SRCTPA). The objective of the SRCPTA is to (1) identify, restore and promote sites and places linked to the memory of the TAST; (2) to establish museums of slavery devoted to the memory of slavery; and, (3) develop a tourist trade focused on remembrance and promote social and economic development through tourism (UNESCO, 2012). Thus, for some time now, tourism academics employing different methodologies have explored the expectations of host communities and tourists towards tourism promotion on the Slave Routes. Though embryonic, these empirical studies have shed light on the spatial dynamics and policy implications of developing 'roots' and routes tourism.

Indeed, the attempt to develop cultural routes as heritage products has long existed (Dienne, 1994; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Because of their centrality to

culture, economic, religious, trade and commercial roles, heritage routes have long been recognised as important part of the cultural landscapes for preservation. Different routes representing a deep spatio-temporal cultural manifestation of human movements from which interactions could be harnessed for tourism. While many of the routes are still being identified for conservation, the Silk Road and SRP are constantly on the front burner of UNESCO's agenda. In the case of the Slave Routes, their tourism appeal as the overriding motive for UNESCO and UNWTO poses challenges, especially from a collective memory perspective. More specifically, the 'one size fits all' UNESCO approach of museumisation and commemorative dis(re)membering generates tension and contestations to collective slave memory (Landzelius, 2003; Kremer, 2004; Schramm, 2008).

One of the problems in the conceptualization of cultural route tourism is that it is enmeshed in the slippery and fussy boundaries of religion. The practice used to dictate any discussion on 'route' tourism would begin by identifying the key contextual overlap between 'roots' tourism and other forms of movements, especially pilgrimages. There are many of such insightful theoretical discussions, which do so well (e.g. Turner & Turner, 1978; Cohen, 1979a, 1992; Vukonic, 1996; Graburn, 2001, 2004; Bremer, 2004) and a number, which have excelled within the context of 'roots' tourism or pilgrimages to TAST related sites (e.g. Bruner, 1996; Ebron, 2000; Kemp, 2000; Timothy & Teye, 2004; Leite, 2005). Hence, their discourse will not be repeated here. The most vivid of these is Vukonic (1996) who identifies two basic reasons underlying pilgrimage: to satisfy spiritual or material needs. He concedes that there are far greater numbers of people travelling in the world today because of their spiritual needs since, after all,

pilgrimage is primarily a religious act, which involves a strong spiritual motive for immortality and eternity. During pilgrimage, religious tourist attractions, which essentially include sacred buildings of special value and sites of special historical interests, are visited. At these sites, people offer sacrifices and perform various rituals (Vukonic, 1996). Thus, pilgrimage within the context of the SRP is described as visits by persons to sites associated with the collective memory of the TAST and who are exclusively or partly motivated because of the genealogical, historical and heritage values of the site (Timothy, 2008). A key symbiotic relationship between experiential values consumed at pilgrimage sites and other heritage attractions entail the satisfaction of very personal and spiritual desires.

Boakye and Dei (2007) suggested the term ‘pilgrims’ to describe people travelling on the Slave Routes given their emotional connection and quest for spiritual meaning. From this perspective, the emphasis of tourism will be downplayed and replaced with a stronger emphasis on the personal religious experience which, in turn, conveys the seriousness of the travel to the local community. That is why pilgrimages are undertaken in a group because without the presence of a critical mass of people one cannot expect a real religious effect (Vukonic, 1996). Indeed, the National Planning Committee of Emancipation and the Pan-African Theatre Festival (PANAFEST) sought to transform the 2003 edition into one event dubbed “*the return pilgrimage*” with African Diasporans as the pilgrims. The pilgrims were to go through traditional spiritual and emotional purification after participating in the slave route march on the reverse order. Asiedu (2005) captured this group as potential visiting friends and relatives (VFR) market although he recognised the emotional attachments of participants.

The extent to which ‘roots’ tourists differ from other types of cultural tourists has not received much attention by authors. Silberberg (1995), in a pioneering paper, defined cultural tourists by their motivation for visiting cultural attractions and sites. He identified four typologies of cultural tourists namely: *greatly motivated*, *in part motivated*, *accidental* and *adjunct*. The ‘greatly motivated’ mode travel to a destination or attraction primarily to enjoy its cultural offerings while the ‘in part motivated’ visit to enjoy the destination culture in addition to experiencing other types of attractions. The ‘accidental cultural’ tourists as the name suggests, are people whose trip motivation did not include experiencing the cultural landscape of the destination. They therefore benefit from word-of-mouth recommendations or proximity of cultural attractions to their accommodation facility. Lastly, ‘adjunct’ tourists are not driven by cultural reasons or would not engage in cultural activities or events under any circumstances. Although criticised in some academic forums, Silberberg’s (1995) framework underscored the fact that cultural tourism market segments can be differentiated.

Other scholars have also attempted to provide a typology of cultural tourists. Richards (1996) makes a distinction between “specific” and “general” cultural tourists. Whilst specific cultural tourists travel purposely to enjoy cultural attractions and become keen enthusiasts of cultural product offerings of the destination, the general cultural tourists are not keenly interested in the destination’s cultural tourism offerings in their decision making process. Aluza, O’Leary and Morrison (1998) identified five distinct cultural tourist segments: heritage/younger/backpacker, family/resort/sunbathing, older/urban heritage visiting friends and relatives, and the heritage/middle-age/family. Nevertheless, McKercher (2002:29) questioned the activity and motive based approaches



adopted by earlier authors and proposed a framework to segment cultural tourists based on two parameters: (1) the importance of cultural motives in the decision to visit a destination; and, (2) depth of experience. The specific segments of cultural tourists he proposed are as follows:

1. the *purposeful cultural tourist* (high centrality/deep experience);
2. the *sightseeing cultural tourist* (high centrality/shallow experience);
3. the *casual cultural tourist* (modest centrality/shallow experience);
4. the *incidental cultural tourist* (low centrality/shallow experience); and,
5. the *serendipitous cultural tourist* (low centrality/deep experience).

According to McKercher (2002), although all these different categories of cultural tourists can be found at the destination, the purposeful, sightseeing, casual and incidental dominate the market. However, this reflects the interplay of three factors namely, the competitive position of the destination in the tourism marketplace, its reputation as a cultural heritage destination and the type of tourists who typically come to visit. Even so, one needs to exercise caution because the relationship between motivation and depth of experience is not one-dimensional. Stylianou-Lambert (2011:407) observes that despite the relevance of categorising cultural tourists, “an explanation as to why certain tourists fall into one category or another has not been attempted”. Consequently, the author puts forward an alternative model to facilitate our understanding of the blurred genres of cultural tourists using the specific case of arts museums. Using what she called museum perceptual filters (MPFs), five categories of visitors to arts museums were identified: professional, art-loving, self-exploration, cultural tourism and social visitation. Thus, like earlier authors, Stylianou-Lambert (2011) left the fate and validity of the model for others to judge. No doubt, her

framework model sheds light on the behaviour of cultural tourists to museums from the concept of home. However, it cannot be generalized to all tourists who visit cultural or heritage attractions.

Interestingly, the discourse within the dark tourism is typical of the issues enumerated above. In particular, researchers who have been prominent in proposing conceptual models for labelling dark tourists do so or invoke the motivational primacy of the individual. For example, Sharpley (2009:20) identifies four ‘shades’ of dark tourism:

1. *pale tourism* –tourists with a minimal or limited interest in death visiting sites unintended to be tourists attractions;
2. *grey tourism demand*– tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark tourism sites;
3. *grey tourism supply*– sites intentionally established to exploit death but attracting visitors with some, but not a dominant, interest in death; and,
4. *black tourism*– in effect, ‘pure’ dark tourism where a fascination with death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of experiences intended to satisfy this fascination.

Within these ‘shades’, it is impossible to place tourists to TAST memory sites in any of the above categories even though slavery heritage sites are, more often than not, conceptualised within the dark tourism literature. This is because the phenomenon is largely an emotional recollection of collective memory and not a fascination about death. The consumption of slavery heritage experiences is, therefore, a consequence of

collective memory heightened by strong emotional attachment to collective identity and collective heritage.

Nevertheless, the issue of Diaspora ‘roots’ search for collective identity—and how this informs ownerships or claims to a mortified pilgrimage site—remains crucial. The notion is that tourism to the slave forts and castles is indispensable in the construction of personal heritage and identity. Following the analysis put forward by Bruner (1996), Shackley (2001), Austin (2000,2002) and Reed (2004), tourists desire to visit TAST cultural sites highlight memory over history because the trip is envisioned as sacred or ‘homecoming’. However, African Diasporans seeking their ‘roots’ find their expectations of easy affinity to a collective past and a collective identity being met with a complicated reality of tourism. Bruner’s (1996) pioneering study on the representation of Black Diaspora in aspects of heritage interpretation regarding *Elmina* Castle illustrated such effect. Hence, there is now an accepted distinction made between “African Diaspora” and ‘roots’ tourists to Ghana. While African-Americans eulogise their connection to the African heritage through the TAST, their eventual return experience smacks of their uncanny collective (group) memory function and bespeaks a very different set of meanings. Bruner (1996) describes the situation where local residents’ now label Africans from the Diaspora ‘*obruni*’ (‘Whiteman’). Labelling an African Diasporan as a ‘tourist’ or ‘*obruni*’ in his/her ancestral ‘homeland’ is, at least, stigmatizing and insulting for some members of the African diaspora. Since most Africans in the Diaspora see themselves as returning ‘home’, this galling feeling of ‘outsider’ status makes their continuous visits to Africa irrelevant (Austin, 2000). Thus,

for being labelled ‘obruni’ or ‘tourist’ by their kith and kin, makes many African Diasporans think they bear no similarities with present day Africa.

*Obviously, Ghanaians have not shared the Diaspora experience, and they may not have read works by such writers as Maya Angelou, Richard Wright, or Eddy L. Harris. In black Diaspora literature, there is an almost mythic image of Africa as a Garden of Eden. For black American men in that popular literature, a return to Africa is a return to manhood, to a land where they feel they belong, where they can protect their women, and where they can reconnect with their ancestry. The kings and queens and paramount chiefs of West Africa represent royalty and dignity, resonating powerfully in the Diaspora imagination. In Africa, black people are in control, are free and independent, as opposed to the condition of being a disempowered minority in America. These themes pervade black Diaspora literature: “Africa as motherland. Africa as a source of black pride, a place of black dignity” (Harris, 1992:13 cited in Bruner, 1996:293)*

For Schramm (2008), the ensuing experience between African-Americans and their Ghanaian counterparts is entwined between tourism’s commercial trappings and commemoration of a zero-sum sacred site. This probably explains the decline of enthusiasm among the African Diasporans to such events as PANAFEST and Emancipation Day celebrations. In his reflection on the dichotomy between tourism and the TAST, Austin (2000) concluded that tourism on the Slave Routes presented very serious challenges given:

- the non-leisure orientation of the utilization of the events of the TAST in tourism;
- the racially biased perception of those events; and,
- the need for awareness of education of potential visitors, host communities, and tourism planners.

Thus, “*how ordinary Africans, as destination host, see and relate to the African in the Diaspora in particular and how the project organizers view those undertaking the visit,*

*whether as ‘tourists’, ‘visitors’, ‘pilgrims’, or even ‘foreigners’ is of importance”* (Austin, 2000:213). The uncomfortable relationship was clearly shown at the Cape Coast Castle where the site had different meanings for the different visitors (African-Americans, Caucasians, and local residents) and their motivational or expectations for visiting. While many African visitors viewed their trip within the pursuit of leisure, 90% of African-Americans were racially motivated and therefore upset by the presence of other racial groups (Austin, 2002). Reed (2010) writes that while tourism at the two castles tends to be market-driven, they are located within individual reflections of personal identity and race relations. As Shackley (2001:160) commented:

*The site has a powerful spirit of place that affects the visitor irrespective of his or her background, but the durability of the experience must depend on how the fixed and blinkered visitor attitudes are. Visitors should not be given a sanitized version of events, even if those events are painful or shameful.*

Yankholmes and Akyeampong (2010) found that tourists to Danish-Osu agree that that memory of the TAST should be recalled as they overwhelmingly support the use of the TAST related attractions for tourism purposes. Although participants generally supported the idea of the SRP, Danish tourists were reluctant to support the SRP because of the presence of Danish mulattos and descendants of ‘slaves’ in the community.

From the community perspective, tourism development has been a mixed blessing for the diverse communities on the Slave Routes. Teye *et al.* (2002) examined the perceived social, economic and welfare impacts of tourism development in Cape Coast and *Elmina*. Their study found a simmering discontent against the backdrop of huge expectations among local residents during ten years experimentation of tourism

development. Their contention stemmed from the fact that tourism management of the Cape Coast Castle and *Elmina* Castle and nearby attractions was controlled by travel intermediaries based in the capital. They also bemoaned the low level of remuneration and deplorable working conditions in the industry. Not surprisingly, local residents resented being deliberately excluded in the decision-making process and implementation of tourism projects. Based on these, Sirakaya, Teye and Sonmez (2002) concluded that support for tourism was influenced by some socio-psychological factors, including perceptions of tourists, tourism impacts, employment status, membership in community organizations, and awareness of tourism development projects in the community.

On the contrary, Boakye's (2003) study found that local residents working or involved in tourism-related economic activities had more favourable attitudes and greater support for 'roots' tourism development in *Assin Manso*. However, local residents' support for intended 'roots' products was premised on economic expectations, as tourism was seen as the magic wand that will sweep away their poverty. Consequently, Boakye (2003) proposed that any attempt at tourism development should consider benefits sought by the host community while maintaining the sanctity of TAST cultural assets.

Yankholmes (2008) adopted the approaches of the earlier studies and extended it to include other Slave Route sites not recognised in the national framework of the SRP in Ghana. Although tourism development in the Danish-Osu community could best be described as rudimentary in comparison to Cape Coast and *Elmina*, residents were aware of the often-cited economic benefits of tourism and, therefore, support tourism's use of TAST cultural assets in the community.

### 3.3 Authenticity in slavery heritage experience

Authenticity in tourist experience has gained currency in tourism studies for some time now. In his pioneering paper, MacCannell (1973, 1976) examined authenticity as an important motivator in tourists' journeys. He argued that the tourist industry "stages" experiences purposely meant for them. While some authorities have been critical of concept of authenticity (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Bruner 1989, 1991; Crick, 1989), others still focus on conceptualizing and operationalizing it in the range of tourists' experiences (Moscardo & Pearce, 1986; Pearce & Moscardo, 1985; Urry, 1990; Wang, 1999; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Though contested, Wang's (1999) notion of existential authenticity still holds sway. Precisely because no one has countered his argument that:

*In such a liminal experience, people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life, not because they find the toured objects are authentic but simply because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily life (Wang, 1999:351-2).*

Halewood and Hannan's (2001) paper discusses three schools of thoughts that have emerged in the authentic representations of the past. The first, namely "landscapes of nostalgia", argues that in this post-modern era characterised by uncertainties, heritage tourism brings some degree of security and stability. The second school of thought draws on MacCannell's (1992) thesis while the third draws on the borderlines between authenticity and commodification. Regarding the latter, proponents of commodification argue that commodifying cultural products is an optimal way of selling heritage and places. A critique of this position is that in cases where tourism leads to commoditization, cultural celebrations and events may become meaningless or inauthentic (Greenwood, 1976). Nevertheless, studies investigating the influence of

tourism on traditional art forms and cultural assets are most often based on broad generalizations of conditions. Wilson (1993) taking a leaf of his undergraduate student work found Greenwood's (1976) interpretation of the negative influence of tourism on the local celebrations of the *Alarde* festival in Fuenterrabia-Spain contextually erroneous. McKercher and du Cros (2002) ask how much commodification can occur before an asset ceases to be authentic. For them

*A cultural or heritage asset represents the uncommodified or raw asset that is identified for its intrinsic values. A cultural tourism product, on the other hand, represents an asset that has been transformed or commodified specifically for tourism consumption (McKercher & du Cross, 2002:8)*

In effect, authentic representation of the past can only be a hoax because it is practically impossible to provide precise descriptions of the past (Wilson, 1993, Shepherd, 2002). Especially when any rational understanding of the past and subsequent interpretations of processes that constitute history are prone to distortion and sanitisation. This supports Lowenthal's (1985:215) assertion that "no account can recover the past as it was, because the past was not an account, it was a set of events and situations".

Several scholars from the dark tourism perspective have also sought to address authenticity of experience at dark tourism sites. Pioneers in the field, Foley and Lennon (1996) noted that commodification of the 'sacred' at dark tourism sites is a key challenge for heritage managers. Miles (2002) in a comparative study of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC and the State Museum in Oswiecim, differentiates between "dark" and "darker" tourism. According to him, the State Museum in Oswiecim offers "darker" experience because it enjoys 'locational



authenticity'. In other words, because the site is situated close to or on the very spot where the event took place it empowers commemorative potential. Stone (2006) proposes a typology of seven 'dark suppliers' ranging from 'dark fun factories' as the lightest to 'dark camps of genocide' as the darkest. Cohen (2011) proposes a new theoretical framework he christened *in populo* for understanding authenticity of dark tourism experiences of tourists who the disaster or tragedy befell. Using a case study of educational tourists to the Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem, Israel, the author set the research agenda for future studies:

*Through this example, it is demonstrated that a dark tourism experience which is perceived as authentic and meaningful may be provided through interaction with the affected population at what may be referred to as an in populo site, even if it is physically distant from in situ sites (Cohen, 2011:194).*

Within the viewpoint of the SRP, much research has been completed in investigating the tourist experiences at TAST sites. Austin (2002), in reference to the Cape Coast Castle, alludes to the contentions between African-Americans and other groups of tourists over what constitutes an authentic presentation of the Castle relative to its historical antecedents and contemporary economic benefits. Similarly, Schramm (2008), recounts the situation in *Gwollu*, a former slave-raiding site in northern Ghana where residents who were averse to donating artifacts and memorabilia associated with the TAST to be displayed in a museum. She noted that whereas the traditional authorities appeared supportive of the plan, the bona fide owners were reluctant to do so. Schramm (2008:88) claims this was not possible because "to most of them, those objects were sacred and linked historical memory with religious connotations".

This situation is not completely different in *Assin Manso* where local residents feel they do not share in the collective past at the site of the revered Slave River. Because the traditional authorities have banned farming and related activities around the Slave River, tourists' activities at the constructed Reverential Garden do not enhance authenticity of experience. According to Schramm (2008), when local residents visit the Slave River site and the Reverential Garden, they gaze upon a set of different scenery found in the community or that constructed though as part of collective 'roots'.

### **3.4 World heritage trilogy: heritage contestations, tourism and expectations**

It must be stated at the outset that UNESCO's vision of protecting and conserving mankind's cultural heritage assets has become its enduring burden greater than it envisaged (Hitchcock, 2005). Since the World Heritage Convention (WHC) became operational in 1975, 962 properties (as of September 2012) forming part of the cultural and natural properties have been designated as WHS. These include 745 cultural, 188 natural and 29 mixed properties in 157 State Parties (those who have signed and ratified the WHC). These properties, without doubt, have made a unique contribution to human history and, thus, have outstanding universal value (Shackley, 1998). Thus, for countries whose properties are enlisted, WHS serve as icons and continue to influence current values and justifiably so (International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] 1993).

However, Ashworth and Howard (1999) dispel the notion of world heritage as the embodiment of mankind's tangible and intangible heritage. They dispel and argue that because the production of heritage is selective, there is always the potential for an

asset designated as WHS to distort and reinterpret local and national heritage. They maintained that “heritage is simply an assertion of ownership of the past and until that heritage can be collectivised on a world scale, rather than nationalised or localised, then heritage will be more usually a cause of national and local conflicts than of global reconciliation” (Ashworth & Howard, 1999:73). Earlier Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990:30) noted that “the coveted UNESCO designation of World Heritage Site is used for national aggrandisement and commercial advantage within the international competition for tourists, more often than in celebration of an international identity.” Timothy (1997) points out the effect of different levels or scales (world, national, local and personal) of heritage tourism experience overlapping on a shared heritage. He forcibly argues that “what is viewed as world heritage by one person, maybe considered very personal by another person” (1997:752). Poria, Biran and Reichel (2006) echo the concerns of Timothy (1997) but noted the possibility of a contradictory heritage in the world-local dichotomy. They note that “one person may consider a certain heritage site as possessing characteristics of two types of heritage (or more) simultaneously” (Poria *et al.*, 2006:124). From a broad view, Harrison and Hitchcock (2005) suggested that notwithstanding the inherent legal ambiguities in the management of WHS, the WHC was not intended to be the standard-setter for the interpretation, presentation and management of national and local heritage sites. This was reiterated by Miller (2006:39) who suggested that, “the World Heritage Committee acknowledges that there must be a link between universal values and local values for a WHS to have a sustainable future”. However, a number of studies continue to counter this argument (Rakic & Chambers, 2008; Nicholas, Thapa & Ko, 2009; Poria, Reichel, Cohen, 2011). Within the Ghanaian

case study, what constitutes personal and national ownership of TAST cultural assets designated as WHS have been examined. Bruner (1996), Austin (2000), Kreamer (2004), Teye and Timothy (2004) reached conclusions similar to those of Ashworth and van der Aa (2002:447) that the “idea of world heritage, and its manifestation in international tourism, may conflict with heritage used for local and national purposes”. The empirical evidence indicates that for some, collective slave memory is indispensable to collective identity, while others think it is a duty for present generation to preserve such collective heritage. Others mesmerise at the potential of improving their quality of life through cultural tourism. Even so, the question could be asked if personal, local or national significance of a TAST relic does equal to international significance or vice versa. Thus, to designate some TAST sites as world heritage is useful in preservation drive, but as Bianchi and Boniface (2002:80) noted

*Notwithstanding attempts to avoid the ‘monumentalisation’ of residential and sacred spaces, and in some cases the exclusion of local residents from WHS, discourses of World Heritage often fail to give adequate voice and representation to the ‘local’. Even where outright exclusion from the sites themselves, or from decision-making processes associated with their management, is not apparent, nuanced and subtle forms of marginalisation and exclusion persist.*

One issue touched on by nearly every contributor to the world heritage debate is tourism. The complexity of the issue is attributed to the fact that UNESCO’s ten-point criterion for nominating sites for inscription does not include tourism. This calls into question claims by tourism researchers regarding the impact of WHS on tourism. Indeed, some authors suggest the designation of heritage sites as WHS automatically guarantees increased tourist numbers (Shackley, 1998; Hall & Page, 2006; Leask & Fyall, 2006). A specific illustration is Drost’s (1996) observation that many countries

have used their properties on the WHL as marketing strategies to tap into the ever-increasing cultural tourism market. Thorsell and Sigaty (1998) also reported that about 63 million tourists visited some 116 natural WHS in 1998. On the other hand, others claim that increased visitation as a result of WHS status is mute point and showed that awareness of world heritage status did not strongly inform tourist visits (Hall & Piggin, 2001; Buckley, 2004; Yan & Morrison, 2009). Regardless of whether WHS status is a catalyst for increased tourism, Hede (2008) notes that tourism is the precursor to WHS status. Some authors also suggest that WHS and tourism should be conceptualised as strange bedfellows, in that the former concerns itself with protection and conservation whilst the latter compromises these values for commercial gains (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Aas *et al.*, 2004). The key object of tourism, i.e. attraction can only be easily consumed when commodified.

Another challenging element of the debate relates to expectations of WHS. Problems emerge when expectations of WHS status do not concur with national requirements, particularly in matters of oversight responsibilities and regulations. Clearly, the spatial characteristics of heritage play out at WHS and are reflected in their multiple contestations. So, inscribing national or local heritage sites on the WHL implies sharing a set of heritage meanings and “sovereignty over the site, which then becomes ostensibly subject to an international framework of policies and regulations pertaining to WHS, with all the ambiguity that this entails” (Bianchi & Boniface, 2002:80). This is exemplified in the case of Dresden and the surrounding Elbe valley being delisted on the WHL suggesting tense relationship between national and universal heritage. The site in question was inscribed as a cultural landscape in 2004 but five years later, the World

Heritage Committee at its 33<sup>rd</sup> session removed it citing the construction of a four-lane bridge that compromised its outstanding universal value. In doing so, the World Heritage Committee observed that Germany could nominate the site for inscription under a different set of criteria. There are increasing cases (e.g. Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City) where WHS are in danger of losing their status due to concerns over government or asset managers' conflict of interests in protecting the sites. More pronounced is government or local community agitations to sacrifice universal values for modernity or physical and experiential deterioration of the asset due to overuse. Interestingly, UNESCO seems eager to apportion blame to government and asset managers for poor management of WHS but quick to enlist sites as endangered when key decisions are not made or poor decisions made that threaten the integrity of world heritage values.

### **3.5 Issues of power/influence**

One axiom of this study is that power influences and interventions underlie relationships among the multiple stakeholders involved in the articulation of collective slave memory. Power in so far as is unbalanced inure to the benefit of the dominant social groups and interests in legitimizing their actions in the present to gain advantage in the future. Given that the goal of cultural heritage management (CHM) is to promote the sustainable use of cultural assets for future generations, meeting the contemporary needs also becomes an issue worth considering. The conflicts and tensions that emanate from the present use of cultural heritage assets, especially those linked to a contentious past is attributable to the power imbalances in the articulation of collective slave memory.

Presently, as the world's geo-political and ideological ironies and reverberations stand, all countries and nation-states have aspects of their past they consider shameful and so would prefer not to publicly acknowledge (Lowenthal & Binney, 1981; Lowenthal, 1985). However, whether acknowledged or not, the national 'embarrassment' of recollecting the TAST seems amorphous and significant in Ghana. But how Ghana represents and interprets her 500 years of political and economic relations with Europe and America as epitomised by her numerous TAST relics seems even more challenging (Bruner, 1996; Shackley, 2001; Kreamer, 2004). As has been argued above, the process of selecting and articulating global collective memory is not only inherently political, but also complicates both dominant and subordinate memory narratives.

The literature suggests that the production of heritage spaces remain confined to the participating ruling class and higher echelons of society (Hewison, 1987; Hollinshead, 1992; Richter, 1999). This leads to the development of guardians of heritage, committed to presenting their version of history as true and excluding or suppressing the claims of rivals (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Hall (2003) thinks the political issues associated with heritage representation have not received the attention they deserve. He notes:

*Particular ideologies represent themselves to the gaze of the tourist through museums, historic houses, historic monuments and markers, guided tours, public spaces, heritage precincts and tourist landscapes. The gaze of the tourist is not value neutral, and the representation of heritage may act to legitimate current and social political structures (Hall, 2003:107).*

For this reason, analyses of power relations are important in locating the context of collective slave memory and collective heritage construction. According to Seaton

(2001:123), heritage is a force field of “different collective interests that many be convergent, divergent or a mixture of both”. He provides a model that captures four distinct groups whose struggle for power changes over time and space; namely, the subjects of heritage or their representatives; the owners and controllers of heritage; the spatial host communities of heritage development; and the audiences.

Though a nebulous concept, power is conceptualised as “all forms of successful control by A over B—that is, of A securing B’s compliance” (Lukes, 1974:17). The central element in the use of the concept of power in the dialectic analysis of social relationships is the belief that A in some ways affects B in a significant manner. Thus, power is viewed as domination, in this case the ensuing conflicts about the construction of collective heritage linked to collective slave memory amongst different social groups. Subsequently, Lukes (2005:30) argues that power unavoidably is value-laden: “both its definition and any given use of it, once defined, are inextricably tied to a given set of (probably unacknowledged) value-assumptions which predetermine the range of its empirical application”. Of particular note is Lukes’ (2005) revised conceptualization of power determined as a form of capacity not the exercise of it. Similar views that power is a form of empowerment or capacity to act have been shared by other seminal writers notably Parsons (1963), Bames (1988), and Morriss (2002, 2009). This underscores the point that power can be arbitrarily and capriciously applied even when not necessary. Furthermore, power is inexorably linked to the notion of interest and so how power is exercised rests on whose interest is being served. Perhaps, Lukes’ (1974:2005) enduring contribution to the literature, is his proposed three-dimensional framework for analysing



power relations: the pluralist view (one-dimensional); the view of critics of pluralism (two-dimensional); and a third view of power (three-dimensional) (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1: Typology of power relations**

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<i>One-dimensional view of power</i>
Focus on:
behaviour;
decision making;
(key) issues;
observable (overt) conflict; and,
(subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation.

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<i>Two-dimensional view of power</i>
(Qualified) critique of behavioural focus
Focus on:
Decision-making and nondecision making;
Issues and potential issues;
Observable (overt and covert) conflict; and,
(Subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances

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<i>Three dimensional view of power</i>
Focus on:
decision-making and control over the political agenda (not necessarily through decisions);
issues and potential issues;
observable (overt or covert), and latent conflict; and,
subjective and real interests

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Source: Lukes (2005:29)

The one-dimensional view postulates that power is intentional and active and therefore measurable when applied or through its exercise. From this angle, decision-making behaviour on issues reveals conflicts of subjective interests among contending parties. Some have criticised this view, pointing out that power is only exercised when concrete decisions are made. There is the possibility for individuals or groups to limit

their decision to issues that avoid controversy and yet still influence community values and political practices.

A practical demonstration of this view is to examine the processes of decision-making and non-decision making. Non-decision making avoids conflict of values and interests with the decision-maker. In this way, any demands for change by people in the community in relation to equitable distribution of benefits can be stifled. This brings up the critical issue of pluralism and whether in such situations decision-making can be actualised.

Related to the two-dimensional view of power is the idea that the exercise of power results in overt or covert conflicts. Lukes (2005) asserts that A can influence, shape or determine what he/she wants or prefers of B. It is also likely that power can be used to avert grievances by shaping perceptions and preferences for the status quo to remain or unarguable especially when there are no real alternatives. Often, this situation occurs to people as natural and unchangeable because it is potent, or in some ways generally beneficial.

However, Lukes (2005) noted that the first and second dimensional approaches are inadequate in facilitating our understanding of power relations, and proposed instead the three-dimensional viewpoint. In this way, the three-dimensional view provides the platform for issues and potential issues to remain above the political fray either because of individuals making such decisions or social forces working towards that end. It is within this context that the concept of latent conflict becomes useful. Lukes (2005) suggests there is a latent conflict in the interest between A that exercises the power and

the interest of B who is excluded. In other words, because A does not express or is not aware of his/her own interest, it is difficult to discern that of B.

A major contribution of Lukes' (1992:200) three-dimensional view of power to an understanding of heritage representations and tourism is discussed by Norkunas (1993). Using the case of the city of Monterey, California, Norkunas describes how the elite dictates which aspects of the city's industrial past is presented to tourists. She notes, "the ruling class carefully controls the form and content of historical re-creations and tourist landscapes, legitimising itself by projecting its own contemporary socio-cultural values upon the past" (Norkunas, 1993:97). In the case of SRP, reinterpretation of the past is carried out within and between heterogeneously composed stakeholder groups with unbalanced power influences to the history of the TAST. In an attempt to conserve the past and make it useful, the Slave Routes are portrayed to tourists in a negative or benign manner with incessant forays into collective slave memories. Such situation arises because ideology informs parochial and sectional interests regarding rightness of history.

To cite a couple of examples, although the Ghana Museums and Monument Board (GMMB) wants the *Elmina* Castle interpreted and represented in the best possible way that reflects the site's collective histories and heritage, Bruner (1996) observed that the vital question of "what is the best for Ghana" and "which story should be told" are not only unanswered, but they remain unset because of vested interests and emotions. At the same time, African-Americans who initially raised red flags against the rehabilitation of the forts and castles by government, perceive other tourists (i.e. tourists of other ethnic background) and external donors involved in its conservation as an

appropriation of history and sacrilege. Kreamer (2004:81) notes that given the large inflow of funds from U.S. donor agencies involved in heritage conservation, the designation of the forts and castles as WHSs and the financial consequence arising from increasing cultural and heritage tourism, “the potential is high for multiple sites of contestation that pit the local against the global.” On the other hand, some local communities led by their traditional authorities are outraged by the management of the TAST heritage assets coupled with government’s inability to ensure that local communities benefits from tourism (Bruner, 1996; Teye *et al*, 2002). At the same time, the power struggle has a way of intruding into heritage spaces, in the form of public commemoration mediated strongly from a historiographical Ghanaian perspective.

At this juncture, it is safe to say that Lukes’ (1974:2005) monograph has been critiqued by his peers and many other refined versions of power relations have been proposed by other scholars from both sociology and political science such as Bradshaw (1976), Bachrach and Baratz (1970) and Haugaard (2008). The thrust of the review, then, is to use this discussion as an opportunity to consider some of the main interconnected themes that help to highlight the power imbalances among the different social groups in the construction, interpretation and representation of collective slave memory and collective heritage.

### **3.6 Summary**

This chapter highlighted relevant issues in the previous literature. It summarised existing research themes on the TAST, tourism development issues on the Slave Routes, authenticity in slavery heritage experience, and the dichotomy between

world heritage and local heritage made worse by tourism promotion. The literature review also illustrated the power influences that attend to heritage. More importantly, the review served to illustrate the gaps in the literature. Firstly, literature abounds on the TAST but most of seminal texts are from Anglo-Saxon perspectives. From the Ghanaian perspective, scholarly attention is recent with notable contributions from historians and archaeologists invigorated by the launch of the SRP. Second, scrutiny of tourism research on the Slave Routes revealed focus understanding residents perceptions towards the tourism development. Third, the central argument made by studies investigating the concept of authenticity is that tourists seek some degree of authentic experiences at TAST cultural sites and such engagement could be captured on a continuum depending on their characteristics, motives and expectations. Fourth, the literature examining the inter-relationship between world heritage and local heritage has focused on the presentation and interpretation of the forts and castles as dissonant heritage. Lastly, studies that have touched on the political context of TAST cultural assets have focused on the influence of ethnic identities, particularly of African Diasporans preservation of TAST cultural assets.

Overall the previous literature has only peripherally touched on the issue of multiple stakeholders and the typology of their relationships on the Slave Routes and so served only as a context within which to situate the current study. However, studies have by and large by-passed the distinction between different collective memories articulated and shared by the multiple stakeholders and how the different meanings and uses of that shared memory influence the heritage created and used by them.

## **CHAPTER 4: STUDY AREAS AND RESEARCH METHODS**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter profiles the study areas as well as the underlying philosophies and methods used to assess the conceptual relationships identified in the current study. The entire chapter consists of six sections. Following the introduction is an outline of the historical context and patterns of tourism development in the study areas. The second section discusses the research design and underlying paradigm guiding the study. The third section is devoted to examining the various types of data needed and the methods used in eliciting them from six groups of respondents; namely, local residents, descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers, traditional authorities, expatriate diasporan Africans and tourists. Issues of validity and reliability from the quantitative domain and trustworthiness from the qualitative standpoint are the subject of the fourth section, with the next section highlighting some fieldwork challenges and limitations of the study. The final section covers ethical issues.

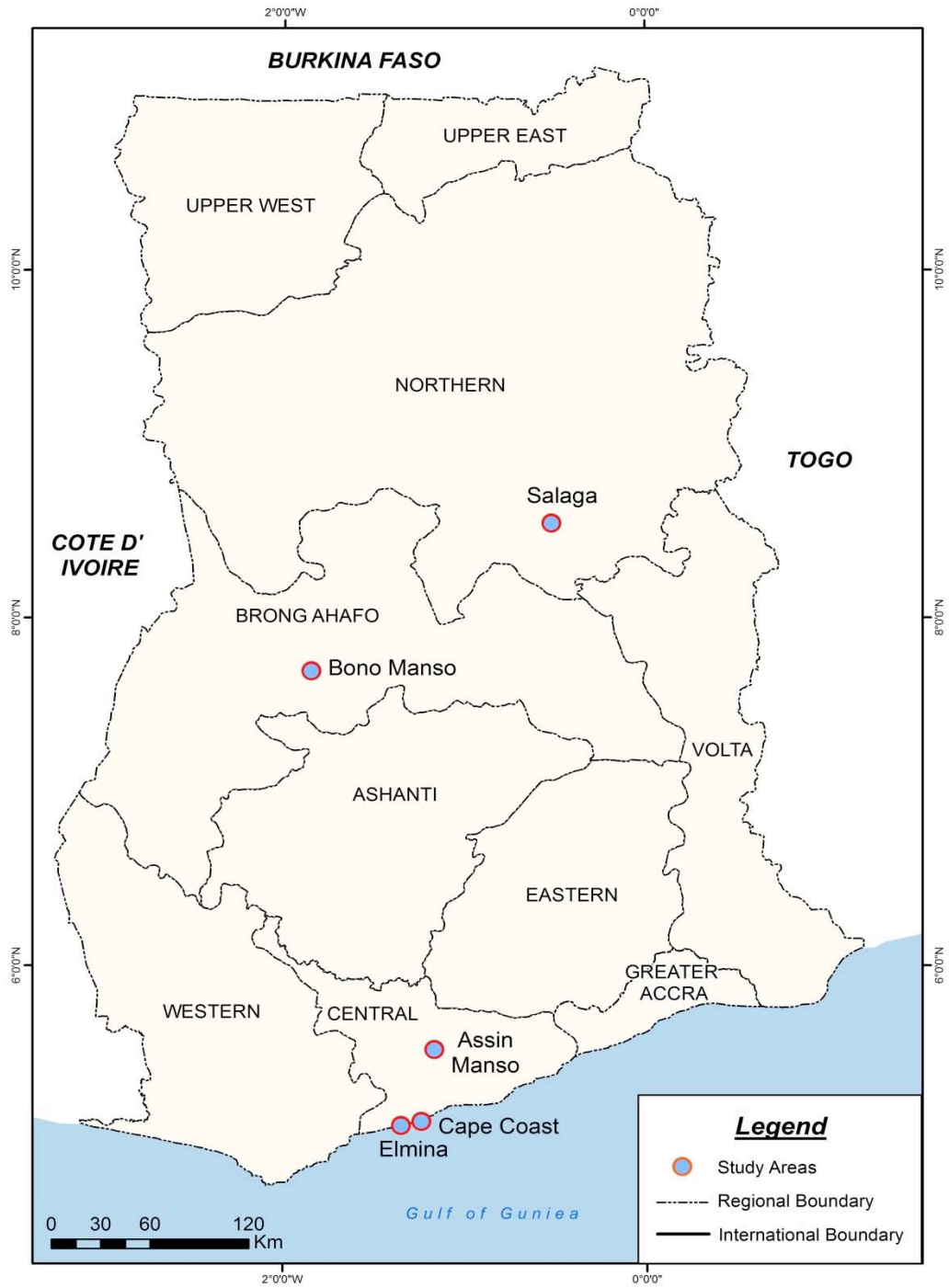
### **4.1 Profile of case studies**

Figure 4.1 shows the spatial focus of the study. There is a vast array of literature on the selected study areas, and therefore not necessary for the current study to provide a detailed historical context. However, information germane to the current study is used to present an overview of the history and physical setting in order to facilitate a deeper interpretation of the study’s results.

#### 4.1.1 Cape Coast

Historically, formal contact with Europeans began when the Portuguese first arrived on its shores in 1555 and named it *Cabo Corso* ('short coast') because of the short rocky promontory but was later corrupted by the English into Cape Coast. According to Hyland (1995a), although trade flourished in Cape Coast, there was no physical evidence of European fortification until the seventeenth century. The Swedes are credited with having built the first trading lodge (Fort Carolusburg) at Cape Coast in 1652 (Daaku, 1970). During the next eleven years, the fort became a war trophy with the Danes, Dutch, British and locals fighting to take possession from the Swedes. The British finally won control preserving three quarters of the original structure now called the Cape Coast Castle. Archaeological excavations show that the present structure has remains of both Swedish and English bricks (Anquandah, 1999).

With funding and technical support from United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Smithsonian Institution, and ICOMOS respectively, the Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project (NRCHPP) designed to rehabilitate the Cape Coast and *Elmina* Castles from 1992 to 1998. Indeed, these projects not only heralded a new dawn in Ghana's tourism industry, but have also, together with the nearby Kakum National Park, become the flagship attractions in the country. Since their rehabilitation, the Cape Cape and *Elmina* castles together have attracted on average of 56,000 visitors in 1995, to over 300,000 in 2005 (Amuquandoh & Brown, 2008). Administratively, Cape Coast is a metropolitan area and capital of the Central Region. The metropolis spans an area of 122 square kilometres with a population of 118,106 as at 2000.



**Figure 4.1: Map of Ghana showing study areas**



#### 4.1.2 *Elmina*

*Elmina* was the first town in the then Gold Coast to have had contact with Europeans in 1471 when the Portuguese arrived and found so much gold, coining the area *Mina de Ouro* (the ‘gold mine’) in reference to the quantity of gold found at that location (van Dantzig, 1980). However, the Portuguese plan to build a permanent trading fort was met with hostility from the local people until 1482 when São Jorge da Mina or St. Georges Castle was constructed under the command of Don Diego de Azambuja. Presently, St. Georges Castle is the oldest surviving fortress outside Europe. The fort was made of two fortified enclosures—one within the other—containing residential quarters, offices, workshops, store rooms for provisions and trade goods, open areas for soldiers drill and for artisans and underground cisterns (Lawrence, 1963). Later, sections of the fort were replaced to make it more impregnable.

However, like the adjoining Cape Coast Castle, St. Georges Castle became an active trading post for gold, ivory, firearms and later dominated by slaves in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this period, intense competition between European settlers (Dutch, English, Swedish, Danish, and Brandenburgers) increased wars and made the castle the subject of domination. Eventually in 1637, the Dutch in their third successive attempt empowered the Portuguese and took control of the castle until 1872. The Dutch made many modifications to the architectural design of the castle expanding the completely habitable holdings to 3.950 square meters (Anquandah, 1999). One significant event of the European presence in *Elmina* was the large Afro-European population that emerged. Some scholars have examined the European presence, descent and genealogical backgrounds of the local people (Lawrence, 1963; Lever, 1970;

Feinberg, 1989, DeCorse, 2001). Today, *Elmina* has a population of 22,000 and is the capital of *Komenda-Edina-Eguafo, Abrem* (KEEA) Municipality.

To protect and conserve its cultural heritage and over 1,200 accounted historical buildings in *Elmina*, the Government of Ghana with financial support from the Royal Netherlands Government implemented the *Elmina* Cultural Heritage and Management Programme (ECHMP). The ECHMP with its partners: the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies; University of Groningen, Netherlands; GMMB; Institute for Local Development Studies (ILDS) and the KEEA Municipality renovated some historic buildings and initiated self-help community projects.

#### *4.1.3 Salaga*

*Salaga* is the district capital of the East Gonja District in the Northern Region of Ghana, with a population of 16,196 people. Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Salaga* was a key market centre on the regional trade in kola nuts (Johnson, 1965). By 1817, it had become a popular trading hub and was said to be the ‘emporium of West Africa’ (Johnson, 1965; Akurang-Parry, 2001). The town was later referred to as ‘the Timbuktu of the south’ for its cosmopolitan population and varied trade as caravans come all the way from Northern Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Mali. Nevertheless, it was the trade in humans that made the town popular. According to Perbi (2004), *Salaga’s* strategic position made her the biggest slave market as it linked the western and central branches of the Trans-Saharan Trade Routes and consequently connected to two of the four main routes linking West Africa to the Sahara and North Africa. Trading at the market was in two sections and sessions—one section for foodstuffs (yam, rice, maize,

and goods like textiles) often a morning session conducted under shades and stalls while the other session which was conducted in the open air dealt in ‘human ware’ (Perbi, 2004).

Evidence of *Salaga’s* role in the TAST through the archaeological mappings include the slave market site, over 100 baths dug by slaves and a slave cemetery where dead slaves were purportedly thrown away for vultures to feast on and a slave warehouse.

#### *4.1.4 Assin Manso*

*Assin Manso* in the Central Region forms part of the *Assin* Traditional Area of the *Assin* North Municipality. Most of the inhabitants are farmers with many others engaged in petty trading. According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the town has a population of 2,016 inhabitants. It also boasts of some basic level of social infrastructure such as a health centre, police station, some educational institutions as primary, junior high and senior high schools and a vocational institute.

The choice of *Assin Manso* as one of the study areas is explained and justified by its description as one of the largest eighteenth century slave markets in southern Ghana. It was located on perhaps the busiest slave route in Ghana (Lovejoy, 1983; Law, 1995; Daaku, 1970; Perbi, 2004). Conton (1961) and Ward (1966) describe slave trading scenes in *Assin Manso* where slaves brought from *Asante* were bought by their *Fante* counterparts who served as middlemen taking them to smaller collection points on the coast, from where the Europeans bought them. Today, vestiges that remain of the town’s former identity include:

- A Slave River (*Ndonkonsu* in the local dialect) in which slaves were bathed and sorted out for various destinations (such as *Anomabo*, Cape Coast or *Elmina*);
- Graves of two reburied prominent slaves (Samuel Carson and Crystal, from the United States and Jamaica respectively); and,
- A colonial building that housed visiting expatriate slave buyers.

#### 4.1.5 *Bono Manso*

*Bono Manso* is in the Brong Ahafo Region, hitherto part of the Asante Empire. According to oral tradition, *Bono Manso*, which was the capital of Bono Kingdom, was founded by people from the Sahara Desert who settled in the area presumably around 1295 (Meyerowitz, 1949). Although this date is contested among historians, Effah-Gyamfi (1975, 1979) offers an intuitively appealing account of the political and historical accounts of the Bono Kingdom based on archaeological excavations, carbon dating and local oral traditions. He hypothesised three distinct historic phases of urban development. In the early phase (between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century), the urban centre was relatively small and had a population of about 4,000 people, with dwellings made of wattle-and-daub construction. In the second phase, spanning the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the urban centre was larger and held a population of about 10,000 people in evenly distributed puddled, mud houses and a key market centre. This period witnessed a boom in long-distance trade in imported commodities such as glass beads and mica-coated pottery. Effah-Gyamfi's (1985) analysis shows a significant transformation of *Bono Manso* into ethnic quarters: the Muslim Mande section and an *Akan* royal capital site.

During the final phase (late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> century), *Bono Manso* attained a much bigger population density, which resulted in political centralization.

During the TAST period, captives were brought to the town's market (locally referred to as *Dwabirem*) from the north where they had some time to rest. Other attractions in the town include a vessel (known locally as *Ayaadaso*), which according to local mythology provided rains during the dry season.

## **4.2 RESEARCH METHODS**

This section discusses the research approach and the range of methods used to collect, analyse and interpret the data that are presented and discussed in the subsequent chapters.

### **4.2.1 Research design**

According to Kumar (2005), relevant in the choice of research design is adherence to values regarding the control of bias and the maintenance of objectivity in terms of the research process itself and the conclusions drawn thereafter. In furtherance of that, Crotty (1998) suggests a set of questions whose answers would provide an appropriate research design. In a similar vein, Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002) outlined five potential choices researchers need to make when choosing a research design (Table 4.1). These suggestions inform the choice of descriptive research design for the current study.

According to Churchill (1999:116), the purposes of descriptive research design are to: (1) describe the characteristics of certain groups; (2) estimate the proportion of

people in a specific population who behave in a certain way; and, (3) make specific predictions. Sarantakos (1998:6) further lends credence to descriptive research design arguing out its ability to “describe social systems, relations or social events, providing background information about the issues in question as well as stimulating explanations”. This design can be either quantitative or qualitative and uses the logical method of inductive to deductive. It therefore, seeks to find answers to questions such as *who, what, when, where* and *how* through the analysis of relationship between and among variables (Churchill, 1999; Zikmund, 2003).

**Table 4.1: Suggestions for selecting a research design**

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**A. Questions by Crotty (1998)**

What method do we propose to use?

What methodology governs our choice and use of method?

What theoretical perspective lies behind the methodology in question?

What epistemology informs this theoretical perspective?

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**B. Key choices of research design by Esterby *et al.* (2002)**

Researcher is independent vs. researcher is involved

Large samples vs. small samples

Testing theories vs. generating theories

Experimental design vs. fieldwork methods

Verification vs. falsification

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Source: Crotty, 1998:8; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002:43

Churchill (1999) classified descriptive research into two types; namely, longitudinal study and cross-sectional study. In simple terms, longitudinal studies rely on panel data (fixed sample of individuals or some entities from whom repeated measurements are taken) over a period. Cross-sectional studies, on the other hand, rely

on a sample of elements from the population of interest that is measured as a single point in time. The most common type of cross-sectional analysis is the sample survey (Churchill, 1999). A typical sample survey involves summarising and generalising data collected. Due to the deadline for completing this dissertation and logistical constraints, longitudinal studies could not be feasible, hence, the study's application of sample survey.

The study satisfies all the characteristics of descriptive research design. First, the need to examine the multiple collective slave memories of the different social groups towards developing the SRP for cultural tourism. This satisfies the purpose of describing the characteristics of the different stakeholders in collective heritage contestations. Second, it also provides insights into the nature of relationships among the different social groups in the construction of collective heritage and collective identity. Lastly, adopting the descriptive research design would lead to the provision of meaningful suggestions for planning and marketing purposes.

#### **4.2.2 Research paradigm**

The research literature in social sciences has documented various views and opinions regarding the philosophy of social research and how knowledge is acquired. Even though much of the debate about the nature, types, purposes, and legitimacy of paradigms and methodologies in social science inquiry is beyond the remit of this study, it certainly serves as a guide to understanding the claims and counter-claims that inform practice. Atkinson (1995) criticised social scientists for their obsession with 'paradigm mentality', which restricts rather than extends the frontiers of knowledge. The "claims

about what is knowledge (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), what values go into it (axiology), how we write about it (rhetoric), and the processes for studying it (methodology)” (Creswell, 2003:6). These have since time immemorial informed social inquiry. Another view is that epistemologies, theoretical perspectives, methodologies and methods do guide social research (Crotty, 1998).

The four major paradigms that underlie social inquiry include positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2003). Neuman (2003) noted three paradigms, namely, positivism, interpretative social science and critical social science. He contended that although social inquiry is, most often than not, based on the first two, these three are the core ideas gleaned from many specific arguments. In the field of management, the praxis discourse also suggests that critical/constructivist perspectives are more appropriate in the construction of the research–practice relationships (Easterby-Smith, 1991). Table 4.2, compiled by Jennings (2009), describes the differences and similarities between the suites of paradigms that inform tourism social science inquiry.

**Table 4.2: Overview of paradigms that informs tourism research**

Related paradigms:	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical realism	Pragmatism (mixed methods)
Origin	Founded in the hard/natural sciences ( <i>Naturwissenschaften</i> )	Founded upon principles of hard/natural sciences ( <i>Naturwissenschaften</i> )	Founded upon principles of hard/natural sciences ( <i>Naturwissenschaften</i> )	Founded in human (social) sciences ( <i>Geisteswissenschaften</i> )
Synonyms and/or related terms	Empiricism, Realism, Naïve realism, objectivism, foundationalism, representationalm	New realism (Note: developed as a response to critique of positivism)	Described as midpoint between realism and relativism	Transformative emancipatory paradigm



**Table 4.2. Continued**

Focus	Explanation ( <i>Erklaren</i> ) Realism Objectivism	Explanation ( <i>Erklaren</i> ) Realism Objectivism	Explanation ( <i>Erklaren</i> ) Realism Objectivism	Research “question” focus dictates the emphasis on explanation. ( <i>Erklaren</i> ) or or understanding ( <i>Verstehen</i> ) or both “what works” in the external reality
Ontology (world view of nature of reality)	Truth and laws are universal	Truths are fallible and a product of historical and social contexts	Truths are fallible and a product of historical and social contexts	
Epistemology (science of knowledge; “relationship between researcher and that which is to be known”)	Objective	Objective- acknowledges potential for researcher bias	Objective- acknowledges potential for researcher bias	Ability to solve problems Objective and subjective
Methodology (guidelines for conducting research)	Quantitative	Quantitative (use of mixed methods)	Quantitative Inclusion of mixed methods	Mixed methods Triangulation Compatibility of methods thesis
Axiology (study of ethics and values)	Value free Extrinsic purpose of research project	Essays to be value free Extrinsic purpose of research project	Essays to be value free Extrinsic purpose of research project Consideration of emancipatory role of research	Essays to be value free Extrinsic purpose of research project Consideration of emancipatory role of research May have elements of value laden
Discussions and/or tourism text examples	Examples are manifold and exist in early journal publications	See <i>Journal of Travel Research</i> , particularly early editions	Bhasker (1978,1982, 1986, 1990) Harrè (1981, 1986) Gale and Botteteril (2005) Downward (2005)	Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) Parsini (2005) Passini (2006) Morgan (2007)

Source: Jennings, 2009:674–675

However, while social scientists have been engrossed in the paradigmatic warfare between mainstream positivism and naturalism, an ‘alternative’ paradigm emerged that has since the 1900s held sway the argument that epistemological and ontological commitments associated with research philosophies are not cast in concrete (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Bryman, 2004). The use of pragmatism as the philosophical foundation for social science research provides perspectives to the understanding of the mixed method approach, which has fast become a new buzzword in research methods.

Thus, methodologists associate the philosophy of pragmatism to the mixed methods distinguishing it from the quantitative inquiry which draws from positivist and (post)positivist paradigms and qualitative inquiry which is based on interpretivism or constructivism philosophies (Rallis & Rossman, 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

According to Johnson and Turner (2003), mixed methods help to 1) obtain convergence or corroboration of findings; 2) eliminate or minimize key plausible alternative explanations for conclusions drawn from the research data; and, 3) elucidate the divergent aspects of a phenomenon. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) also suggest mixed method is an approach to inquiry that combines both qualitative and quantitative epistemological ideologies. Bryman (1984) sought to draw a distinction between epistemological (philosophical issues about the appropriate foundation for the study of society and its manifestations) and technical issues (consideration of the superiority or appropriateness of methods of research in relation to one another). He concludes that the decision to combine both qualitative and quantitative research methods make intuitive sense, albeit a technical one. Suffice it to mention that, there appears a wide acceptance of the relevance and rigor of mixed methods research in tourism scholarship (Botterill, 2000, 2001; Gale & Botterill, 2005; Pansiri, 2005, 2006 cited in Jennings, 2009).

With the full appreciation of ontological, epistemological, and methodological contributions of each paradigm, the current study adopted the mixed methods approach. Creswell (2003) identified six basic types of mixed method approach; sequential exploratory, sequential explanatory strategy, sequential transformative strategy, concurrent triangulation strategy, concurrent nested strategy and concurrent transformative strategy. Having taken due cognizance of the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the different

mixed method approaches available, concurrent triangulation strategy is found best suited for the phenomenon under study. This study involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative data to cross-validate or corroborate the findings. Priority was given to both methods as data were simultaneously collected and the results integrated at the interpretation stage.

To examine the phenomenon under study from the mixed methods perspective, attention is drawn to multiple stakeholders and different social groups involved in the interpretation of collective slave memories; namely, local residents, descendants of enslavers, descendants of 'slaves', tourists, traditional authorities, and expatriate diasporan Africans all interacting within the milieu of the SRP. Within the SRP, the physical, socio-political and temporal contexts that shape the interactions between and among the different social groups and collective interests is important, if not imperative for managing tourism. Thus, the context is crucial because it is the product of constructed multiple realities, meanings and behaviour of the different social agents participating in the collective memorialisation of the TAST and a shared heritage for tourism related activities. Even so, the multiple realities provided by these different social groups are not to be considered as exclusive or isolated but rather mutually interactive and reinforcing.

Additionally, understanding the complexity and subjectivities inherent in interaction among these different social groups and collective interests is key to assessing their support or opposition to the SRP. Thus, by adopting this research paradigm, the study reinforced the fact that perhaps the debate over quantitative-qualitative dichotomy is over hyped because "even the self-confessed paradigmatic

extremists do not consistently hold to one position or the other” (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 1994:22).

#### **4.2.3 Naturalistic approach: An alternative**

The naturalistic paradigm or interpretivism has long been the alternative to the positivist hegemony that has held sway for decades. To the naturalistic mind, design means, “planning for certain broad contingencies without, however, indicating exactly what will be done in relation to each” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 226). Given its intellectual heritage, adopting a naturalistic approach could have best served as the research philosophy for the current study if the research goal was solely to describe the interpretations that the multiple stakeholders offer for their contestations to the collective slave memories.

In view of its underlying philosophies and features, the naturalistic approach was not adopted for the present study because of cultural reasons. Due mainly to the elaborative formal and informal community entry protocol that exist in most Ghanaian communities, employing the interpretative method of data collection lends itself to conflict in the exercise of the roles of the researcher and the researched. Anecdotal evidence highlight that adopting a flexible research design for fieldwork based on naturalistic principles in Ghana makes many local residents feel “left out”. More often than not, researchers have to go to great lengths explaining to local residents why their views and opinions were not sought in community studies based on sole methods.

Moreover, while the pervading silence which hitherto seemed to engulf public discussions on the TAST have apparently fizzled out with the launch of the SRP, it has

invariably led to local community residents answering research questions in a “proper” or “socially desirable” manner. For example, while most locals would like to share their knowledge, attitudes and perceptions in surveys, the emergence of community ‘vanguards’, acting as community mouthpiece, have denied the research community an opportunity of capturing and gauging the community’s mood. Hence, multi-strategy or mixed method was employed within the analytical framework of the case study approach. Yin (2003) relates case studies to experiments in the generalization of theoretical suppositions. This is to be expected for, according to him, “the goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)” (2003:21).

### **4.3 Data and sources**

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary data were obtained from a questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews (IDIs) and field observations in five selected communities on the Slave Routes from January to June 2012.

#### **4.3.1 Primary data and sources**

Three main methods were utilised in gathering primary data: participant observation and in-depth interviews and questionnaire survey.

##### *4.3.1.1 Participant observation*

The work of Patton (1990) is instructive in the use of observation in conducting qualitative research. Patton emphasised that the researcher needs to make three critical

decisions regarding his/her involvement in the process. First, is the extent of participation that ranges from “complete immersion in the setting as a full participant to a complete separation from the setting as a spectator” (Patton, 1990:206).

Second, the researcher needs to make a decision, albeit an ethical one, whether the observation will occur in an overt or covert manner. While the former involves observing the study subjects with their consent and acknowledgement, in the latter, the subjects are unaware they are being observed. Hakim (1987) also recognises that ethical issues may arise in the conduct of case studies in a social group or an organisation as the researcher faces practicable challenges combining the roles of a team member and a researcher. But while acknowledging that the use of participant observation and use of data obtained by the researcher in management research, Easterby-Smith *et al.* (1991) disagree on covert participant observation in organizational research. They advise organizational researchers to be deceitful as far as it is necessary to ‘get by’ as participant observers.

In the present study, covert observation was not an option because, as mentioned above, community entry protocol in Ghana makes that impractical. Indeed, given the community set up where practically “everyone knows everybody” and strangers are easily identified or recognised, it was difficult undertaking covert observation. Indeed, not going to the overlord or chief’s palace to pay homage and seek permission to carry out any open air undertakings in the community is seen not only as an affront to the sensibilities of the traditional authorities but might engender negative intent about one’s presence. Moreover, given the bureaucratic red tape and laissez faire attitude of officials

in state institutions towards releasing public documents or official documents, going ‘undercover’ could not be practicable.

Thirdly, the researcher needed to determine the duration to be devoted to data gathering considering that “participant observation is a highly labour intensive—and, therefore a relatively expensive—research strategy” (Patton, 1990:25).

#### 4.3.1.2 In-depth interviews

Taylor and Bogdan’s (1984:77) definition encapsulates the justification of IDIs as a method of data collection for the current study: “*repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informant’s perspectives on their lives, experiences or situation as expressed in their own words*”.

The decision to use IDIs is both linked to the study’s epistemological position and the fact that it offers the platform to defining the ‘situation’ in a collaborative approach with participant observation. Johnson (2002) identifies some associated assumptions of IDIs. First, is understanding and having a deeper appreciation of the respondents’ worldview and being emphatic to that viewpoint.

*[In-depth interviewing] begins with common sense perceptions, explanations, and understandings of some lived cultural experience ... and aims to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience or perception, to uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience (Johnson, 2002: 106)*

Second is that the topic of the research should be one that is beneficial to the researcher and the subject. Finally, IDIs are useful because they provide a big picture of topic under study. To the extent that the method does not limit respondents to a predetermined set of questions provide the researcher the opportunity to understand the

multiple and sometimes conflicting aspects of the phenomenon under study. Thus IDI facilitates understanding of a phenomenon and its effects directly in a comprehensive way as the encounter with informants are repetitive, personal, and emic and thus set the basis upon which findings are contextualised.

#### *4.3.1.3 Questionnaire survey*

In conformity with the mixed method thinking, the survey method was employed for the study. Johnson and Turner (2003) describe questionnaires as *intramethod mixing* (combing both qualitative and quantitative components) method of data collection which comprise open, closed and “mixed” questions. There are no straightjacket rules for using questionnaires; its appropriateness is based on a range of factors including the type of information sought and availability of resources for the study. However, there is some caveat as pointed out by Kumar (2005) that the researcher should take into consideration the socio-economic and demographic backgrounds of the respondents.

With regard to the current study, though literacy and numeracy is generally low in most of the study areas, the use of the questionnaire survey was basically borne out of anecdotal evidence that local residents interpret surveys as representative of “everyone’s views”. Arguments and criticisms of why certain individuals or persons are chosen to represent the community is rampant. This is because during the community entry protocol, traditional authorities announce to the whole community the presence of the research team and the purpose of the study which creates anxiety among residents. Even explanations about the research process and sampling frame do not satisfy over-zealous



residents who want to share their ideas, opinions and beliefs about the subject of the research or issues of concern to the community.

#### **4.3.2 Secondary data and sources**

The main secondary data were obtained through an extensive documentary search. Most of the documents were publications of government ministries, departments and agencies. This was supplemented by the archival research at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) at Accra.

##### *4.3.2.1 Documentary analysis*

Several authors have underscored the importance of relying on documentary evidence and records in the research process (Hakim, 1987; Patton, 1990; Kumar, 2005). Hakim (1987) noted that documents may be scrutinised for both *content* and *quantitative* analysis while Kumar (2005) suggested that evidence emanating from documents and records could help to interrogate findings from questionnaires or interviews. The main sources of documents relied upon were:

- Ghana Population and Housing Census Reports (2000);
- National Tourism Development Plan (2013-2017);
- National Slave Route Project (Ministry of Tourism, November, 2002);
- UNESCO Slave Route materials;
- Working documents of the various ministries, departments and agencies responsible for tourism including the MoT, GTB and GMMB; and,
- Documents relating to the Slave Trade at the PRAAD

However, gathering relevant data and information from the above mentioned sources proved daunting due to a number of reasons. The first was the oft-repeated deficiencies of relying on official documents in Ghana, particularly those from political office holders and public servants. Apart from the bureaucracy in accessing the documents, there exist a certain perception that granting access to official documents held by government agencies that do not “look good reading” could be capitalised upon for political gains. This perception has structurally woven into official dealings with researchers even though assurance of anonymity and ethical approval was obtained prior to fieldwork.

Additionally, there is the painstaking task of sorting the relevant documents or information to the study. Hakim (1987:45) reminds us, as if we ever need reminding, that

*Whether the required information has to be specially extracted from records or computer files, or is already available as a standard release tape, it is essential that sufficient time and resources are allocated to the tasks of familiarisation with the contents, preparation of basic or additional documentation with reference to the specific questions addressed by the study and pertinent data items and, in some cases, sorting out whether missing values can reliably be imputed or estimated.*

#### **4.4 Target population and sampling design**

Table 4.3 outlines the types of data needed and the sampling procedures employed. In line with the research philosophy guiding the study, both probability and non-probability techniques were utilized to gather primary data. With regards to quantitative data, systematic and convenience sampling techniques were used while qualitative data made use of purposive and snowballing techniques. The study population was made of (i)

local residents; (ii) traditional authorities; (iii) tourists; (iv) descendants of African ‘slaves’; (v) descendants of African enslavers; and (vi) African diaspora (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.3: Types of data needed and sampling procedure**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Information sought</b>	<b>Sampling design</b>	<b>Sampling Method</b>	<b>Data collection method</b>
Households (any member of 18+)	Perceptions and experience of tourism; articulation of collective slave memory and support for developing the SRP for cultural tourism	Systematic	Random	Questionnaire
Expatriate diasporan Africans	Family history; perceptions and experience of tourism; articulations of collective slave memory; exclusionary practices and experiences at TAST sites; and group (re)presentations in the SRP	Snowball	Non-random	IDIs
Traditional authorities	Perceptions and experience of tourism; articulations of collective memory; TAST commemorative ceremonies; support for SRP; and opinions on cultural tourism	Purposive	Non-random	IDIs
Descendants of enslavers	Perceptions and experiences, of tourism; articulations of collective slave memory; individual or group (re)presentation in tourism and attitudes towards the SRP	Purposive	Non-random	IDIs

**Table 4.3. Continued**

Descendants of 'slaves'	Perceptions and experiences, of tourism; articulation of collective slave memory; individual or group representation in tourism and attitudes towards the SRP	Purposive	Non-random	IDIs
Tourists	General travel information; expectations and experiences at TAST sites; perceptions of TAST sites as part of national or world heritage; attitudes towards SRP and slavery heritage tourism	Convenience	Non-random	Questionnaire

The target population for the household survey were all adults, aged 18+ and residing in the study areas during the period of data collection. A household, as defined by the Ghana Population and Housing Census (2000) is “a person or group of persons, related or unrelated who live together in the same house or compound, share the same housekeeping arrangement, and are catered for as one unit.” Thus, the sample frame included households drawn from localities within the five study areas using the community household list. The study utilized the systematic sampling technique. According to Scheaffer, Mendenhall and Ott (1986:70), systematic sampling provides a useful alternative to simple random sampling for two reasons:

1. Systematic sampling is easier to perform in the field and hence is less subject to the selection errors by field-workers than either simple random samples or stratified random samples, especially if a good frame is not available.

2. Systematic sampling can provide greater information per unit cost than simple random.

Convenience sampling technique was used to collect from tourists to TAST sites. In the case of expatriate diasporan Africans, snowball technique was applicable. The inherent shortcomings of both convenience and snowball sampling techniques were recognised and measures adopted to address reliability and validity concerns.

Purposive sampling detailed by Patton (1990) was employed to collect data from traditional authorities, descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers and expatriate diasporan Africans. The essential criteria were based on the respondents' experience and knowledge of the subject under study. The use of purposive sampling technique also relates to the study's epistemological position and the fact that it offers the platform to defining the 'situation' in a collaborative approach with IDIs and participant observation.

## **4.5 Community study**

### *4.5.1 Community entry protocol*

Besides the obvious ethical issues of entering the research field without the knowledge of the researched, other practical benefits are associated with involving the subject and the community in the study implementation. Saratakos (1998) stressed the point that given the dynamic nature of social research, there should be mutual trust and cooperation based on accepted conventions and expectations of all involved. From this perspective, conscientious effort was made to seek permission, right of entry and assurance of the research subjects. Accordingly, initial outreach and entry into the study

areas involved the researcher personally paying courtesy calls to traditional authorities and overlords of the selected communities. The researcher, as custom demands in Ghana, presented traditional drinks and introductory letters to the authorities seeking their participation in the study. The researcher also contacted and held meetings with the various tourism officials at the various District Assemblies, elected members of local council (in the case of Ghana Assembly Members), and opinion leaders to discuss effective ways of implementing the study while taking on board their concerns and opinions. The engagement and involvement of identifiable social groups and community members helped give the fieldwork legitimacy and credibility thereby ensuring adequate participation and effective data collection and fieldwork in the study areas.

#### *4.5.2 Sample size*

Determination of the sample size for the household survey was informed by the expected margin of error, population size, desired precision and homogeneity or heterogeneity of the study population, availability of time and resources, and expected response rate (Sarantakos, 1998). Consequently, the Scheaffer, Mendenhall and Ott's (1986:182) formula for determining sample size for systematic sampling was employed.

That is:

$$n = \frac{Npq}{(N-1)D + pq}$$

Where  $q=1-p$  and  $D = \frac{B^2}{4}$

For example, in the case of Cape Coast, the approximate sample size with a bound of estimation of magnitude  $B = .5$  (i.e. 50%) and  $p = .5$  is:

$$D = \frac{B^2}{4} = \frac{0.5^2}{4} = 0.000625$$

$$n = \frac{30060 (.5)(.5)}{30060(.000625) + (.5)(.5)}$$

$$n = 378$$

However, ten per cent (10%) was added to each sample to cater for non-response.

#### 4.5.3 Sampling procedures for household survey

Contacting, questioning, and obtaining information from a large population, such as all of the households in the five study areas presented not only logistical but also time constraints. Therefore, a properly designed sampling procedure such as the one employed for the study provides a reliable means of inferring information about the population without examining every member or element. In conducting the household survey, the study followed the two-stage modified systematic sampling procedure as suggested by Hinderink and Sterkenburg (1979).

The first stage involved sampling the number of houses in the locality based on the sample size calculated for each study area. The first-stage visit was used to collect a number of technical data concerning the house, its owner and names of household heads living in the house. The names of the house heads were subsequently put on a list and numbered. This list constituted a reliable and up to date sample for the second stage: the household survey.

In the second stage, every *n*th listing was visited until the sample size was reached (Table 4.4). In each household, a research assistant conducted a short screening interview to determine if the adult member was eligible. The eligibility criteria were

gender (proportion of males), age (proportion of 18+ years), education (proportion of household members who had completed at least senior high school) and economic (breadwinner of the family). In order to compare the sampled households with those not selected, demographic characteristics (e.g. age and sex) of all household members and the relation to the household head were collected for all households during the first stage. Comparison of these data did not show any basic difference between the two groups.

**Table 4.4: Sample size for the selected study areas**

Study area	Population	Sample Size Based on household size		Sample size by sex		Total
		Houses	Household	sex		
				Male	Female	
Cape Coast	118,106	14,947	30,060	147	149	296
<i>Elmina</i>	21,103	2,190	5,362	109	116	225
<i>Salaga</i>	16,196	1,455	2,680	173	63	236
<i>Bono Manso</i>	2,780	1,336	919	70	60	130
<i>Assin Manso</i>	2,016	375	459	58	83	141
<b>Total</b>	160,201	20,303	39,480	557	471	1,028

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2000)

However, three caveats and limitations to the method should be kept in mind. First, the population listing used were based on the population and housing census carried out in 2000. Even though the Ghana Statistical Service had conducted a census in 2010, data at the district level was not available at the time of fieldwork. With an introductory letter from the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, the Hong Kong



Polytechnic University, and a written application outlining the type of data needed and for what purpose, the researcher was unable to access the 2010 Population and Housing Census data. Indeed, there were lots of media speculations and political grandstanding regarding the official release and publication of the census data two years after the exercise was conducted. Consequently, the last census data were used and estimations made based on the last population growth rate. In each study area, the population listing was procured from the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). Before fieldwork began, the research team conducted preliminary research where buildings were checked *in situ*. The exercise also helped to mark all buildings either as residential or non-residential.

Second, in consultation with the Survey Department and the Planning Officers of MMDAs of the study areas, it was agreed to restrict the survey to the heritage core of the study areas (since many of them had maps that identified heritage trails) or localities that had identifiable TAST attractions. Third, conscious efforts were made to ensure that a fair number of female adult residents were included in the sample, especially in areas where females out-numbered the male populations. In cases where more than two adults lived in the same sample-housing unit, the field assistant prepared a complete listing of household members before randomly selecting a respondent for the survey. In addition, return visits were made to the “not-at-homes”. However, where the eligible housing units had no inhabitant, they were removed.

#### *4.5.4 Questionnaire design*

A semi-structured questionnaire was designed and administered orally (face-to-face). This approach provided easy inclusion of residents who were functionally uneducated.

The instrument included open-and close-ended and Likert scale questions (Appendix I). The open-ended questions were intended to offer the platform for respondents to share their views and experiences without being constrained by any preconceptions held by the study. In cases where questions required a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response, opportunity was offered for respondents to explain their answers. The instrument also included items that were intended to measure respondents’ attitudes on a seven-point agreement scales (Maddox, 1985) where 1 was ‘strongly disagree’ to 7 representing ‘strongly agree’ and a central neutral point which allowed the respondents direction. Given that the statements reflected respondents’ perceptions rather than factual knowledge, a ‘don’t know’ and ‘not applicable’ or ‘no-opinion’ category was included (Krosnick *et al.*, 2002). Items pertaining to independent measures (political contestations, social contestations and spatial contestations) were compiled from previous published papers in the field and modified to fit the present study (Table 4.5). Demographic questions were asked at the end of the questionnaire regarding age (treated as a continuous variable), sex, level of education, residential status, employment status, and income (measured as categorical variables).

Political contestations were measured by responses to two items. The first asked respondents to indicate (Yes/No) their awareness of UNESCO’s designation of TAST relics as WHS. The second question listed fourteen (14) statements on a seven-point Likert scale, with 1 being ‘strongly disagree’ to 7 being ‘strongly agree’. On the other hand, social contestations construct were measured by three items (emotional attachment to TAST sites, and stakeholder roles and representation). A seven-point Likert scale was used, with respondents given the choice to indicate their agreement or

disagreement with the statement. For example, eight (8) statements measured social contestations. Lastly, fifteen (15) statements measured spatial contestations. The assessment tool was a 7-point Likert scale ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ at the low end to ‘strongly agree’ at the high end.

**Table 4.5: Variables and sources for scale items used for measurement**

Variable	Measurement	Source
Political contestations	Awareness and support for UNESCO’s designation of TAST cultural assets as WHS.	Adopted from Yankholmes <i>et al.</i> (2008)
	Indicate the extent of agreement or disagreement to issues of ownership, conservation and tourism promotion on designated and non-designated WHS on a state of 1-7 ( <i>strongly disagree to strongly agree</i> )	Developed by researcher
Social contestations	Awareness and support for UNSECO’s SRP	Adopted from Yankholmes <i>et al.</i> (2009)
	Reactions to the role of social identities and representations	
	Indicate the extent of agreement or disagreement to the roles of stakeholders to the development of slavery heritage tourism on a 1-7 agreement scale ( <i>strongly disagree to strongly agree</i> )	Developed by researcher
	Perceived power influences between stakeholder and interest groups on a 1-5 scale ( <i>no influence to a very great deal of influence</i> )	Developed by researcher
Spatial contestations	Knowledge and awareness of Slave Route communities	Developed by researcher
	Attitudes to slavery heritage tourism on 1-7 scale ( <i>strongly disagree to strongly agree</i> )	

In terms of structure, the instrument was divided into five sections; the introductory section asked general questions relating to respondents and their attitude towards tourism. This included the amount of time residents had continuously lived in the study area, TAST sites and attractions within the community, and aspects of the study area they would like changed, improved, or kept and their feelings about tourism development.

The second section dealt with political contestations which represent one of the central themes for the study. The key questions in this section relate to how residents perceive the WHP and the designation of TAST cultural assets as WHS. Given the low level of community knowledge on the WHP, information was presented to respondents on flashcards before they were asked to indicate their support or opposition towards the programme. Later, respondents' attitudes towards the designation of TAST cultural assets as WHS were assessed. Respondents were invited to indicate how far they agreed or disagreed with 14 statements measuring the relationship between local and world heritage on a seven -point scale.

The third section consisted of questions probing the social contestations and other social construction of TAST spaces among and between different social groups. Not only did it ask respondents to recollect stories about the TAST, but it also asked respondents to indicate their support or otherwise for the SRP. Similar to the question on the WHP, respondents' knowledge on the SRP was limited and required that interviewers provide some information to respondents on flashcards and responses recorded. Questions also centred on the sensitive issue of how descendants of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves' were treated and their role in tourism. Respondents were

again asked to agree or disagree on eight (8) social contestation items. Four different scenarios were provided, asking respondents to indicate what influence they felt local residents, traditional authorities, heritage asset managers, government, African diaspora and other social groups such as descendants of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves' have in the commemoration of the TAST and tourism development. Thus, power relations among the different social groups within the community were measured by assessing the influence of different social groups as agencies of memory articulation. In this regard, power was not construed as authority but rather ability of social groups to impose their will and interests on others in the articulation of collective slave memory. Based on Tannenbaum's (1968) approach, a five point rating scale where 1= 'no influence', 2= 'a little influence', 3= 'some influence', 4= 'a great deal of influence' and 5= 'a very great deal of influence' was used.

Section four covered issues of spatial disparities that have led to tourism promotion and contestation of it. Respondents were asked to mention other communities apart from their own promoting tourism on the Slave Routes. They then were asked to express how far they agreed or disagreed on fifteen (15) statements relating to spatial contestations on the Slaves Routes. The last section dealt with demographic variables of note to the study.

#### *4.5.5 Design and implementation of IDIs*

Given the social response of denial, stigma and discrimination that have accompanied the subject of the TAST, extreme caution was taken in the selection of participants (especially concerning descendants of 'slaves'). The selection strategy was changed

because of practical community concerns expressed during the community entry protocol. Initially, focus groups were considered appropriate techniques for soliciting the views of descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. By this way informants were to be reached by snowballing and nominations (Krueger, 1994). However, the respective traditional authorities and family heads in the five study areas objected to this approach not only because it offended the cultural sensitivities of the community, but more importantly, it did not provide the platform for respondents to comfortably talk openly in a group. Surprisingly, in each study area, there was public information on slave ancestry.

Recognizing the limitations of the scientific approach and the importance of the social and historical contexts, purposive sampling technique was employed. This method, it was reasoned, best allowed for the identification of willing respondents, but at the same time allowed for the cautious selection of individuals from whom a deep level of understanding of the subject under study could be obtained. The researcher elicited the help of opinion leaders with thorough understanding of the study areas. Through their ‘collaboration’, the researcher approached and enlisted descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. Recruitment was by word-of-mouth, asking friends, colleagues and acquaintances of opinion leaders if they knew of anyone closely resembling that profile. In addition, archival and anecdotal evidence proved useful in providing leads to potential participants. Initial personal contact was made with potential participants. A brief synopsis of the purpose of the study and its objectives were stated and the selection criteria explained. Informed consent forms (Appendix VI) were read out and later completed by those willing to participate in the study. In all study areas,

attempts were made to balance gender because it formed the basis of sorting, selection and trading during the slaving era. However, creating an equal geographic distribution proved difficult for obvious reasons of migration and difficulty in tracing family roots in communities with very little documentation of family lineage and history.

Based on a snowball sampling technique, a list of expatriate diasporan Africans was created, which was amended as new contacts were made. Initial participants after the interview were asked to suggest acquaintances who might be interested in the study. It is worth noting, however, that the prospect of bias in the selection of interviewees due to the inherent weaknesses of snowballing method was well acknowledged and measures employed to ensure validity (Heckathorn, 1997).

The IDIs were conducted based on respondents' convenience of time and place, and consent sought to record the conversations. The average duration was between 45 and 90 minutes and it was considered sufficient length for the informants to provide information pertinent to the study. A total of 95 informant respondents were drawn on the basis of availability of the target population and data saturation (Patton, 2002; Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

#### *4.5.6 Interview guide*

Separate semi-structured interview guides were used to gain valuable information from expatriate diasporan Africans (Appendix V), descendants of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves' (Appendix IV), traditional authorities and opinion leaders (Appendix III). Both open- and close-ended questions were used to stimulate the discussion in an interactive way. Themes and issues followed those explored in the local residents'

survey. These were supplemented by information obtained through archival search and participant observation. However, the interview guide questions for expatriate diasporan Africans were similar to that used by Gaudry (2007) but reworded to fit the context of the current study. The questions not only sought to address the research questions and objectives, but provided the opportunity to probe the interviewees for clarity and detailed information in a systematic and comprehensive manner (Patton, 1990).

#### *4.5.7 Quantitative data analysis*

In general, data analysis makes sense out of the data gathered. Once data becomes available, the next phase of the research process is data analysis. Nevertheless, for some time now data analysis and the processes that come with it have been engulfed in the controversies of the quantitative-qualitative debate. Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) observed that data analysis in mixed methods research can occur at any stage of the data collection process depending on the type of data collected, sample size and research design. They define data analysis within the mixed methods context as “the use of quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques, either concurrently or sequentially, at some stage beginning with data collection process, from which interpretations are made in either a parallel, integrated, or an iterative manner” (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003:353).

The questionnaires were examined for consistency of responses. The completed ones were edited, coded and fed into the computer. All statistical analysis (descriptive and inferential statistics) were performed using SPSS<sup>®</sup>, Version 21. With regard to descriptive statistics, percentages and cross-tabulations were used to describe the socio-



demographic characteristics of respondents and communities whilst chi-square was employed to highlight the presence, strength and direction of relationships.

Additionally, two main analyses were undertaken. First, analysis of variance (ANOVA) technique was adopted to test significant differences in perceptions and knowledge existing among the different communities and support for the SRP. The ANOVA statistic was used because of its proven ability to identify accurately differences between more than two groups. The main weakness of ANOVA is that it is not an end in itself and therefore has to rely on *Hochberg* and *Games-Howell's post hoc tests* to determine where the difference lies. It is worth noting that the *t*-test statistic was used for similar purpose, specifically when only two categories were involved.

The study also employed exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to determine the major variables that interact to influence multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. The method of extraction chosen was principal axis factoring (PAF) since one of the research questions demanded identifying the underlying dimensions of multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. The use of factor analysis makes provision for checking the reliability of the entire model using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Index (Kaiser, 1974). The index, which measures sampling adequacy, suggests that values of 0.60 and above are required for good factor analysis.

#### *4.5.8 Qualitative data analysis*

In analysing qualitative data gathered, the guidelines suggested by Strauss' (1987) were followed:

1. Frame analysis around research question(s);

2. Keeping the balance between creativity and science by stepping back and asking: “what is going on here?” and “does what I think I see fit the reality of the data?”
3. Maintaining an attitude of scepticism and regarding all information labelled, compared and analysed as provisional;
4. Checking the primary data against the categories and their relationships identified in the literature; and,
5. Avoiding ascribing data to pre-conceived concepts and standard meanings or ways of thinking about phenomena.

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were read and re-read several times by the researcher and based on the deep appreciation of the issues the data clustered around some key common themes. The procedure described by Strauss (1987) for coding data was employed. This involved the following:

1. Initial coding on a sentence-by-sentence basis and then on a paragraph by paragraph basis;
2. Analysis through comparison of the data using techniques such as the flip-flop technique, where the concept is turned upside down and the very opposite is imagined; systematic comparison of two or more phenomena; far-out comparison; and waving the red flag, where cues on sensitive and certain words such as ‘never’ and ‘always’ were examined;
3. Labelling the data into a category, properties and dimensional range;
4. Examining the data with respect to trends, conditions and relationships surrounding the phenomena that were described and in the context of the research questions asked; and,

## 5. Eliciting new insights and theoretical formulations into the phenomena.

An initial 68,500 words were reduced to 58,000 and progressively to 40,000 while maintaining the essence of the data and the informants' views on how the data should be used. Following the recommendations by Patton (1990), Miles and Huberman (1994), Finn, Elliott-White and Walton (2000) and Neumann's (2003), content analysis (both latent and manifest) was used to analyse the data. The narrative approach was used to capture the words of informants as well as develop frameworks of meaning and vernacular (Richardson, 1990; Kvale, 1996; Atkinson & Silverman 1997). However, in quoting directly from the interviews, each informant respondent was given an anonymous number so they could not be identified through deductive disclosure (Table 5.1.).

### **4.6 Tourist study**

#### *4.6.1 Target population*

The survey was intended to collect data relating to motivations, behaviour and experiences at TAST memory sites through a comparison of 'roots' tourists, colonial-linked tourists and *other* tourists. Consequently, an on-site survey was conducted in the study areas. Altogether 566 tourists were reached and included in the final analysis.

#### *4.6.2 Sampling procedure*

Balcar and Pearce's (1996) approach was adopted for the tourist survey because it was practical and feasible to implement, especially when no sampling frame existed for the target population. However, this approach had two limitations. The first pertained to instances where the instrument was not completed because of time constraint. Secondly,

and even more importantly, due to variations in visitor numbers, the returns at each site ranged quite widely from just over 500 at Cape Coast and *Elmina* Castles to 45 and 5 in *Assin Manso* and *Salaga* respectively.

Questionnaires were distributed by hand to tourists who had either completed or waiting in line to undertake their guided tour. In instances where tourists visited in a group, permission was sought from the accompanying guides or local guides. The questionnaire was self-administered and took approximately 45 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was used because the target audience were predominantly literate.

#### *4.6.3 Survey instrument*

A questionnaire containing open and close-ended and Likert scale questions (Appendix II) were used to elicit the needed information from visitors and contained five component sections. The first section explored general issues on tourists visiting Ghana. Respondents were asked whether they were first time or repeat visitors, their mode of travel, trip purpose questions, length of stay and other trip characteristics. The second section gathered information on respondents' knowledge of related political contestations at slavery heritage sites. Respondents were asked to indicate their support or opposition to the WHP and their experiences at TAST attractions. Fourteen (14) political contestation statements were listed on a seven-point Likert scale, with 1 being 'strongly disagree' to seven being 'strongly agree'. The third section was devoted to questions related to social contentions of collective slave memories. Questions also asked respondents' engagement with TAST sites and social groups present at former TAST communities. The respondents were also required to indicate their support or

opposition for the SRP and tourism promotion on the Slave Routes. Again, a seven (7) point Likert scale items (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree) were used to measure social contestations at TAST memory sites. Most of the items used in this section were developed from Yuill (2003) but adapted to the context of the study. The fourth section dealt with questions on spatial contestations and the complexities of contested collective slave memories between northern Slave Route communities and those in the southern Ghana. A seven point Likert scale was used to measure spatial contestations, with 1 being ‘strongly disagree’ and seven being ‘strongly agree’. The survey included a ‘not applicable’ option included to gather different information on respondents’ experiences of the 20 items.

The last section of the questionnaire asked demographic questions on sex, age, nationality, and marital status, highest level of education, employment status, occupation and race/ethnicity.

#### *4.6.4 Data processing and analysis*

The returned questionnaires were checked for completeness. SPSS<sup>®</sup> Version 21 was used for the analysis. Wherever appropriate, descriptive or inferential statistical tests, including frequencies, means, standard deviation, cross-tabulations and chi-square were performed.

Additionally, EFA, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and discriminant analysis were also conducted. EFA with Oblimin rotation was used to minimise the number of variables that had a high loading on factors that influence multiple contestations of heritage. MANOVA on the other hand, was used to assess the statistical differences between different groups on multiple dependent variables (Norušis, 2004). This procedure was useful in

differentiating the visitor groups to TAST sites on the underlying multiple contested heritage factors. After a significant difference from MANOVA was identified, discriminant analysis was used to examine correlations between dependent variables (Field, 2008).

#### **4.7 Training and fieldwork**

To ensure the integrity of the data, eight field assistants were recruited and trained during January 9-16, 2012. Methods of instruction included lecture and role-playing. The field assistants were instructed on the objectives of study, strategies to enter study areas, observational skills, handling of survey questions, interview length, termination points and qualifiers for participation, interviewee instructions within the survey instrument, translation of the study instruments into the local languages (*Fante, Twi, Hausa* and *Gonja*), probing and clarifying techniques necessary for specific questions on the survey instruments. It also covered ethical issues given that slave descent is a sensitive topic in former TAST communities. The researcher and four bilingualists from the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast led the training sessions.

Finally, six participants were recruited to constitute a team for the data collection. This was based on their availability, both in-class and on the field performance and practical speaking proficiency of the local dialect(s).

#### **4.8 Pretesting and pilot study**

Pretesting began after the instruments had been developed in English and translated into local dialects spoken in the study areas (*Fante, Twi, Gonja* and *Hausa*) using the

technique of back translation (Geisinger, 1994). Four bilingualists checked the equivalence of the English and local dialect translations for each item. Specific items that lacked clarity were either eliminated or modified. The questionnaire and interview schedules were pre-tested during January 23-28 2012 on a sample of residents in *Anomabu*, a former TAST community (Shumway, 2011).

Two rounds of usability testing were conducted with two early versions of the instruments involving eight participants (two speakers of local dialects) (Dumas & Reddish, 1999). The second round had four participants of the four dialects. Alongside the usability study, different independent researchers conducted two rounds of cognitive testing independently on the survey instrument wording in English and the local dialects (Willis, 2005). Issues regarding questions that over-burdened interviewers and respondents, problems with specific question/concepts (especially the WHP and SRP) were found across local language versions of the survey. For example, it was arbitrarily assumed that due to the educational and awareness campaigns embarked upon by the SRP, local residents would be better informed on the phenomenon under study. However it was realised during cognitive testing that not much public knowledge was available. Consequently, the independent researchers recommended the use of flashcards to assist respondents in answering particularly sensitive and complex questions. So, flashcards were used by interviewers to present information on 1) WHP; 2) relationship between sites designated as WHS and those not enlisted, 3) SRP; and 4) ancestry response categories included in the survey instrument.

Based on the results of usability and cognitive tests, the instruments were revised for a pilot study for face and content validity. During the pilot study, an observational

study was conducted in conjunction with behaviour coding. Given the public mood and level of sensitivity surrounding slave ancestry, observing interviewer and respondent interactions in the field was important. With the consent of subjects, the principal researcher video-recorded field interviews (eight were conducted—two in each of the local dialects). The conduct of the main observational study helped assess language use, flashcard use and other non-verbal behaviours (such as answering questions by nodding or shaking the head). The interviewers were required to show all four flashcards to all respondents during the course of the interview. Eight interviews were observed as part of the observation study.

This process helped identify flawed administration of questions and response issues (Cannell, Fowler, & Marquis, 1968). Issues of undesirable interviewer behaviour, such as making changes to question wording, and undesirable respondent behaviour, such as asking for clarification (suggesting that the question was not easy to understand without clarification) were also assessed. Finally, the observational study helped assess the overall viability of the study instruments and some likely challenges in the main study. Cases of undesirable interviewer or respondent behaviour did not exceed 15 percent of items (Oksenberg, Cannell, & Kalton, 1991; Fowler, 1992).

#### **4.9 Response rate**

Response rate is a cardinal feature of quality study execution as well as an important indicator of the proportion of the sample who were contacted, in light of the challenges faced by the study in obtaining high participation rates. Additionally, response rate gives an indication of the sample who refused to take part in the survey. While a low response



rate gives rise to sampling bias, a high response rate ensures that the results are representative of the target population.

Table 4.6 illustrates the response rate for each community. In total, 1,887 households were selected of which 1,028 (54.4%) provided usable data for analysis. The remaining 45.4% were returned unfilled because respondents ended the interview process halfway.

**Table 4.6: Respondents and response rate by communities**

Study area	Proposed Sample Size	Actual Respondents	Response Rate (%)
Cape Coast	615	296	48.13
<i>Elmina</i>	495	226	45.65
<i>Assin Manso</i>	142	141	99.29
<i>Salaga</i>	403	236	58.56
<i>Bono Manso</i>	232	130	56.03
Total	1,887	1,028	54.4

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

## **4.10 Research quality**

### *4.10.1 Validity and reliability*

Regardless of one's ideological stance, the concepts of validity and reliability constitute key principles for social research. Sarantakos (1998:78) defined validity in quantitative research as the "ability to produce findings that are in agreement with theoretical and conceptual values". On the other hand, reliability (credibility) refers to "the ability of instrument to produce consistent results" (Sarantakos, 1998:83). Essentially, these

concepts were critical because they bordered on the quality of the research and the dependability of its outcome. Hence, in ensuring that the processes adopted and the outcome meet these standards, the researcher needed to check that the questions and measures being used to gather data were reliable and valid. Within the mixed methods paradigm, issues of validity and reliability are also considered important benchmarks. However, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003:36) stirred up the hornet's nest when they called on mixed methodologists to come out with a new meaning for validity given the plethora of loose definitions:

*However, we believe that validity has become a catchall term that is increasingly losing its ability to connote anything. When a term is used with other words to connote so many meanings, it essentially has none.*

They proposed *inference* as a nomenclature for measuring validity in mixed methodology, transcending the quantitative-qualitative divide. What followed was a comprehensive typology addressing the several types of validity in mixed methodology. The present study ensured that the data collection process was consistent with the chosen research paradigm. This approach allowed the production of findings that were plausible, context relevant and defensible. Among the measures that were adopted to ensure validity and reliability of quantitative data instruments were:

- use of multiple scale items which reduced response error;
- use of existing scales which had been tested on the field and improved upon by other researchers;
- performing reliability test on multi-scale items;
- inconsistency checks in the design of the questionnaire. For example, asking respondents for both age and date of birth helped to detect inconsistencies;

- conducting a post-enumeration survey in randomly selected communities and households to check on the consistency of the responses offered by the respondents.

#### *4.10.2 Qualitative data*

Unlike the quantitative data, qualitative researchers refer to the notion of *trustworthiness* as benchmark to ensuring research quality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In adherence to “naturalistic axioms”, trustworthiness has ensured through credibility, transferability, and reflexivity of data collected (Patton, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Punch, 1998).

##### *4.10.2.1 Credibility–Triangulation*

Though not a new approach, triangulation is now a more legitimate and expected way of ensuring trustworthiness of social research (Neuman, 2003; Bryman, 2004). Decrop (1999:158) suggests triangulation as a way of determining or “looking at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data”. He traced the concept to military and navigation sciences. Indeed, many observers and researchers have directed attention to the use of triangulation in social science research and tourism studies in particular (Denzin, 1978; Rossman & Wilson, 1985; Greene & McClintock, 1985; McClintock & Greene, 1985; Oppermann, 2000; Riley & Love, 2000).

Decrop (1990:159) asserted that “by combining data sources, methods, investigators, and theories, triangulation opens the way for richer and potentially more valid interpretations”. Henderson (1991 as cited in Decrop, 1990:159), noted a similar advantage in the use of the triangulation as the researcher “guards against the accusation

that a study's findings are simply the artefact of a single method, a single data source, or a single investigator's bias". Denzin (1978) proposed four approaches to triangulation; namely, methodological, data, investigator and multiple.

In this research, the first two approaches were applicable, i.e. the use of triangulation principles, which dovetails into combining various methods of sampling and instruments of data collection. Therefore, both positivist and interpretivist tendencies underpin the current study. This is explained by the presence of multiple stakeholders with multiple collective slave memories within the umbrella of the SRP. It stands to reason that aspects of the data required (for example local residents' and tourists viewpoint of developing the SRP for cultural tourism respectively) were better understood from a positivist worldview. On the other hand, the qualitative approach, by the use of interviews and participant observation, provided more descriptions and insight into the opinion and viewpoints of descendants of enslavers or slaveholders and 'slaves', traditional authorities as well as expatriate African diasporans about the roles and challenges of developing SRP.

Several scholars have drawn attention to weaknesses inherent in the conceptualization and operationalization of triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Sarantakos, 1998). Some authors argue that generalizations in triangulation are unfounded because merely expanding the spectrum of methods employed to collect data does not necessarily guarantee better results; they therefore suggest that one should also test the validity and reliability of all methods separately. Apart from the theoretical justification of triangulation and its positivist overtones, Sarantakos (1998) claims there is no evidence to suggest that studies based on triangulation necessarily produce results that

are more valid. Lamnek (1988, cited in Sarantakos 1998:169) earlier warned that, the use of triangulation might be associated with serious methodological problems.

#### *4.10.2.2 Transferability*

In ensuring that information gathered fit with the context within which key research questions and objectives were adduced, a diary was kept to record observations, insights, thoughts, concerns, logistics and emerging methodological decisions whilst on the field.

#### *4.10.2.3 Reflexivity*

Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) argued that reflexivity is more important than attaining objectivity. This is because reflexivity allows the researcher to demonstrate to the reader how his/her own traditions; history and understanding of the research influenced the conduct of the study and the derived interpretations and meanings of the findings. This required the researcher to bring his/her own interpretation into consideration in arriving at the socially constructed realities in the text. This means that the study findings cannot be seen as facts *per se*, but are constructed through the continuous interactions between the researcher, the study participants, the collected data and the reader of the study.

### **4.11 Fieldwork challenges**

Like any social research undertaking, the application of mixed methodology is likely to be associated with the following challenges:

- Obtaining some secondary data from public institutions and organisations proved challenging and when it was available figures often did not add up properly, or significant items were missing. For example, it was not possible to get the latest census data from Ghana Statistical Service, the statutory body responsible with the collection, compilation, analysis, publication and dissemination of official statistics in Ghana for general and administrative purposes. Even with an introductory letter from the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, the researcher was denied access to valuable information. As a result, the researcher had to depend on previous census data.
- Conducting fieldwork in the different study areas in different geographical and political/administrative areas also posed logistical challenges. To address this issue, the researcher was logistically prepared for the fieldwork, and was informed of local conditions and circumstance.
- The use of different local dialects in the study areas was also a challenge against the backdrop of the low level of literacy in the study areas. The researcher in consultation with bilingualists compiled an elaborate manual guide containing English words and their meanings in the local dialects (*Fante, Twi, Gonja* and *Hausa*) for data collection.
- The use of multiple items also put an undue stress on respondents. Since, this constituted an ethical issue and hinged on the reliability and validity of the instruments, only relevant questions were included in the instruments. Respondents were monitored during the pilot study and items reduced when respondents complained of fatigue.

- As research laboratory, residents of Cape Coast and *Elmina* already show signs of research fatigue. As a field setting and the busiest stations on the tourist circuit in Ghana, Cape Coast and *Elmina* continue to attract researchers from diverse disciplines and interests much to the chagrin of local residents. Indeed, some local residents were uncooperative because they did not see any tangible benefits from participating research. To address this issue, the researcher fostered a prolonged engagement with members of the communities while impressing upon them the importance of the study within the larger socio-economic context.
- Seeking and developing rapport with subjects, especially descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers also proved challenging. Although traditional authorities sanctioned access to the communities and cooperated often personally with the study, eliciting the participation and consent of descendants of ‘slaves’ and slaveholders (some publicly known) was a daunting task. Some participants were not forthcoming because they felt by sharing such information they were putting others at risk and would most likely be viewed the same way as well or invading their privacy. In some cases, people purporting to be descendants of ‘slaves’ or identified by descendants of enslavers or slaveholders were not openly honest about their status and came up with fake identities when contacted by the researcher. To resolve this problem and reduce the associated socio-cultural impact, the researcher established prolonged engagements with the subjects, providing the researcher opportunity to work within local ontologies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

#### **4.12 Limitations**

Notwithstanding the cacophony of praises showered on mixed methodology, some limitations to the current methodology was anticipated. The first limitation stemmed from the adoption of qualitative sampling techniques (for instance, participant observation) that required considerable time and skills to understand, holistically the entire cultures or subcultures. Although the amount of time devoted to data gathering has been nebulous in the social research literature, given the duration of fieldwork, much of the sources and informants were not cultivated for a long time to generate the oft-cited rich information associated with qualitative data. At the same time, taking field notes presented an arduous task considering the type of data sought and the target population.

Secondly, the study assumed that the instruments employed to collect data measured the salient variables that influence the target population in their understanding and perceptions of the phenomenon under study, albeit within the physical, social, cultural and temporal milieux in which behaviour occurs. However, given the unequal samples, comparison or empirical generalizations should be done with caution.

Thirdly, the issue of whose voice best represented the community posed a validity challenge. Even though the community research combined probability and non-probability techniques of data collection chiefly because of cultural considerations, one of the long-standing debates in community studies is the definition of community and its constituents. In the present instance, what constituted community views and opinion as expressed by participants in the study might be a distortion of the “truth” or biased by socially desirability.



Lastly, the generalization of findings of the IDIs must be made very cautiously because of narrative coherence and fidelity (Fisher, 1987). It is possible that the context of interviews, particularly with descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers, shaded the tone of the narratives. While recollections of younger individuals were likely to be based on hearsay, some respondents may have said what they believed the researcher wanted to hear. Thus, the results are subject to recollection and memory loss issues.

#### **4.13 Ethical considerations**

The growing appreciation of ethics in the study of human behaviour have instigated formulation of guidelines by universities, professional organizations and governments to delineate the boundaries of research and define the rights and privileges of the researched (Schinke & Gilchrist, 1988; Sarantakos, 1998; Kumar, 2005). Paradoxically, ethical considerations in social research have not been devoid of paradigmatic partisanship. Easterby-Smith *et al* (1991:65) point accusing fingers at qualitative researchers because they “are sympathetic and sensitive to human feelings and responsibilities”. Such a stance is in contrast with evidence of ethical issues in quantitative research (Jones, 2000). Raising the red flag over ethical considerations in tourism studies became rife when McKercher, Law, Weber, Song and Hsu (2007) painted a far grimmer situation of 373 referees’ reports on manuscripts submitted to 35 different hospitality and tourism journals, citing methodological flaws, lacking quality and rigour, and improper sampling issues among the top ten deficiencies.

Many chapters of social research methods text books and dissertations explicitly discuss ethical issues and a growing number of scholars have drawn attention to the fact that it is unethical to collect information without the knowledge of participants in social research. Robson (1995) outlined ten unethical practices that researchers should eschew during data collection. This sets the stage for the present study's commitment to uphold in high esteem ethical codes of conduct. Four ethical pointers were especially important in this regard. Firstly, ethical approval was obtained from the Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee (HSESC) of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University and respondents were requested to sign an informed consent form (ICF). From the onset, participants were informed about the nature and purpose of study, type of questions, sensitivity of questions and the consequences thereof; before being asked to take part in the study. Those who declined to provide answers to questions were not forced against their will; and expressed freedom was offered those who decided to end the interview process at any stage. However, snacks were provided participants for the interviews given the time spent. Secondly, information offered by participants were used by the researcher only for the purpose of study (Sarantakos, 1998). Participants' right to confidentiality were ensured and recorded materials (recordings of interviews and transcripts) and personal conversations guarded with access available only to the researcher. Thirdly, the names, identities and clues that lead to participants were excluded in the presentation and analysis of the data. Instead, pseudonyms were used in the report of research findings. Finally, measures were strenuously put in place to ensure that fieldwork did not disrupt or incur the disadvantage of participants. In all circumstances, IDIs were conducted to suit respondents' convenience of time and place.

#### **4.14 Summary**

This chapter provided a description of the study areas and discussed issues that can be best described as the central switchboard of the research process. This is central because, it linked the theoretical and contextual issues with the methodological issues. It also provided the basis upon which the primary and secondary data gathered were analysed in the subsequent chapters.

It outlined the relevant philosophical worldviews of advancing knowledge in tourism, and opted for a descriptive research design in answering the research questions. The chapter also explained the research paradigm and the underlying reasons for adopting the different sampling techniques as well as data collection methods. The mixed methods strategy was operationalised using observations, questionnaires and interviews to collect primary data from a cross-section of local residents, descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers, expatriate diasporan Africans, traditional authorities and tourists.

## **CHAPTER 5: COLLECTED VERSUS COLLECTIVE SLAVE MEMORIES**

### **5.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents and discusses the research findings from the interviews with descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers, traditional authorities and expatriate diasporan Africans. As noted in Chapter 4, analysis of the qualitative aspects of the primary data followed the process enumerated by Strauss (1987). This involved classifying data, making connections between the different data set and conveying the message.

### **5.1 Sample**

Table 5.1 shows the basic characteristics of the sample and membership of each of the study areas; that is, the presence of different social groups. As mentioned in Chapter 4, although considerable effort was made to recruit participants that reflect the diversity of voices in the communities, eliciting participation from some stakeholders, particularly descendants of ‘slaves’ on such sensitive issues posed challenges. Based on the dynamics of each community, the sampling frame ensured all stakeholders willing to participate in the study were covered. As seen in Table 5.1 identifiable stakeholders were represented, including traditional authorities (TA), descendants of ‘slaves’ (DS), descendants of enslavers (DE), opinion leaders (OPL) and expatriate African diaspora (EAD). With regard to the latter group, considerable efforts were made to recruit outside the communities (particularly in the capital where most diasporan association were located) in cases where they were not domiciled there.

**Table 5.1: Interview sample**

Study areas	Unit of analysis	Age		Sex		N
		O (Older >45)	Y (Younger <45)	M (Male)	F (Female)	
Cape Coast (CC)	TA (Traditional authority)	×		×		2
	DS (Descendants of 'slaves')	×	×		×	5
	DE (Descendants of enslavers)	×		×		4
	OPL (Opinion Leaders)	×		×	×	6
	EAD (Expatriate African Diaspora)	×		×	×	4
<i>Elmina</i> (ELM)	TA	×		×		5
	DS	×		×	×	4
	DE	×		×		3
	OPL	×		×		6
	EAD	×	×	×	×	5
<i>Salaga</i> (SAL)	TA	×		×		3
	DS		×	×	×	5
	DE	×	×	×	×	4
	OPL	×	×	×		5
<i>Assin Manso</i> (ASM)	TA	×		×		1
	DS	×	×	×	×	6
	OPL	×		×		4
<i>Bono Manso</i> (BM)	TA	×		×		1
	DS	×		×		4
	OPL	×		×		7
	EAD		×	×		1
* Accra	EAD	×	×	×	×	10
Total						95

\* Accra is the national capital and headquarters for African Diaspora associations

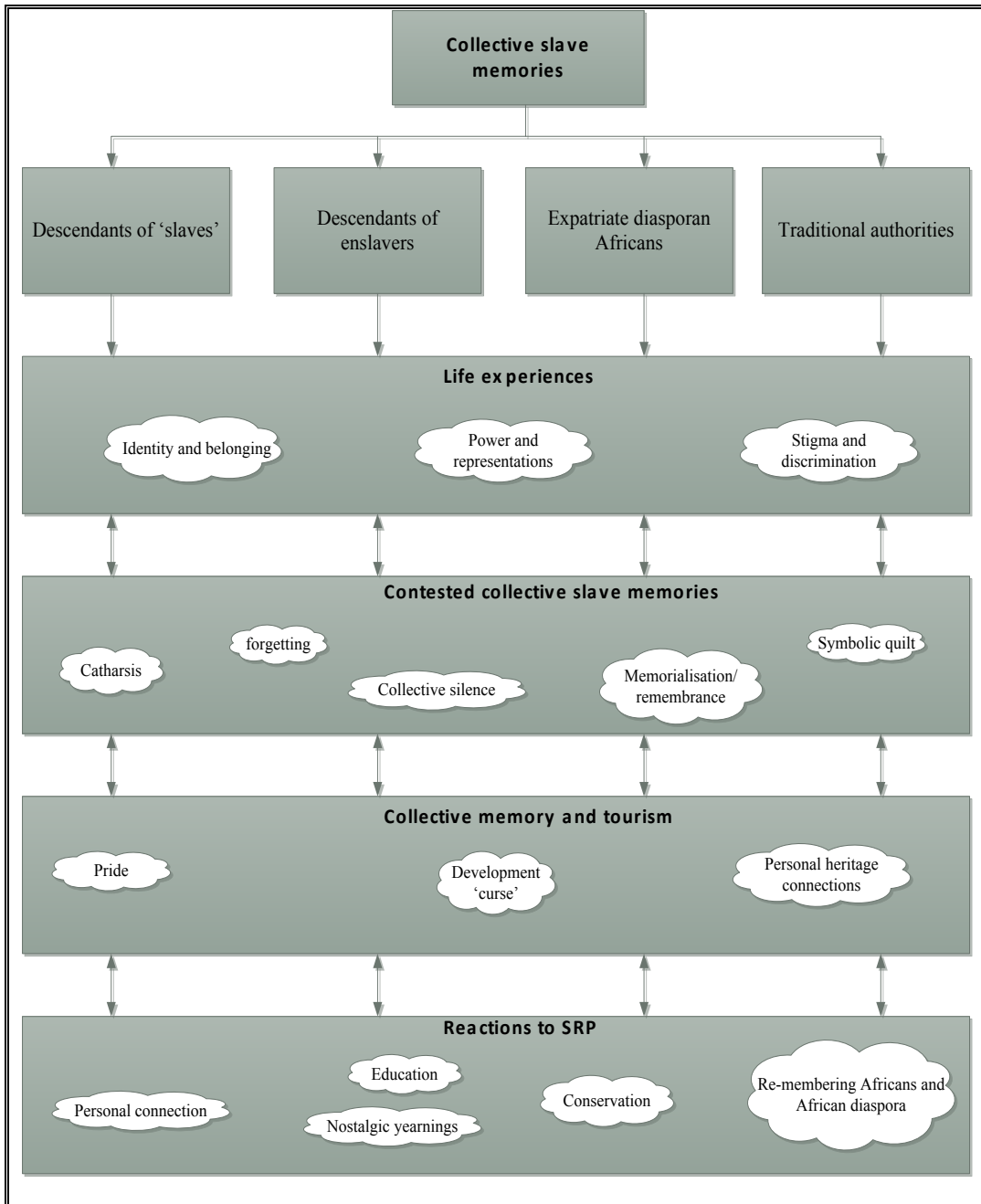
Source: Fieldwork, 2012

## 5.2. Data display of qualitative findings

Interviewees were asked several questions that helped answer the key underlying research questions. Figure 5.1 presents the summary of the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the qualitative data analysis. It is important to state that a deeper appreciation of qualitative data findings depend largely on understanding the social context of former TAST communities. As previously mentioned, the five study areas were primarily chosen because of their role in the TAST era and their increasing desire to be included in the burgeoning tourism industry. In the latter case, the primary aim is to utilise tourism as a means of providing local employment opportunities and secondary source of household income given the decline in traditional livelihoods such as farming, fishing and salt mining (in the case of *Elmina*).

While it is beyond the scope of the current study to set forth a holistic explanation of social organisation in former TAST communities, it is important to highlight the social structure and relationships that illuminate the form and function of collective or collected slave narratives emanating from the data. Obviously, each of the communities under study can be analysed in terms of the differences as well as similarities in economic, cultural and social structure. Nonetheless, like in other African societies, membership is an important illustration of social structure and relationships. There are two contrasting bases for membership in former TAST communities, namely; kinship (blood ties) and affinity, which refers to kinship created on the basis of law (McCaskie, 1995; Der, 1998; Perbi, 2004). However, membership differed spatially based on the role played by each community during the TAST. For example, in *Salaga*, which supplied majority of the slaves to the coastal fort communities, issues about

membership of do not arise in everyday life. Moreover, social contacts across different ethnicities have resulted in somewhat positive attitudes in sharing social spaces and collective slave memories.



**Figure 5. 1: Data display of qualitative research findings**

In contrast, *Elmina*, *Assin Manso*, Cape Coast and to some extent *Bono Manso* have social networks that centre on kinship. The presence of descendants of 'slaves',

descendants of enslavers and descendants of mullatos (in the case of Cape Coast and *Elmina*) imply diverse social relationships and networks, especially between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. However, given the hitherto deafening silence and shame associated with slavery, negative stereotyping affect cross-group interaction and social relations.

By extension, it can be suggested that expatriate diasporan Africans (sometimes referred to here as returnees) also lay claim to collective identity and subscribe to the membership of ancestral communities. However, seeking personal heritage is influenced by the dialectic contradictions between consanguinity and affinity. Depending on which ancestral community and the psychological disposition of community members towards the diasporic group and returnee, assimilation and identity present challenges.

### **5.3 Life experiences**

This section discusses the findings that transpired from interviews that helped answer research question two: what does ‘identity’ mean to the different social groups in the articulation of collective slave memories and how does it affect tourism?

#### *5.3.1 Collective identity and belonging*

To answer Question 2, interviewees were asked to describe how they feel about the community’s image as a former slave route/site. All the participants, especially descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers, expressed difficulty and discomfort, reflecting on the meaning of living in former TAST communities. Particularly for descendants of ‘slaves’, the process of assimilation did occur which in



turn provided some sort of membership of the community. Nevertheless, their individual and shared notions of natal isolation from their ‘community’ communicated a deeper meaning of the past.

Particular mention was made of the growing presence and interaction between members of the African diaspora and descendants of ‘slaves’ as a conduit for connecting past experiences in the collective identity process. For descendants of ‘slaves’, the interaction with diasporan Africans was one of the best ways to raise their morale and self-esteem, while for descendants of enslavers it helped overcome the shame and denial surrounding the subject. Additionally, descendants of ‘slaves’ were comfortable living in the community because they had an opportunity to share with diasporans stories of their ‘unfortunate’ progenitors who were unable to experience the New World.

#2/ASM/O/F/DS.... “[I feel] comfortable living here because now we have the opportunity to tell our stories to tourists (especially Black Diasporans) how we have been able to survive and how society treats us.”

#1/CC/O/F/DS... “What excites me most about living in this community is being able to share the oral stories of my ancestors with African-Americans who visit this community. But the excitement it is not simply telling the stories of my ancestors. More important is demonstrating to the rest of the community that people with family connection to the TAST have accomplished histories”.

There were no indication that members of the expatriate African diaspora were uncomfortable living in their presumed ancestral communities with the connotation of slavery. It became clear that because tourism was quite ancillary to the purpose of the initial visit, they were genuinely comfortable with the community’s experience of slavery:

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD.... Ah! (Deep breathe) frightening, anger, a feeling of not just fear but more a feeling of bewilderment in not understanding

how people could be treated that way.... was like saying what did we do? You did not have the history but asking 'what did we do as African people that someone will treat us like that'... animals get treated better. You get thrown into cells and you have your freedom taken away from you and all the rest of it...what did we do for that to happen to us? And then a feeling of (clears throat) of warmth, feeling of returning home, when you go somewhere and you are welcome and that feeling came about in the dungeons through ancestral spirits. All of a sudden, I was in a room that was full of women and first it was like people crying and screaming and going through all sorts of stuff. Then I realised that a lot of the screaming and crying that I heard, my voice was also mingled in that and then just having a group of women, you know people and I could feel hands on me, people just soothing me and telling me it was ok, that you have come home... this is where you belong. And when I walked out of the dungeons, I knew then before I even talked to my husband who did not come on that trip (he came three months later) but I know when I stepped out of the castle dungeons that I would never be the same person again and that Ghana, Africa was going to be my home for the rest of my life.... I knew that....

However, a range of issues emerged during the interviews that bordered on identity and belonging. Of these, socially constructed identities that depended to a very large extent on depth of interaction and networks with others in the ancestral community were highlighted. Many of the interviewees reported that being part of the ancestral community required building a dense social network that extended beyond the community notions of 'strangers' and 'indigenes'. Here, it may be useful to return to Simmel's (1950) work on the heuristic device of explicating the physical and cultural distance between expatriate diasporan Africans and host communities on the Slave Routes. In this study, expatriate diasporan Africans described how locals were fascinated with their decision to return and live under conditions of poverty and squalor. Others reported how they were classified as 'foreigners', and how this label made them "feel unwelcomed" even though the neologism of *sankɔfani* (a local term for diasporan Africans) resonated among the local people. As a result, an important aspect of the

dialectic between returnees and their ancestral community was adjusting or being deculturated to the latter as the following extract illustrates:

#12/ELM/O/M/EAD ...It was mixed. Among the enlightened [people] I found warm reception. People welcomed my return and made me feel at home.... made me feel that I was at the right place, not a strange place, this was my ancestral home. Then of course you have those who considered me a 'stranger' or '*obruni*' or 'Whiteman' coming from America, coming from the West and I basically attributed it to their ignorance.... you know...based on the historical dilemma and dynamics of what produced the African diaspora. So I did not take offence to that but most often considered it an ignorant response versus any kind of ill-meaning or bad will.

The picture was nevertheless different for participants for the traditional authorities in all the study areas. However, as already noted, chiefs play an important role in ensuring strong social networks and cohesiveness in the communities. For most participants, the presence of diasporans in their community was positive, generating strong community ties and a sense of belonging. They recognised the challenges in developing social networks based on slave descent. However, of greater interest to chiefs was how the multiplicity of collective identities showed strong ties and attachment in former TAST communities.

### *5.3.2 Stigma and discrimination*

Several issues emerged from the fieldwork that demonstrated constraints imposed by locality on the different stakeholders. In particular, this section deals with stigma and discrimination that constrain the lived experiences of descendants of 'slaves'. Despite strong feelings of being comfortable living in the community and the expressed notions of coming to terms with their past, descendants of 'slaves' felt stigmatised and discriminated against in terms of chieftaincy and family inheritances. Much of the

stigmatization related to being stared at in public settings and hearing negative gossip regarding their ancestry.

#2/ASM/O/F/DS... “People always gossip about our family. Even close neighbours who visit our house. Once I overheard a neighbour [name withheld] saying something about my late mother and I confronted her...finally the chief sorted things out but we are always a subject of gossip here and this sometimes gets very nasty”.

Descendants of slaves in all study areas also described how they felt denigrated by locals when references were made to their slave ancestry. They recounted instances of abuse experienced directly, “you are a *slave*” or indirectly, “you act like a *slave*.” The indirect abuse was a more subtle form of divulging someone’s ancestry and was commonly used by locals to avert the customary adjudicatory system for restitution. This suggests that even though descendants of ‘slaves’ felt comfortable living in the communities, the stigma of slavery accentuated the feeling of “strangeness”. Indeed, the overarching theme that emerges from the interviews was that descendants of ‘slaves’ felt like ‘strangers’. In this context, (and in the context intended by descendants of ‘slaves’) a “stranger” was a non-subject of a clan or a tribe.

Feeling of “strangeness” was experienced on a daily basis in all former TAST communities but more pronounced in Cape Coast, *Elmina and Assin Manso*, where interviewees felt stigmatised simply because they had facial markings or lived in historic buildings.

#1/AS/O/F/DS...In this community there is a stigma attached to people with tribal marks.....once you have such marking it is perceived that you are a northerner and therefore labelled a ‘slave’ descendant.

#2/CC/Y/F/DS... People judge us because we live in this historic building [name withheld]. We have been denigrated for several years and sometimes when I don’t want people to judge me, I don’t mention that am from this house.

This contest of social space highlights deeper issues on the Slave Routes, especially regarding the identities of people with facial markings and those who lived in historic buildings. Feelings of indignation were acute within and across all the communities. Particularly in Cape Coast, *Elmina* and *Assin Manso*, there was an apparent hidden element of frustration with younger generation of descendants of ‘slaves’. Indeed, many were “bothered” by the tendency of local residents not only to denigrate them by using the term *slave* but by doing so invoking the traumatic experiences of their forbearers in the process. This was sometimes emotionally overwhelming and generated feelings of anger and resentment. Interviewees gave several accounts of a generational shift in negative societal attitudes towards descendants of ‘slaves’ from descendants of enslavers and local residents that tend to position them as low class. Thus, uppermost in the minds of interviewees was bringing closure to the issue of slave ancestry which, to all intents and purposes have perpetuated over time and space. The results confirm Der’s (1998:32) assertion that although many *Akan* (particularly the *Ashanti*) are of northern origins, “they fear or are reluctant to acknowledge their northern ancestry on account of the stigma attached to persons of servile status in *Akan* society”.

Perhaps, not expectedly, the corollary of stigma was discrimination that descendants of ‘slaves’, particularly in Cape Coast, *Elmina* and *Assin Manso*, felt in relation to chieftaincy succession and family inheritance. Whilst both descendants of enslavers and descendants of ‘slaves’ conceded that social identities imposes limits in terms of political representation and social functioning, traditional authorities rarely went beyond the popular mantra that descendants of ‘slaves’ had been integrated into

families and society. In many respects, that was only to be expected given that at the time of conducting this study some traditional authorities in the study areas were locked in prolonged and raucous disputes over their claim to legitimate authority. This underscored the commonly held view in some quarters that slave heritage was a major factor for chieftaincy disputes, many of which had resulted in wanton destruction of lives and property (Bailey, 2005; Schramm, 2008).

The most common reasons cited by descendants of ‘slaves’ as influencing their illegibility to succeed traditional or chieftaincy positions and titles corroborated the findings of Perbi (2004). First, they were not considered members of the royal family or household. Second, because they were presumed to be of inferior status culturally. Third, customs and traditions were inviolable and any aberration was considered an affront. Lastly, something perhaps previously alluded to; a slave was a stranger and not a native of the land and therefore had no right to succeed a chieftaincy title of position. The last reason drew sharp comments from descendants of ‘slaves’ in juxtaposition to the phenomenon of installing members of African Diaspora as ‘development chiefs’.

The evidence that emerged from the interviews suggests that this state of affairs was not always the case and that slave descent did not constitute a discriminatory factor for chieftaincy across-the-board. The study found that kinship (patrilineal and matrilineal descent) provided possible explanation why slave descent is not always a factor for consideration. Following this logic, descendants of ‘slaves’ in Cape Coast, *Elmina*, and *Assin Manso* reported discrimination in relation to chieftaincy issues because they practiced the matrilineal system of inheritance. On the other hand, patrilineal descent which was practiced in *Salaga*, suggested both males, and females

belonged to their father's kin group but not their mother's. Based on historical evidence that female slaves were indispensable to chieftaincies and royal households, especially for procreation in pre-colonial Ghana, it is likely that in *Salaga* slaves were integrated into the ruling class through adoption or marriage. According to Perbi (2004), there are two rules of succession along kinship lines. With regard to the first rule of succession, she wrote:

*Circumstances of birth and blood ties were very important criteria for membership of royalty. It was these criteria, which gave them political and social rights over commoners and slaves. In matrilineal society, a slave belonging to a patrilineal society would be physiologically unconnected by the primary tie of blood to a mother's group. In a patrilineal society, the same would be true for a slave from a matrilineal society* (Perbi, 2004:113).

In this respect, the eldest surviving brother or cousin of a deceased chief could succeed after which the right of succession passed to brother's sons in order of seniority. The second rule provided for the suspension of the rightful heir on grounds of disabilities that included blindness or loss of one eye, leprosy, madness, the loss of a finger or toe, deformity, bad character of incompetence, left handedness and behaviour discreditable to a member of the chief's family e.g. continual drunkenness or excessive consorting with the common people (Perbi, 2004). The caveat to the second rule was that slave descendants could be chiefs. In support of Perbi's (2004) observations, there was the likelihood of male children of female 'slaves' fathered by royal household members could inherit chieftaincy titles or positions in *Salaga*. However, this was not likely to occur in matrilineal societies like Cape Coast, *Elmina*, *Assin Manso* and *Bono Manso* because as previously indicated the commonly held view was that the majority of the slaves were of northern origin. Therefore, it was safe to conclude that descendants of

'slaves' although considered 'strangers' in some instances may succeed chieftaincy titles and status, especially in *Salaga*. However, it is important to note that Perbi (2004) found no evidence of slaves succeeding chieftaincy titles in connection to the second rule in northern Ghana. On the contrary, there were strong indications from the data gathered that *Salaga* might be an exception *and* there is some support for this contention from Braimah and Goody (1967).

Parallel to this, the combined experience of stigma and discrimination was attributed to the numerous acrimonious family inheritance feuds. Given the negative attitude towards their agency within the family and wider society, it was not surprising that family feuds over inheritance were attributed to slave descent. Respondents described how they felt cheated and abused by descendants of enslavers over ownership of estates bequeathed to their progenitors several decades by childless slaveholders or through marriages. In one case, respondents claimed that even though judgment had been pronounced in their favour by a court of competent jurisdiction, descendants of enslavers did not abide by the court's decision leading to verbal or sometimes physical alterations. Here too, there seems to be enough evidence in support of Keren's (2009:997) assertion that "memory permits the reproduction of power relations between descendants of masters and slaves. It excludes the latter from certain titles no matter how remote their slave ancestry is or how well they are socially integrated".

### *5.3.3 Power relations and representations*

Different aspects of social identity intertwine interactions among the different stakeholders at all levels of society. The issue emerged again under this sub-theme.



However, rather than emphasising the subjectivity of ‘strangers’, interviewees’ words reflected more on the pluralist notion of representations, which challenges the possibility of revealing slave ancestry as a source of social inequality in former TAST communities. It appeared that roles were apportioned in ways that satisfied the prevailing social hierarchy. However, descendants of ‘slaves’ did not attribute importance to their servile origins given their kindred connections to diasporan Africans. Thus, the social distinction between descendants of ‘slaves’ and non-slaves has been replaced by a generic social identity reinforced by affluence and the appropriation of power.

Interviewees described the anxieties created in the commemoration of TAST events. It emerged that descendants of ‘slaves’ did not participate in TAST commemorative ceremonies given the severity of stigma. In *Assin Manso* one strategy used by the chief to dispel stigmatising representations of descendants of ‘slaves’ was to resort to age.

#1/ASM/O/D/DS.... “My great-great-great grandmother [name withheld] was the only woman in this town chosen as the chief mourner ...the chief sent her gifts which included a mourning cloth and requested her to play that role because she was the oldest woman in the community. Since then, we have never been formally invited to participate in Emancipation Day festivities.

Even though descendants of ‘slaves’ in *Assin Manso* were unique in their life experiences, this finding serves to highlight the complexities of stigmatised identities and negative representations in former TAST communities. Such accounts also conveyed in a broader context the constraints and inadequacies of some stakeholders. Interviewees in *Elmina* and Cape Coast also expressed anxieties about their inability to assert a positive representation. Some commented about social relations that created a

barrier between themselves and the rest of the community. However, an intriguing observation was intra-group comparisons. Descendants of ‘slaves’ of wealthy slaveholders boasted that despite their stigmatised identities, at least they had properties and sizeable estates bequeathed to them and mentioned other descendants of ‘slaves’ as being worse off. This, in their view, was a double dose of stigma.

#1/CC/O/F/DS...Like, our family for instance before our master [name withheld] died, he made a will which he gave the whole estate to us and to be enjoyed by our descendants... so I hold my head up high, protecting myself against the stigma of being a descendant of ‘slave’. What has that family [name withheld] got? Nothing! They have for several years been unable to obtain possession of the property bequeathed to them... How do you pride yourself about being a rich person when you cannot enjoy your riches? There you go!

Others were concerned about being marginalised in public discourse and subordinated in the wider society based on ancestry. Thus, the idea of marginalisation was enough reason for fence-sitting. On other occasions, the lack of representation in social discourse was because of the master-slave dichotomy.

The analysis shows that descendants of enslavers continue to contest the social status enjoyed by descendants of ‘slaves’, especially in the context of marriage, kinship and inheritance. Thus, given the negative representations and the attendant unequal balance of power between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers, collective slave memories are always in negotiation. Consequently, there are growing signs of social mobility in terms of retracing roots among ‘domestic diasporas’.

#13/CC/O/M/DE.... “Their great-great-grandmothers told them from time to time...so they are aware they are not natives.... one educated girl [profile withheld] came for her mother after she had retraced her roots to the north...but the mother died on the way....”

In contrast, expatriate diasporan Africans felt a strong sense of identity in rejecting the stereotypical representations that some sections of the ancestral community have of members of the African diaspora. However, they had some concerns which reflected the potential for recrimination from some traditional authorities or local residents. They described how some local chiefs were worried about their dominant representation in matters of community development. This was particularly the case where efficient and prudent use of community resources was at stake.

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD... I have no regrets.... none (pause). I have challenges, yes; but I have never regretted the decision that we made to leave America to come back to Africa...we looked at what we could give to the community not being materially rich people, spiritually rich yes; what we could bring to the community. In the end, what we decided to do was to bring an educational sponsorship programme because I am a qualified administrator. We provided the means for the children in our community who did not have the means to raise money and to support the efforts of our children. That was what we were able to give our Ghanaian community. However, there was the need for information-sharing, a two-way street sharing because it was very important to know as much as possible about the community in which we found ourselves living.

Interestingly, given their dominant cultural values expressed in language and other cultural practices, some traditional authorities were concerned that some returnees were unable to orient and readjust to their ancestral communities but wished to run affairs. On one hand, their primary concern was the extent to which diasporan Africans assert their agency as kin and, and on the other hand, the extent to which they socially compete community views given their long standing prejudice towards the continent and its inhabitants. Consequently, there was an element of rootlessness in reference to the growing political hegemony of returnees in the ancestral communities.

## 5.4 Contested collective slave memories

The study also set out to examine whose collective slave memories should be privileged in the interpretation and representation of the SRP. The objective was to demonstrate that multiple articulations of the TAST history underlie the multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. Themes that emerged from the data that helped answer Question 1 were: catharsis, collective silence, truth, remembrance/memorialisation, history, symbolic guilt, and forgetting.

### 5.4.1 *Catharsis*

The idea of catharsis emerged from the interviews with descendants of enslavers and diasporan Africans. In the latter case, living in ancestral communities reminded them of their past— and the ‘silent’ stories that everyday life illustrates. Meeting local people and families in the ancestral communities served to reaffirm kindred connections and draw them closer to their progenitors. More importantly, they had the opportunity to share stories of negative racial experiences in their host countries. In sharing these stories with their ancestral communities, returnees’ felt the strength in bringing closure to brutalities meted out to them and their ancestors.

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD...I remember going to the castle dungeons in 1987 and being told by the guide that African-Americans don't come here, white people come! But Black Americans don't come to the dungeons. Moreover, they were very glad to see us and I remember the man saying “oh! You have come back to your roots and that was important. Because going to the castle dungeons and making that connection made all the difference in the world.

Some accounts also indicated that remembering and sharing collective slave memories provided cathartic release for descendants of enslavers in Cape Coast and

*Elmina*. This very act of recounting the past allowed for a certain kind of pleasure in keeping the social identities of descendants of ‘slaves’ alive to reassert their authority as well as renegotiate the collective memory of descendants of ‘slaves’. Thus, in matters of family feud over inheritance, retracing the roots of the family tree was a cathartic process.

#13/CC/O/M/DE... “We have kept their historical antecedent as a family secret...but now that they feel they can challenge our authority and contest inheritance in the family.... we need to expose them for what they are.... It’s no longer a shame to have slave descent in the family. The more I talk about the family history, the better I feel”

#### *5.4.2 Collective silence*

This sub-theme parallels the idea of catharsis and forgetting. Silence is part of collective memory. This was the case for interviewees’ in examining their shameful histories. For reasons discussed in previous chapters, articulating collective slave memories while ignoring the shame and stigma associated with it seem to be flourishing since the launch of the UNESCO *Breaking the Silence Project*. However, it has increasingly become difficult for some social groups to forget the past or at the very least, muted in public discourse. A second major trend is the increasing interest by tourists in search of roots and routes. Essentially, slavery heritage tourism has made it difficult for some stakeholders who wish to remember (and, in some cases be forced to ‘remember’ because it involves social identities) the past to do so while minimising tensions with other social groups that do not wish to recollect its shameful or ‘embarrassing’ past. As such, silence is somewhat of a non-option for some stakeholders (or, at the very least, an option with a high touristic price tag attached).

Descendants of 'slaves' exemplified the former perspective. When asked what encouraged or discouraged them from simply recollecting TAST memories, most respondents expressed some hesitancy to talk openly about the past. The dominant narrative was the idea of abandoning the embarrassing past in an age of progress. An informant in Cape Coast could not discuss his personal views without the consent of the family head. Another informant described how she visited *Elmina* and was excited about diasporan Africans exchanging ancestral information with a desire to connect with ancestral families there. However, when she brought this up with an older family member, she was told to keep her views to herself. A day after being interviewed, one informant described how a member of the family was infuriated because the informant spoke to this researcher.

#2/ASM/Y/DS... "I was told to stay quiet with my beliefs. They were angry because I spoke to you regarding our family... they felt I had exposed the family to public contempt and ridicule".

Apparently, the family had made a conscious effort to forget the past after the death of a family member who publicly affirmed slave descent. Consequently, younger members of the family had been told alternative versions of the family history and identity. One similarity that was apparent in the scenarios described above was that an all-pervading silence seemed to persist in some families. These were often dominated by younger generations of descendants of 'slaves'. This suggests that for descendants of 'slaves', when the stakes are high, collective silence becomes that area in which collective slave memories are remembered and forgotten at the same time. Largely, this reflected the extent of social networks and relationships, which invariably dictated what

family members know (at least for a few generations), or at the very least not to talk about it.

Can descendants of 'slaves' withdraw into collective silence, or how do they remember the past while minimizing conflict with other collectives (i.e. descendants of enslavers and local residents) who wish to recollect their 'embarrassing' past? This direct attention to observation that collective slave memories are highly contested on multiple fronts by multiple actors who cannot (but arguably) withdraw into complete collective silence.

#### *5.4.3 Truth*

Almost two decades of scientific investigation have been devoted by the SRP in establishing and disseminating historical truth on the TAST. An all-too-common finding is that historical study is skewed and that there is an arduous task in establishing the truth given the various biases in modern historical discourse. With regard to the current study, two perspectives underlie the competing truth claims that attend articulation of the TAST memories. The first stems from the hitherto shame and stigma that shrouded public discourse on the TAST. The second, as has been already pointed out by Misztal (2003), relates to the commercialization of TAST memories leading to its banalisation and sentimentalisation. This suggestion of sentimentalism rather than forming the basis of misinformation is reinforced by the possible distortions of what is perceived as the truth about the past, especially when collective memory provides legitimacy, influence, and identity.

The interviews demonstrated that truth claims were developed or constructed on general lines of historical knowledge. Most chiefs interviewed (notably in *Assin Manso* and Cape Coast) were well vested in their community geneology and culture linked to the history of the TAST. Their sources of knowledge were mostly history books and oral traditions. Therefore, it not was surprising that participants' narration of the past were deemed historically correct. Some referenced their family lineage and connections with their chieftaincy title, largely downplaying alleged legitimacy challenges.

#19/CC/O/M/TA...I bet you many of people who are fomenting tension regarding chieftaincy in this community don't know the real history and truth—as I do.

However, for the chief of *Bono Manso*, the spectacle of diasporan Africans showing emotive connections to the community blurs the distinctions between history and truth. This feeds into the growing spectacle of genealogy-based travel into the community, hence making it a marketable commodity (Timothy, 2008).

#3/BM/O/M/TA..."Captives who where bought or raided from the north were brought to the market here. But the sick and infirm were left in the care of the chief of *Bono Manso*. Slave masters also captured people here to replace those who were sick and tired".

Questioning this narrative takes collective memory and history into a distinctly uncomfortable terrain while threatening not only the power of the 'expert' but also the loss of collective memory after centuries of amnesia.

For descendants of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves', collective slave memories are either prone to modification or resistance especially when it involved protracted family inheritance disputes.

#13/CC/O/M/DE...Quite honestly, what I know hasn't changed that much even though they [names withheld] would tell you something



different. They have got a different memory and they look at things in that way.

#15/CC/Y/DS... For me the past is the past and its not important now. It did not mean much when I was growing up and certainly not now that I feel a natural bond to this community. Occasionally you see people staring at you funnily, but it does nothing to what I know about my family history. I am more convinced than ever that morally and emotionally we belong here than these people who call themselves masters.

Interviewees were mostly in agreement that the long interval between the abolition of the TAST and the implementation of the *UNESCO Breaking the Silence Project* allowed the ‘original’ collective memory to fade. There was a pervasive feeling that many of the genealogical connections and stories told about people’s ancestry were politically motivated to cause mischief or sow seeds of discord among and between families and the wider society. This highlights the possible manipulation of the past by the ruling class or individuals with vested interest in dominating or appropriating collective memory which Lukes (2005) envisioned. One descendant of an enslaver in *Salaga*, for example, suggested that local residents had disingenuously turned ‘lies’ into truth in order to benefit from tourism there. Despite the participant’s physical impairment, claiming to be the master repository of the ‘truth’ in the community brought to the fore the three-dimensional view of power. In other words, truth existed in small pockets within the community and defined by identity, length of residency and life-course positions but once accepted, the newly constructed memories become genuine.

#### *5.4.4 Symbolic guilt*

Closely associated with the notion of shame is guilt. However, emotion theorists disagree on the meaning of shame and guilt. While some authorities have used the two

terms interchangeably, others have treated them as different aspects of the same underlying emotion, and others allude to essential differences between them. Most importantly, guilt is thought to be associated with response meant to restore or make amends to guilt-eliciting events whilst shame is accompanied by heightened self-consciousness, self-image and appropriateness (Lynd, 1958; Izard, 1977). While the notion that guilt is associated with traumatic events or sites of death or disaster is not new in the literature (Leys, 2007); it has not received much attention with the TAST.

As already noted, contemporary stakeholders who lay legitimate claim to TAST heritage did not directly experience the TAST. Nevertheless, because collective memory can be reconstructed, present day social groups feel symbolically bonded to the traumatic experience of their ancestors. A common theme that resonated in the articulation of collective slave memories was repairing intergenerational guilt. This was labelled symbolic guilt. With the exception of expatriate diasporan Africans; there was a notion among participants of an enduring sense of guilt associated with living in former TAST communities that tended to be insinuate into community lifestyles. Apart from the presence of TAST related relics serving as constant reminders of the TAST, interviewees referred to the burden of society (devoid of its contested multiple identities) to acknowledge the guilt of previous generations of traditional authorities and descendants of enslavers who participated in the enslavement of their forbearers. This feeling of guilt was not only driven by collective memory but also rooted in ancestral veneration. One informant spoke graphically about how this pervades daily interactions.

#17/SAL/O/M/DE...“Am not sure of how hypocritical it might sound knowing my ancestors played a salient role in this sordid past, I’m not also sure if revisiting this aspects of our past means anything apart from the fact that I have learned a lot about my ancestors as part of

heritage.... but I have to feel an inkling of shame whenever the TAST is mentioned”.

Others stressed that the involvement of their progenitors in the enslavement of their kin affects their present day identity. In particular, the manner in which succession to family headship disqualifies descendants of ‘slaves’. Essentially, this meant they felt ashamed for who they were and guilty at the same time for what their ancestors did in the articulation of collective slave memories. However, this interpretation is called into question given that the feeling of ancestral pride on the part of descendants of enslavers underlies identity and representation issues.

An additional finding was that, except for *Salaga*, traditional authorities did not distance themselves from the perceived ‘wrongs’ of their forebears. Instead they felt guiltier and challenged (in this respect ethical weight) in addressing contemporary forms of slavery.

#19/CC/O/M/TA... “It’s very sad that we have not learnt from history...after all the cruel things that our ancestors were subjected to by the slave masters. Now we who claim revenge for the suffering and wickedness of the past engage in them by selling our younger generations into forms of servitude. Our ancestors were guilty helping the Europeans but we also are now at the wrong side of history perpetrating such injustices against our own.

Interestingly, descendants of ‘slaves’ also felt the unburdened sense of symbolic guilt associated with articulation of collective slave memories. Contrary to their positive perceptions towards the community’s image linked to slavery, few descendants of ‘slaves’ felt the powerful representations of descendants of enslavers reflect poorly on their identity. One respondent was concerned about authenticity of being a slave descendant and suggested that even though their ancestors were the victims, the shame and stigma associated with TAST resulted in *mixed* identities. The interviewee spoke on

authority about descendants of enslavers and some slaveholders who previously felt ashamed and uncomfortable about having ‘slave’ descendants in their household but presently felt guilty for the involvement of their progenitors. The suggestion was that the feeling of guilt expressed on the part of descendants of enslavers was romanticized in part to benefit from tourism.

#9/ELM/O/F/DS... I have a strong feeling that the head of the family is making money off us. Anytime he receives visitors from the diaspora he would gather us all to interact with them. He previously did not allow us talk about our family history!

Another informant in Cape Coast asserted that many descendants of ‘slaves’ in the area felt guilty simply because it was beneficial to balance the unequal power relations and representations within the community.

#1/CC/F/CC/ DS... Everybody knows this house but when you are asked and you don’t mention it, they tell you it’s not important because every respectable family in the area has a ‘slave’ descendant.

#### *5.4.5 Memorialization/collective remembrance*

Interviewees were asked to describe aspects of TAST memories they would prefer to remember. What emerged from the study was the notion that memorialization helped assuage feelings of symbolic guilt. It was also seen as exercising a moral obligation to the ancestors who were victims of the TAST.

#1/CC/O/F/DS... “I don’t know why our ancestors subjected others to such cruelty. ....Why did they victimize themselves, just to profit from the TAST? My great-great-grandmother told stories of kidnapping and panyarring of people who were eventually sold to the Europeans”.

Traditional authorities also echoed this sentiment. They appeared to accept some level of moral culpability on the part of their ancestors but were quick to add that some chiefs’ galvanised their communities to resist raids and kidnappings. They indicated

their efforts were geared towards appeasing the souls of those who unjustifiably died through commemorative rituals and atoning for the negativities associated with the TAST and slavery in general.

It was apparent that for expatriate African diasporans, remembering their progenitors who suffered during the TAST helped fulfil a moral obligation to return. Memorialization of TAST relics also provided additional means of not only venerating the dead but also understanding and coping with the past. This provided the incentive for travelling to ancestral homelands in search of their personal heritages. It was stressed, for example, that visiting TAST sites allowed returnees to reconnect with the past, to commemorate and remember those who died during the TAST. These descriptions, according to Foote (1997:81), help, "...to assure survivors that victims did not suffer alone, that their deaths meant something more..."

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD.... I go there all the time. One of the reasons that I go to the castle dungeons is because I do ancestral feedings. I go and feed the ancestors from time to time. We used to and still do sometimes-commemorative ceremonies in the Cape Coast castle dungeons in which we have a cultural group put on a re-enactment of the captured enslaved Africans and then we go there into the dungeons with men and women separated. The men go to the male dungeons following the male slaves and the women go into the female dungeons with me following the female slaves while singing. They do a dirge that takes them into the dungeons and there, once inside the dungeons, we have an opportunity to come together, pray, and meditate, talk about what the experience means to us being here. People have the opportunity not to only vent out but become reconnected.... so that things they did not know anything about once in that dungeons it comes together for them. This is a group of women who for most part do not know each other because they come on a tour and just met each other but we come together in that room as African people.... and that's a lot more important. We don't allow Europeans to participate in our ceremonies because we strongly believe; we strongly know there is a connection between us as African people...that's a lot more important. White if they want to go down there and do anything that's their own business, we are there to glorify

our ancestors, we are there to give thanks to God, to the Creator for having returned us safely home to the land of our ancestors...

#### *5.4.6 History*

Asking interviewees to narrate stories about the role their community of abode played during the slaving era appeared to be quite controversial. Some hesitated to talk openly about slavery. Talking to the researcher about the subject meant revealing their slave ancestry. Some did not want to discuss their personal views without the expressed consent of their family heads (who, incidentally, in most cases were descendants of enslavers) or preferred an open family discussion where all viewpoints were placed on the table. Others responded by reframing the question about the history of the TAST. For each case, the narrations were noticeably revealing.

#2/ CC/Y/CC/DS.....hmmm.... my great grandmother told me she was captured with the sister on their way to the farm. She was sold to a man who later re-sold her. She walked many days and finally came to this community.

#2/ELM/Y/F/DS...“Our great-great-great-great grandmother was bought and later married to a wealthy merchant [name withheld] from the royal family. ... But my elder sister is the best person to tell you since we all learn the history from her”.

#3/ASM/Y/M/DE.... “Slaves were brought from the northern parts to this community and bathed in the river. European merchants and some Africans then came to buy them to the coastal forts and castles”.

However, there was good reason to believe that stories told by descendants of ‘slaves’ did not only establish contact with the past, but expressed the everyday exchanges that confronted them since recollecting the historic TAST related to their collective identity elements. Because the TAST and slavery in general were generally sequestered from public discourse, local knowledge of TAST stories generated

controversies given the different mnemonic practices and genealogies. Consequently, it was common to hear narrations based on the type of TAST history or aspects of public history that dealt with stories of the enslaved Africans. For example, descendants of ‘slaves’ interviewees in *Assin Manso* were melancholic when recounting the historical memories of their ancestors regarding the Slave River. They narrated stories of how their ancestors suffered the long journey from the hinterlands and only made to take their last bath before being marched to the dungeons along the coast. Interviewees often implied that chapter in the history of the community was a shameful and unfortunate one but recognized that in the positive sense the event was a pivotal point reconnecting members of the African diaspora. Notwithstanding the shame and stigma that had shrouded their agency, many of such stories were passed down to the younger generations even if traumatising.

As the forts and castles denote, respondents in Cape Coast and *Elmina* recounted the historical importance of their towns during the slaving era. They also identified the history of TAST as shameful but saw the need to transmit its meaning to the future generation. For some participants, the community’s history directly influences commemorative traditions in the future. However, the need to remember the history of the TAST was entangled with the vexed issue of its social and cultural impacts.

For expatriate African diaspora interviewees, interpretations presented at TAST sites and personal stories of descendants of ‘slaves’ were two avenues of negotiating the meaning of the TAST history. While history presented at TAST sites (particularly the famed forts and castles) were deemed romanticised in favour of the “perpetrators”, they were also used as tools for appreciating the transnational discourse on collective

identity. As a result, the personal stories of descendants of ‘slaves’ and local knowledge about the ‘forgotten’ histories were used to counter the perceived structured biases in the interpretation of collective slave memories at TAST sites. In addition, these avenues were thought of as not only establishing links to collective identities but also conferring legitimacy to African interpretations of TAST history.

#### *5.4.7 Forgetting*

An issue that arose prominently in the interviews with descendants of ‘slaves’ was the idea that the history of TAST should be forgotten. This was hardly surprising in view of the amnesia that the TAST was for several decades swathed. As the current study has pointed out, the launch of the SRP and the increasing popularity of genealogy-based travels have brought about some affirmation of the TAST as a dramatic episode in the history of humanity. However, by analysing the overlapping contested collective slave memories of the different social groups, conflicts were expressed, not only in terms of silence on aspects of collective memory because it broached the subject of ancestry and identity, but also in terms wiping the slate clean. This suggests that collective slave memories were not just or even primarily about blame and guilt.

Halbwachs (1992) observed that collective memory was more prone to forgetting the negative past whiles to Connerton (2008:59) forgetting “is not always a failure”, nor “something about which we should feel culpable”. Consistent to this notion, descendants of ‘slaves’ felt the whole TAST episode should be forgotten. They felt that forgetting was a powerful antidote to overcome the stigma and shame that wider society perpetrates against them. Despite strong expressions of sadness and grief of their ancestors’



sufferings, interviewees affirmed that forgetting the past was imperative to their identifying culturally with the community. They were convinced that nothing could be done to atone for the TAST as the most shameful chapter in human history. Their notion of remembering the maltreatment of their ancestors invoked not only a feeling of empathy and grief but also reminded them of differences in power and status in safeguarding their collective heritage and collective identity. One informant retorted:

#1/ASM/O/F/DS.... Forget about the TAST because it was a shameful past; it does not bring anything good to us. If anything it just reminds me of the shame and stigma I have suffered during our lifetime.

#7/ELM/O/M/DS...I feel we should forget about the TAST...It wasn't a good experience for our ancestors so why should we continue to live in that agony? .....In spite of being part of this community, I don't feel as though I belong here because am constantly reminded of my ancestry. Even my wife sometimes makes good-natured banter about my ancestry.

In other words, there was a feeling among descendants of 'slaves' that forgetting is necessary for the future. They insisted that even though time has lessened the pain and grief that articulation of the TAST produces, the state (or parastatal organisations) and traditional authorities have the power to commemorate events and festivals of the TAST. Even though one could decipher and argue that such stance appears less like the guilt discussed above and more like avoidance (given the shame associated with slave descent), the trajectory of which defines power and representations. Likewise, given that tourism fosters new forms of communal ties that do not necessarily follow the patterns of social stratification; descendants of 'slaves' appear more vulnerable to forgetting than remembering.

This was striking to returnees interested in re-affirming kindred connections and the lived experiences of former TAST communities:

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD...They want to forget...indigenous Ghanaians are like that...they don't want to talk about the Slave Trade.... we were doing a film and part of it was to interview indigenous Ghanaians and get their take on the TAST. What they think about it; what kind of impact it had on them and most of them excuse me to say, didn't want to talk about it... "We should forget it"...they asked, "why do you bring this stuff up?".....I said because it is important, it is part of our history, it is the connection, it is the understanding, the deep understanding of who we are as African people and what our connection is...(hissed) "we should forget about it, it is a shameful period" they retorted. Then I went to another place where they had children. We were talking so they asked the children to leave... "I said no, let the children stay because it's their history". "They said "oh! They don't need to know". Few people wanted to talk about it. The unfortunate thing is we get a bad "rap" coming from the diaspora asking these questions.

Unlike descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers used the idea of forgetting in establishing identity. In identifying with the pervasive feeling of grief and sadness associated with articulation of collective slave memories, respondents felt a great desire for remembrance. For them, given the increasing spate of family inheritance feuds, descendants of 'slaves' need to be constantly reminded of the past. This activity of remembering decouples the roles that freeborn and descendants of 'slaves' (and in some cases dishonoured 'strangers') generally occupy in the family and wider society. They were concerned that wilfully forgetting slave ancestry in the family would be perceived as part of collective memory and used to create tensions that threatened social cohesiveness.

#14/CC/Y/M/DE... They will always be treated as part of this family...but if we forget the TAST then in the future they would misinform their children about their ancestry. This may be inimical to kinship relations in this community.

This perhaps confirms the observation by Perbi, (2004:113) that, "even though in the course of time, slave descendants might appear to be completely integrated into a

family, the head of the family and his elders would never lose sight of the slave's origins. Slaves and their descendants never forget their original status".

## **5.5 Linking collective slave memories and tourism**

In many ways, the articulations of collective slave memories impinge on tourism. However, whether collective slave memories affected a change in the perception of tourism in terms of impacts was mixed. There appeared to be three general perspectives that emerged. The first attribution of collective slave memories to tourism relates to pride; the second attribution related to heritage connections. The last perspective disentangled the link between collective slave memories and socio-economic circumstances of former TAST communities.

### *5.5.1 Pride*

Descendants of 'slaves' were comfortable about tourists visiting the former TAST communities to learn about the TAST or engaged in genealogy-based travel. In particular, they described the familial connections to diasporan Africans and pride to share common ancestry. This argument was an allusion to the deep-rooted idea of a tripartite ancestral tie between the souls of their ancestors who died or who were killed during the slave raids, those were unable to make the middle passage and those presently in the diaspora. In *Assin Manso*, interviewees expressed their pride and collective identity through commemorative rituals performed by expatriate diasporan Africans during Emancipation Day. In contrast, ancestral ties to diasporan Africans in Cape Coast and *Elmina* encouraged the category of locals that provided ancestral

information. While interviewees were proud to share common ancestry with returnees, they were worried about the proliferation of families exchanging ancestral information and connectivities to the TAST. They suggested that slave ancestry has become “cultural goods”; transformed into commodities to be sold, bought and profited from in the burgeoning diaspora tourism.

#7/ELM/O/M/DS.... Now it is profitable to be a ‘slave’ descendant because of the popularity of diaspora tourism. Some years ago, people were not interested in disclosing family histories, let alone interact with diasporan Africans. Now because they think we get money from African-Americans everybody has jumped on the bandwagon

#### *5.5.2 Personal heritage connections*

Due partly to the attribution of familial legacy and pain felt for their ancestors, interviewees experienced heritage ties to the TAST. In particular, descendants of ‘slaves’ noted that visiting TAST cultural assets in their community brought profound feelings of the pain and anguish on behalf of their ancestors. For expatriate African diasporans, the return journey was important in exploring personal heritage within the context of their upbringing and negative attitudes of diasporans towards emigration.

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD.....And the fact that you are properly the first person in your family for generations to have come back to Africa. First one in the family.... you may be the only one and most of the time when you told people you were going to Africa they thought you were crazy...they would say “why the hell would you go to Africa?” If you said you were going to Europe it would be different. They say “oh! That so nice...going to Paris, bring us some perfume” something like that. However, if you say you were going to Africa most people would flush up their face as if something happened and wonder why the hell you would go to some place like Africa, why not? But see, if you don’t know then you would make that statement...and we have not had the desire to know because of the negative picture that have been painted about Africa...its better now, somewhat but people still ask us that question.

### 5.5.3 Development 'curse'

Interviewees were asked the effect of the TAST in their community. It appeared some informants were of the view that communities on the Slave Routes were 'development-cursed' because of their involvement in the TAST. For descendants of 'slaves' in *Assin Manso*, there was no better explanation for the under-development of the communities except that their forbearers had not forgiven them for the TAST. Ironically, some interviewees were of the view that returnees would help ameliorate the economic plight of the former TAST community.

However, while the Chief of the town noted the lack of development he reiterated that tourism presented an activity consistent with his and the traditional authority's efforts to generate awareness of the historic TAST and promote pride, particularly among the youth who incidentally would be the first to leave for greener pastures if ships arrived today on the coast to 'convey' labour overseas.

## 5.6 Reactions to SRP

This sub-theme addressed research question 5 on what extent multiple articulations of contested collective slave memories highlighted the spatial challenges of developing the SRP as cultural tourism product. Pursuant to this objective, the questions gauged interviewees' level of awareness and knowledge about the SRP. Subsequent questions asked whether they supported the SRP. The evidence from the data indicates that knowledge of the SRP was high only among some chiefs and expatriate African diasporan interviewees.

### 5.6.1 Awareness and support for SRP

Interviewees were asked directly whether they were aware of the SRP. For reasons not entirely clear, descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers showed inadequate awareness and insufficient knowledge of the SRP. Part of the SRP thinking was that educational programmes which, to all intents and purposes were geared towards the development of curricula and pedagogic materials on the TAST, would be made accessible to teachers, local authorities, civil society organisations and the media in all countries and cultures that were involved in the TAST. However, from the evidence provided in the current study, it was clear descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers whose articulation of collective slave memories contribute to contested identity and multiple heritage(s) on the Slave Routes have insufficient knowledge of the SRP.

#15/CC/Y/F/DS... “I think educating the younger generation about the TAST was one reason for the SRP. People want to talk about the TAST and there is need to connect with the African diaspora. I am proud African diasporans desire to come to this community.

In contrast, the chief of Cape Coast and *Assin Manso* were two of a handful of traditional authorities who knew and had sufficient knowledge of the SRP.

#16/SAL/O/M/TA... Most people in this community don’t know the SRP. But with my little education, I think if we have many of the cultural heritage assets such as the slave market and wells it will be promoted for slavery heritage.

Similarly, members of the expatriate African diaspora with moderate awareness of the SRP, showed some ambivalence of UNESCO’s rhetoric on pluralism and diversity. More importantly, the politics of collective memory were equally present in their interpretations of the SRP.

### *5.6.2 Motives for supporting the SRP*

Regardless of interviewees' lack of awareness and knowledge of the SRP, when asked, “do you support the Slave Route Project?” all interviewees supported the idea of the SRP. The following demonstrate the spectrum of reasons provided in support of the SRP.

#### *5.6.2.1 Personal connection*

Despite their discomfort with memorialization, descendants of ‘slaves’ supported the SRP. Interviewees commended UNESCO for acknowledging the savage barbarity of the TAST and promoting the interactions generated by history, geography and culture that the TAST produced through cultural tourism. They felt that the SRP was important not only as a means of honouring the memories of their ancestors who did not make the journey across the Atlantic but also the heroism of those who survived the execrable system in the New World. One informant in *Assin Manso* emphasised supporting the SRP was personal because they have been denigrated for years.

#### *5.6.2.2 Education*

Another reason why interviewees support the SRP was because it was linked to education on the TAST. However, the evidence from the data showed that both descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers support the SRP for its educational activities though their motives were different. For descendants of enslavers in *Elmina* and Cape Coast, education was necessary to keep slave ancestry alive. To help overcome the family inheritance feud with descendants of ‘slaves’, they pointed out the SRP would put the history of the TAST and stakeholders associated with its memory

into perspective. Against this background, and using the catharsis argument previously discussed, they were motivated by the SRP to disclose slave descent to visitors.

On their part, descendants of ‘slaves’ pointed out that education of community members was imperative. The vast majority felt that education on the TAST counterbalances the requisites of representations in society. They stressed that while interactions with diasporan African visitors was gradually creating a positive image, education about the TAST was needed because issues of slave descent and representations foster conflict to collective slave memories. This they reckoned was important because socially sanctioned value judgments of them could be extended to visitors, especially Africans from the Diaspora.

Expatriate African diaspora interviewees also echoed the value of education. This is evident in the following statement.

#12/ELM/O/M/EAD.... After the abolition of the TAST there was a lot of suppression of information. Because Africans were weakened on the continent and in the diaspora by virtue of the TAST...African people were not in the position to tell their own stories and preserve their own history. Therefore, in order for the world to know the dearth and content of what really took place and how horrific it was and its implications today, it must be reopened. For this reason I support the SRP and that we must go back into history and find out what happened.

### *5.6.2.3 Conservation*

What emerged from the data is that interviewees believe that the SRP provides an avenue to conserve the tangible and intangible elements of the historic TAST. However, descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers espoused divergent views on conservation as a justification for supporting the SRP. While descendants of enslavers were interested in the extrinsic use of TAST assets as tourism attractions (i.e. restoration



and promotion of old derelict structures connected to the TAST), descendants of ‘slaves’ seemed to appreciate preserving the intrinsic values of TAST sites. For most descendants of ‘slaves’ the TAST is intrinsically linked to the social fabric of community. How this opinion fits into their desire to tell relevant stories of the TAST to visitors (presumably for economic gain) is unclear. Perhaps they assume tourism to be a non-threatening activity or that preserving the collective memories of the TAST would positively bolster their social representation and political agency in wider public discourse. Ironically, it is the notion that TAST cultural assets should be preserved for their intrinsic values beyond the ‘tourist gaze’ that produces multiple layers of social contestations within the community.

#### *5.6.2.4 Nostalgic yearnings*

Nostalgia was another reason why interviewees supported the SRP. Again, they had mixed views about the idealised past. Two facets of nostalgia emerged in their narratives of descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. For descendants of enslavers, their sentiments suggested that promoting the SRP as a route cultural product helped to confirm their identity. For those in possession of significant memorabilia related to the TAST, there was a strong feeling of stimulated nostalgia.

#17/SAL/O/M/DE... “It is a difficult issue because these shackles cannot be replaced or forgotten...these are our most treasured family heirlooms, which reinforce our identity for the future”.

#14/CC/Y/M/DE... “I always look at old photographs of this house with nostalgia. Many of the items the old man [name withheld] used are still here and these rare, important artefacts are what tourists would be interested in”.

Conversely, descendants of ‘slaves’ felt a bittersweet component through the medium of tourism involving members of African diaspora. Their return in search of their ancestry serves as stimuli for reminiscing. As a result, diasporan visits to the TAST sites helped to evoke nostalgic reverie and an antidote to on-going discrimination.

#2/ASM/O/F/DS...Every August 1 makes me long to see African diasporans and to go to the Slave River site. I like to watch the rituals performed by the Black Americans in the Slave River and how they re-enact the sufferings of the enslaved Africans being bathed.

The finding of nostalgia in respect of diasporic return to the ancestral homeland was predictable. The literature is replete with nostalgic values underlying diasporic return to their homeland (Bruner, 1996; Kemp, 2000; Timothy & Teye, 2004). The journey is not only about being confronted with the barbarity and tragedies of the TAST but also visiting the very site that conveys the history, aura or traces of ancestral veneration. However, some ancestral communities provided deeper melancholic emotions to collective memory than others.

#18/CC/O/M/EAD...they are definitely different but relatively valuable. I realise the relics up north impacted the society but here you don't see how it impacted society because they are clearly European structures and exit points. There you see how it affected the whole community and how they reacted to such trade by building defence walls and hiding in caves against raids. You don't see such evidence here. So, often, it looks like just a trading centre and not as victimised as the northern regions were where you see them victimised as a community. Here it is hard to feel the lamentations of the general population by virtue of dungeon experience. It's almost like they are separate. There you feel the people along with the site.... it's all one. You feel people are hurt and feeling of tragedy and how it affected them. They seem to be part of it. Here you have to look deeper to see it.

This sentiment suggested that some ancestral communities had undergone total or partial transformation and become less authentic or less significant nostalgic feelings. Lowenthal (1985) has suggested that most often people can cope with the present if they

know and share in the past. Interviewees' accounts attempted to link the remembrance of their ancestors to black consciousness and a vehicle through which returnees expressed their identity and heritages. However, as already noted, nostalgia was tampered with commodification and the 'feeling value' seemed abstract.

#11/ELM/O/F/EAD...My subsequent visit to Ghana opened up an area that I was not familiar with in terms of the history of African people and our relationship to the castle dungeons...back then the castle dungeons had not been desecrated; they hadn't painted the dungeons and all the rest of that and it pretty much was a foreboding edifice, and it should have stayed as a foreboding edifice.

#### 5.6.2.5 *Re-membering Africans and Diasporan Africans*

Lastly, the notion of re-membering ancestral community and diasporan Africans emerged from the study. Traditional authorities were enthused about the idea of connecting their communities with diasporan Africans. For interviewees, diasporic return to ancestral homelands can be used as the avenue to re-member Africans on the continent and members of the African diaspora. Nevertheless, the idea of re-membering had economic connotations as well. For traditional authorities, diaspora tourism was inexorably linked with the plight of the ancestral communities. Consequently, chiefs in dire need of socio-economic development install diasporan Africans as sub-chiefs responsible for community development. While such gesture have received mixed reactions in Cape Coast and *Elmina* (because of ancestral identity crisis), in *Bono Manso* and *Salaga*, the traditional authorities had not only succeeded in using nostalgia to attract diasporan Africans, but they also thought the practice was yielding socio-economic returns.

Even though descendants of ‘slaves’ felt connected to African diaspora because of common ancestry, very few supported the idea of re-membering. The rationale for this position reveals a deep-seated perception that with hindsight the TAST was a benign institution, especially for those who made it across the Atlantic to the New World. In this context, descendants of ‘slaves’ think of members of the African diaspora as privileged because they do not experience the poverty and squalor of their communities.

#15/CC/Y/F/DS... “My experience of being an ‘unfortunate’ ‘slave’ descendant living in a poverty-stricken community cannot be equated to being ‘fortunate’ black diasporan overseas”.

Hence, for descendants of ‘slaves’, the issue had nothing to do with a sense of belonging or collective identities, but rather the stark reality that the standard of living of those ‘unfortunate’ descendants of African ‘slaves’ lagged behind that of the Africans in the diaspora (especially, African-Americans). Indeed, some (particularly younger) descendants of ‘slaves’ in Cape Coast and *Elmina* believed the United States of America was their ‘mythic’ homeland, and they dreamed of ‘returning’ to complete that which their forbearers were unable given the tortuous middle passage. This idea of a “reverse pilgrimage” for younger generations of descendants of ‘slaves’ perhaps underscores the deep sense of liminality of ancestral ties between descendants of ‘slaves’ and members of the African diaspora and feelings that such connection would provide some economic benefits.

For expatriate African diasporan interviewees, re-membering with ancestral communities was not only a desire to maintain collective identity but a catalyst for re-

affirming collective memory. In this regard, commemorative rituals are performed to initiate them into the ancestral homeland.

#18/ELM/O/M/EAD.... We do the return ceremonies for those who may be returning for the first time to mother Africa and for the first time in search of their roots. We have ceremonies that we do. ...Going through the “door of no return” and coming back through the “door of return” in a sense of completing a full cycle and helping to fill the void and gap that many of our brothers and sisters come with.

This quest was neither dwarfed by lack of development in the ancestral homeland nor spurred by the ‘cosmetic’ comfort of the host country.

#12/CC/O/M/EAD.... For some of us, we know America is not utopia...to say that you have left that beautiful place to come to this place. Beauty can be measured in different forms.... The beauty of me being respected as a human being is worth the beauty that I left in America. In that respect, I do the comparative analysis of development from a complex view. Is development about five lane highways and skyscrapers? Where people don’t know their next door neighbour and they don’t speak to each and there is a murder every thirty seconds and people don’t feel safe with each other? Or is development when I go to a pace and somebody greets me with a smile in the morning and young people still respect adult and younger persons would ask older persons whether they can carry their bag for them. I think that is better development because that is development of human character. But when someone is hated for the colour of their skin or we find that because they are different then that’s under-development of character... so we in America maybe physically developed but in terms of the soul and character, America is under-developed country

Moreover, they were confronted with issue of which roots and routes to belong. The diagnosis of which contained deep interest in diaspora, citizenship and transnationalism (Coles & Timothy, 2004).

#18/ELM/O/M/EAD.... For most part, why are we advocating for dual citizenship? We even have Ghanaians living in the US who were born in Ghana but won’t give up their foreign citizenship. They are fighting for those citizenship. But they can give it up, come back, and be what they are. They are Ghanaians born in Ghana but they won’t give up their foreign citizenship and yet their legacy is not like that of an African-American and America owes us. Therefore, it’s not a matter of

split allegiance for most part for America. There are returns from pensions, returns from retirement packages that benefit Ghana's economy and it comes in with also keeping that which allows us to be in a position to affect better development investment and change here. So, I think Ghana should see that as an asset not as a split loyalty as much as a Ghanaian does not run away from most part his home because he doesn't love it but because he looking for greater access to resources.

## **5.7 Summary**

This chapter has identified the collected and collective slave memories of descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers, traditional authorities and expatriate diasporan Africans. The cases of the different social groups suggest clearly that the notion of slavery has endured over time and space and is still used to discriminate and stigmatise some social groups, particularly descendants of 'slaves'. As a result, slave ancestry defines social and family life, which by default achieves a balance insofar as each social group played its designated role.

On the other hand, articulation of collective slave memories was highly contested between and among the different social groups because it was deemed to be reconstructed or imposed by influential people either within that group or cultural outsiders.

## **CHAPTER 6: LOCAL RESIDENTS' ARTICULATIONS OF COLLECTIVE SLAVE MEMORIES**

### **6.0 Introduction**

The following two chapters analyse the results of the local resident' survey. Chapter 6 examines local residents' articulation of collective slave memories and how it affects tourism. Two key research questions were interrogated. Research question one (1) sought a qualitative understanding of how and what residents recollect about the historic TAST and the contestations of it. Research question four (4) sought attitudinal information on how multiple contested heritage provides a workable basis for developing the SRP for cultural tourism. The following topics will be reported: (1) description of the sample respondents in the five study areas; (2) recollecting collective memory and historical consciousness; and, (3) local residents' responses to slavery heritage tourism. Chapter 7 examines the multiple heritages, identities and spaces present on the Slave Routes.

### **6.1 Description of sample**

This section describes the socio-demographic characteristics of the survey respondents. The purpose of profiling respondents was two-fold. One, to address the representativeness of the sample to each of the study areas, and two, to highlight variables likely to influence articulation of collective slave memories and tourism issues over time and space.

Table 6.1 shows the socio-demographic profile of the respondents from the five study areas. The result indicates significant differences in the age profile of the

respondents in each community ( $\chi^2(12)=67.831, \rho < .05$ ). In *Salaga*, those less than 25 years old were the majority (37.3%), with an average age of 42.73 years. In contrast, 54.6% of *Bono Manso* residents were aged between 26-48 years with an average 39.98 years. Although residents aged 72 and above were underrepresented, *Salaga* recorded the highest figure in this age group.

In terms of educational level, there was a significant relationship between the communities and educational attainment ( $\chi^2(16)=214.853, \rho < .05$ ) and length of residence ( $\chi^2(16)=67.831, \rho < .05$ ). Moreover, a contingency coefficient of .416 was calculated for educational attainment indicating a strong relationship. The percentage of local residents with no formal education was higher in *Salaga* compared to other communities. The percentage of secondary school and higher education was also higher in *Salaga* compared to Cape Coast, considered the citadel of education in Ghana. Additionally, *Salaga* residents had the tendency to stay long in the community whereas *Elmina* residents had lived continuously in the community between 21-39 years.

The employment data reveals the community of residence dictated the pattern of occupation ( $\chi^2(40)=440.284, \rho < .05$ ). The high contingency coefficient value of .548 confirmed the strong relationship. For example, fishing and fishing related activities were the dominant economic activity in Cape Coast and *Elmina* while farming was the occupation of residents in *Salaga*, *Bono Manso*, and *Assin Manso* (Table 6.1). However, like many sprawling urban and peri-urban areas in Ghana, there was widespread proliferation of petty trading, especially those dealing with imported products.



**Table 6.1: Socio-demographic profile of respondents by community**

Variable	Community (%)					Total (%)	$\chi^2$ Statistic (p-value)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	<i>Cape Coast</i>	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>		
<i>Sex</i>							49.859
Male	41.1	48.4	49.7	73.3	53.8	54.2	(.001*)
Female	58.9	51.6	50.3	26.7	46.2	45.8	
<i>Age</i>							4.451
< 25	17.7	17.3	27.0	37.3	20.8	25.2	(.004*)
26–48	48.9	45.8	43.2	22.9	54.6	41.3	
49–71	27.0	29.3	23.6	26.7	20.8	25.7	
72+	6.0	7.6	6.1	13.1	3.8	7.8	
<i>Highest level of education</i>							
No formal education	17.0	15.1	13.5	38.6	13.1	20.0	
Primary	9.2	14.7	8.4	1.7	20.0	9.8	
Middle/JHS	51.8	47.6	47.6	17.4	50.8	41.6	
Secondary school+	22.0	22.7	29.7	31.8	15.4	25.8	
Others	0.0	0.0	0.7	10.6	0.8	2.7	
<i>Length of residence</i>							67.831 (.001*)
<20	6.4	15.1	7.4	17.4	6.2	11.1	
21 - 39	47.5	53.3	48.0	35.2	48.5	46.2	
40 - 57	34.8	25.3	30.4	26.3	34.6	29.5	
58+	11.3	6.2	14.2	21.2	10.8	13.2	
<i>Employment status</i>							
Employed	67.4	78.2	73.6	55.5	90.8	71.8	
Unemployed	20.6	12.9	13.2	19.9	5.4	14.7	
Student	5.0	2.7	6.1	19.9	3.8	8.0	
Homemaker	1.4	0.9	0.3	2.5	0.0	1.1	
Retired	5.7	5.3	6.8	2.5	0.0	4.5	

**Table 6.1. Continued**

<i>Occupation</i>							444.289
Seamstress	13.0	2.8	8.2	2.3	0.6	4.4	(.001*)
Artisan	10.1	11.4	16.4	16.0	6.6	12.7	
Farmer	52.2	0.6	0.0	19.8	28.2	13.8	
Fisherman	0.0	17.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.2	
Fishmonger	0.0	15.9	12.3	0.0	0.0	7.5	
Food vendor	8.69	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.3	1.4	
Petty trader	58.6	28.9	27.3	15.5	15.5	25.1	
Teacher	8.7	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.1	3.7	
Civil servant	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.4	
Others	54.3	22.2	25.0	9.94	9.94	23.8	
<i>Employed in tourism or tourism related job</i>							11.656 (.167)
Yes							
No	2.8	3.6	2.7	0.4	0.0	2.0	
Information refused	97.2	96.4	96.4	99.2	99.2	97.7	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.3	
<i>Monthly household income**</i>							106.973 (.001*)
Less than ₵50	16.3	18.2	16.6	22.0	20.0	18.6	
₵50–₵99	20.6	20.9	19.9	7.6	26.2	18.2	
₵100–₵199	17.7	16.4	25.0	17.7	17.7	18.1	
₵200–₵299	12.8	13.3	11.5	17.7	17.7	12.6	
₵300–₵399	3.5	5.8	5.1	2.3	2.3	4.4	
₵400 and above	11.3	12.9	12.8	7.7	7.7	11.5	
Information refused	17.7	12.4	9.1	8.5	8.5	16.6	

Note: \*  $\alpha = .05$ ; \*\* 1 USD = 1.87700 GHS

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

## 6.2 Collective slave memory and historical consciousness

Before recognition could be given to the collective heritages and collective identities claimed by the different communities on Slave Routes, a process of remembering the ‘blank spots’ was necessary. This process, although emotionally sensitive, was

imperative because of the growing iconization of TAST sites. The use of TAST cultural assets for tourism purposes highlights the importance of locality in the heritagization process. The same is true for the recollection or modification (and in some cases ‘disappearance’) of collective slave memories. In the end, it is possible that with the reconstruction of community’s space, some community members or groups will withdraw into their private spheres and attach greater importance to their subjective autonomy, thereby invoking social ‘silence’ or amnesia.

### 6.2.1 Whose history versus whose collective memory

In order to contextualise whose history and collective memory should be privileged in the interpretation of the SRP, respondents were asked to describe the feeling of living in former slave communities with its slavery image. Table 6.2 shows the pattern of responses for the five communities.

**Table 6.2: Are you comfortable living in this community with its image as a former slave site?**

Response	Community (%)					Total (%)	$\chi^2$ Statistic (p-value)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>		
Yes	75.9	81.8	82.4	83.5	84.6	81.9	76.860 (.001*)
No	22.7	18.2	15.9	5.1	12.3	14.4	
IR	1.4	0.0	1.7	11.4	3.1	3.7	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	141	225	296	236	130	1028	

Note: IR= Information refused

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The results show that, overall, majority (81.9%) were comfortable living in former TAST communities with its slavery image while a minority (14.4%) were not. A further 3.7% of respondents refused to provide information. More than 70% of respondents were comfortable in each of the study communities with *Assin Manso* (75.9%) recording the lowest (Table 6.2). The chi-square test revealed statistically significant relationship between community and comfortability with slavery image ( $\chi^2(8) = 76.860, p < .05$ ).

When asked to give reasons for their answers in an open-ended question, respondents identified a number of issues that shed light on the subtle nuances of lived experience of local residents in former TAST communities. As Table 6.3 shows, *Salaga* residents felt a sense of heritage and pride living in the vicinity of TAST sites, which affords them the opportunity to be seen, and be asked questions by tourists. On the other hand, Cape Coast residents conferred greater attachment to their community because of the notion that the TAST is part and parcel of the community's history, which could not be changed. In *Assin Manso*, it was not surprising to anticipate that respondents were comfortable with its slavery image because the community's role during the TAST had resulted in its positive notoriety on the Slave Routes. By the same token, they attested to a shared sense of shame and pain associated with living in former TAST communities. Conversely, *Bono Manso* cited educational reasons why they felt comfortable living in former TAST communities (Table 6.3). Further analysis using chi-square test found a significant relationship between respondents' stated reasons for feeling comfortable or uncomfortable and community ( $\chi^2(36) = 108.833, p < .05$ ). Thus, residents' level of attachment was related to community of residence.

**Table 6.3: Reasons for living in former TAST communities**

Reason	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
<b><i>Positive heritage feelings</i></b>						
Heritage feeling	12.2	16.0	17.9	24.4	12.7	17.4
Close proximity to TAST sites	4.3	12.9	8.2	14.4	0.8	9.1
Become part of life because of TAST	32.4	31.6	41.2	29.7	39.7	35.2
Popularity of town because of TAST	23.0	17.8	9.6	22.0	20.6	17.4
Education about the past	5.0	3.6	6.9	3.8	13.5	6.1
<b><i>Negative feelings</i></b>						
Negative stereotyping	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3
Shameful and painful history	20.1	14.2	11.3	3.8	10.3	11.5
Constantly reminded of slavery	0.0	0.9	0.3	1.0	0.8	0.6
Stigma and discrimination towards descendants of 'slaves'	0.0	1.8	3.1	1.0	0.8	1.6
Social tensions	2.2	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*	139	225	291	209	126	990

\*Frequency count less than 1028 because it excludes those who refused to provide information to the previous question

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

It can be inferred from Table 6.3 that reactions to living in former TAST communities were influenced by respondents' knowledge and perceptions of the TAST. Therefore, questions were asked to stimulate narratives that drew on their knowledge of the TAST. In this study, the narratives were in the form of stories told among community members in which the history of TAST was directly or indirectly referenced. Stories also focussed on individual or community experiences and emotional responses regarding the history of the TAST.

However, it is worth noting that most local residents do not remember eighteenth-nineteenth century events except for some opinion leaders and older members of the communities. The explanations are not hard to find. Judging from the median age of respondents it was obvious that few residents could remember such events given that two or more centuries have passed since the official abolition of the TAST. Another reason could be found in the low level of literacy in former TAST communities. While those with low education and literacy skills were less likely to recall collective slave memories than those with adequate education, others deferred questions related to TAST to older members of the family or community. Admittedly more obvious than the first two reasons, TAST memories were fading if not faded, as old adults tasked with the responsibility of remembering the community history were either cognitively challenged or dead. However, some old members of the community were able to transmit oral histories to the younger generation in various ways.

Given the above perspectives, open-ended, direct and indirect questions were asked to elicit respondents' reactions to the TAST. Four themes emerged in response to the question, "When the TAST is mentioned, what do you immediately think of"? These included grief and pain, revenge, guilt and cruelty (Table 6.4). The themes reflected the extent to which local residents outwardly expressed their emotions in TAST narratives without being specifically asked about these emotions by interviewers.

As shown in Table 6.4, respondents in Cape Coast (81.4%) experienced the most grief and pain in the articulation of collective slave memories than the rest. In contrast, respondents in *Salaga* were likely to be revengeful towards those they considered 'perpetrators' of injustices committed during the slaving era (Table 6.5).

Indeed, there appeared to be an anti-*Ashanti* undercurrent among residents in *Salaga*. This is conceivable considering the role played by the *Ashantis* during the TAST (Dei, 1998; Perbi, 2004). One opinion leader intimated that the feeling of revenge was coming from some residents who had not forgotten the humiliation that *the Ashantis* subjected the *Gonjas* to during the slaving era.

**Table 6.4: Emotional reactions to collective slave memories**

Emotion	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Grief and pain	66.7	77.3	81.4	24.6	74.6	69.3
Revenge	11.3	9.3	7.8	44.9	6.9	12.4
Guilt	16.3	8.0	5.7	8.9	13.8	9.4
Cruelty	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	8.9	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	141	225	296	236	130	1028

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Table 6.4 also indicates that *Assin Manso* residents (16.3%) showed the most affective state of guilt in the articulation of collective slave memories. Some opinion leaders interviewed explained that residents' expression of guilt was counter-factual because they stemmed from acknowledgement of the presumed involvement of Africans in perpetrating those inhuman crimes against their ancestors. Another opinion leader opined that community members were also influenced by public commemorations. However, in their emotional expression of guilt, opinion leaders expressed residents' indignation with contemporary forms of slavery.

Further analysis using Pearson's chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistic showed statistically significant relationship between emotional experiences and community of residence ( $\chi^2(12) = 137.305, \rho < .05$ ). This implies emotional expressivities of articulating collective slave memories were related to the socio-spatial dialectic of the communities' role during the TAST (Lawrence, 1963; Quaye, 1972; van Dantzig, 1980; DeCorse, 1993). Perbi (2004) makes a distinction between slave camps and slave markets. While camps provided shelter, food and general welfare, real purchases took place at the markets. Slave raiders therefore built many slave camps as they trekked the slaves hinterlands and to the coastal forts. In the context of the current study, the communities served either as slave markets (*Salaga, Assin Manso, Bono Manso*) or port communities (Cape Coast and *Elmina*). Thus, emotional expressions were derivatives of the psychological space of the TAST. Thus, it is likely, that for example, residents of *Assin Manso* were susceptible to guilt in the articulation of the TAST history because the popular narrative was that captured enslaved Africans were trekked from the hinterland without bathing until they reached the Slave River site.

### 6.2.2 Remembrance

Another open-ended question: "*do you remember the first story you heard about the role that this community played in the TAST?*" was asked of respondents. It was evident from the responses that memory of place and identity was not lost on respondents. However, the themes of the responses suggested memory dissonance between communities considered "victims" (*Salaga, Assin Manso, Bono Manso*) and those considered residuary "beneficiaries" of the TAST. A number of survey respondents in *Salaga*



identified their community as the principal slave market in the nineteenth century. Most of the comments were “*Salaga* was the market centre”; “different merchants visited the town to buy slaves”; and “*Salaga* was the only community where slaves were sold and bathed before they were trekked to different parts of the country”. However, respondents blamed the *Ashanti* for imposing tribute of slaves that entrenched slavery in their community. In the interviews with opinion leaders, members dissociated the natives from slavery activities and blamed Ashanti occupation as the major cause. They alluded to the British defeat of the Ashanti that saw the natives assert their authority and sacking the Ashanti hegemonic hold of *Salaga*.

In the case of *Bono Manso*, the narratives of respondents seemed to have been influenced by popular discourse and the archaeological excavation conducted by Effah-Gyamfi (1975, 1979). Respondents recounted the existence of a big slave market that attracted slave merchants (mostly *Ashantis*) and raiders (Babatu and Samori Toure) during the predecessor *Bono* Kingdom. The presence of a baobab tree at the site of the destroyed old town gave credence to their claim that slave merchants from the north en route to the south chained slaves there. Judging from the work of a non-governmental organization, African Art and Civilization (AAC) about the issue, this powerful narrative resonates with that of respondents. Others stirred controversy by suggesting that *Assin Manso* had appropriated their symbolic role in the TAST. One respondent commented, “many Diaspora African tourists who used to trace their roots to *Assin Manso* now realise their real ancestry is from this place”.

In light of this, narratives made in *Assin Manso* were related to the role the community played as a major transit route. Respondents recounted how the community

served as a slave market where captives brought from the interior were bathed, sorted and later sent to the castles in Cape Coast or *Elmina*. “*Assin Manso* was the last stopover between the hinterland and the coast”; “slaves were given their last bath”, “after their last bath here, the slaves were sent to Cape Coast and kept in the castle before being shipped to the Americas”, are common statements indicative of respondents’ knowledge. This seems to run counter to documented historical evidence put forward by Lovejoy (2000a) that slaves who were sent through the tortuous overland journey from *Assin Manso* during the slaving era were mostly taken to *Anomabu* and *Kormantin*.

In Cape Coast and *Elmina*, survey respondents described the role of the two communities as ‘port factories’ where captives brought from various parts of West Africa waited in the castle dungeons for shipment to the New World. One respondent neatly summarised the general knowledge: “Cape Coast was the final point for the captives in Africa. Two things happened here, either the captive died in the dungeons or was sent abroad, depending on how strong he/she was”. Respondents also mentioned the sexual exploitation of female captives by European merchants and governors, many of whom resided in the community. For the informed, it was conceivable that respondents in Cape Coast and *Elmina* referred to European governors and slave merchants as being influential in the community’s role in the TAST. As previously mentioned, Feinberg (1989) and Yarak (1989) have documented the inter-racial relations in eighteenth century Cape Coast and *Elmina*, that resulted in a huge presence of mulattoes who constituted a socially recognised class or status, an immediate group distinct from the Africans and Europeans.

When asked whether the stories told were important to them, a majority of survey respondents in Cape Coast (83.4%) responded 'yes' compared to the rest of the communities. About 40.0% of *Salaga* residents indicated the least affirmative responses whilst 50.7% refused to provide information to the question. Certainly responses of *Salaga* residents suggested some ambivalence that might affect the SRP. This was confirmed by the chi-square value ( $\chi^2 (8) = 162.752, \rho < .05$ ), which indicated statistically significant relationship between the communities and importance attached to recollected TAST stories.

In order to delineate the distinctiveness of the stories told about the TAST in the various communities, respondents were asked to narrate their most well known stories about the TAST. As already mentioned, even though the content of the stories varied, the themes that emerged from this open-ended question reflected the socio-spatial dialectics between the northern and southern Slave Route communities. In *Salaga* and *Bono Manso*, the stories centred on the slave markets and the major actors, particularly *Ashanti* slave traders. As noted earlier, local residents still perceive the *Salaga* market as the main hub of slave supply to the Gold Coast. Many of the stories told complemented Lovejoy's (2000a) and Johnson's (1965) historical accounts of *Salaga* as the emporium of slaves in West Africa. Interestingly, very few residents recalled that *Salaga* was a major attraction for kola nuts and European-made goods.

In the case of Cape Coast and *Elmina*, stories about the arrival of Europeans and consequent socio-economic and political changes that took place were told with relish. Details of the relationship between the natives and the various Europeans on the coast were told to show their distinctiveness. Residents in *Elmina* narrated stories about the

presence of the Dutch merchants and how the town benefitted economically. However, quite a few of the narratives depicted the TAST as benign albeit, with great deference to those who suffered the inhumane practice. This was corroborated in the interview with a member of the town council.

#5/ELM/O/M/AM... “If one compares the *Elmina* Castle and the Cape Coast Castle, although the histories told about the two castles are similar, the architecture is different in terms of the European influence... The Dutch left over 1,200 buildings here.... many of them have disappeared with others in ruins.

At *Assin Manso* the narratives made in vernacular could be literally stated thus: “there are many slave markets but only one Slave River”. Apart from its uniqueness, respondents alluded to its symbolism. It was unclear why respondents compared the symbolism of the Slave River to other TAST assets; however, several alternative explanations were given in the interviews with opinion leaders. One opinion leader surmised that local residents regarded the Slave River as being the mythical connection between the community and the African Diaspora. Indeed, most opinion leaders juxtaposed the experience of mysticism associated with the Slave River to the slave dungeons in Cape Coast and *Elmina* castles. As such, they believed, like the tourists who collect dirt from the dungeon floor, that collecting water from the Slave River was a testament to its existence and spiritual significance.

### 6.2.3 Memorialisation

Two questions attempted to gauge residents’ attitudes toward memorialization of the TAST, namely: (1) “In your opinion, what memories of the TAST should be remembered, and, (2) “In your opinion, what memories of the TAST should be

forgotten? The first question resulted in 1,028 coded responses, which were categorised into three major themes; namely, maltreatment of progenitors, middle passage and the involvement of chiefs and wealthy African merchants (Table 6.5).

**Table 6.5: Reactions to TAST memorialization by community**

Theme	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Maltreatment of progenitors	43.3	39.1	42.9	53.0	30.0	42.8
Middle passage	28.4	32.4	19.3	16.8	21.5	23.2
Involvement of chiefs and wealthy African merchants	28.4	28.4	37.8	30.1	48.5	34.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	141	225	296	236	130	1028

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Table 6.5 indicates that respondents in *Salaga* (53.0%), preferred memorialization relating to maltreatment of the captured and enslaved Africans. They recalled how captives were nakedly displayed in the scorching sun at the slave market, and felt the history should be memorialised in contemporary times. They also pointed to remembering as the ultimate objective of preserving TAST cultural sites as historical evidence.

Conversely, respondents in *Elmina* felt the need to remember the atrocities of the middle passage. Comments were made by residents about the way slaves were arranged on the ships and the sheer disregard for human sanctity. Some of the comments were: “

we should remember how slaves were packed like sardines in the slave ships”; “when you hear stories like slaves defecating on themselves, you cannot forget because you are always haunted by such memories”.

The recollection of ‘maltreatment’ seamlessly linked the involvement of chiefs and elite African merchants in the TAST (Table 6.4). Specifically, respondents in *Bono Manso* felt the involvement of chiefs and elite African merchants should be remembered. Against the notion that many former TAST communities blame European slave merchants and exculpate Africans who deliberately collaborated to capture and export their own kindred overseas, the data seemed to suggest otherwise (Bailey, 2005). Residents in *Bono Manso* acknowledged that history put them in the position to accept some blame for what happened at the time. They felt the role of their ancestors leaves a permanent scar on the conscience of Africans. Opinion leaders in the community corroborated this view. Many participants emphasised that the silence associated with former TAST communities had more to do with the inhumanity of Africans towards Africans.

#14/CC/Y/M/OPL... “We should blame ourselves for how the Europeans maltreated our ancestors...chiefs and rich people from this community were involved”.

Not surprisingly, memorialisation of aspects of the TAST was a derivative of the different roles played by the various communities during the slaving era. This was confirmed by Pearson’s chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistic, which showed a significant relationship between memorialisation of collective slave memories and community ( $\chi^2(8) = 41.136$ ,  $\rho < .05$ ). The implication is that memorialization of the TAST and community were related.

#### 6.2.4 Forgetting

As noted by Halbwachs (1992), forgetting is crucial to the process of collective memory. Overall, not only is politics involved in why certain memories are recalled and others are forgotten, but also more often it is about the present and escaping temporal continuity. With regard to the current study, residents while demonstrating the ability to remember also preferred to forget. This highlights the multilayered dialectical relationships between remembrance and forgetting collective slave memories, which posed a challenge for developing tourism based on the past.

Table 6.6 indicates that 57.6% of the respondents in *Salaga* felt that the maltreatment of their ancestors should be forgotten. As a compromise between remembering that exposes people's ancestries and generate tensions particularly between descendant of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves', more than half of respondents felt the community had an interest in forgetting how the captured enslaved Africans were treated in that community. For respondents, forgetting resolves the present field of contestation to collective heritage and collective identity. Yet again, the presence of numerous TAST cultural assets in the community and tourists interest in retracing their ancestry continue to pose many questions. Indeed, many visitors to *Salaga*, especially African-Americans, desire to hear stories of how their progenitors suffered, even though such desire is generally held to be developmentally unproductive by some local residents. As one opinion leader noted,

#7/SAL/O/M/OPL....“there are many diasporans who come here but still do not find their ancestry. They come to seek the shameful past even though they are far better off than locals here .....

**Table 6.6: Aspects of collective slave memories respondents prefer forgetting**

Themes	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Maltreatment of progenitors	49.6	8.9	30.1	57.6	50.8	37.1
Middle passage	39.0	86.2	64.2	33.9	0.0	50.5
Involvement of chiefs and wealthy African merchants	11.3	4.9	5.7	8.7	49.5	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	141	225	296	236	130	1028

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

On the other hand, 86.2% of respondents in *Elmina* felt that the middle passage should not be part of narrative commemorations. This result comes despite the fact that respondents had reported recollecting memories of the middle passage (refer to Table 6.5). While this clearly shows the ambivalences of experiences encountered by community members in the articulation of collective slave memories, the reasons are not immediately apparent. However, it is likely that forgetting aspects of collective slave memories within the contemporary mnemonic landscape where different social groups had to confront their contentious and embarrassing past was daunting. It could be suggested that residents' reactions become less of guilt and more like grief and pain in their attempt to forget the past. What is interesting was the manner in which local residents' expression of grief and pain affirmed that some wrong was committed for which reason both recollection and forgetting occur together. As the following quote illustrates, silence was considered an invocation of collective memory:



#5/ELM/O/M/OPL...”we have learned to forget the past because we did not ask questions about it from old people; questions we are still afraid to ask even now because the past occludes our present and future”

Another interesting result from the study was that respondents in *Bono Manso* were predisposed to forgetting the involvement of chiefs and wealthy African merchants in the articulation of collective slave memories (Table 6.6). Although the underlying assumptions are unclear, the finding is interesting when juxtaposed with the historiography of that community. Apparently there has been a long-standing territorial conflict concerning the legitimacy of ethno-political claims to custodianship of *Bono Manso* between the *Ashanti* and *Brong* paramountcies (for a fuller discussion of the *Ashanti-Brong* conflict, see Meyerowitz, 1962). In 1951, a commission of enquiry (the Mate Kole Commission of enquiry) was set up to investigate the Brong-Asante dispute. The commission’s report that was submitted in November 1952 indicated among others that:

*the people (the Brongs) have been regarded and treated with every possible contempt by the Ashantis in the past. There is no gainsaying that the so-called historic unity of Ashanti has all along been a unity maintained by a strong suppressing hand at the sacrifice of the freedom and happiness for the non-Ashanti people like the Brong (Akumfi-Ameyaw 2010).*

This long simmering ethno-political tension underpins all aspects of community life. While traditional authority were eager to maintain their rural lifestyle with development of its cultural heritage assets for tourism, perchance the survey noted residents’ hope forgetting the involvement of chiefs in the TAST would bring closure to collective slave memory as a source of tensions. Again, however, the Pearson’ chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test statistic (alpha set at .05) showed significant relationship between community and forgetting ( $\chi^2(8) = 407.136, p < .05$ ).

### **6.3 Community responses to slavery heritage tourism**

This section answers research question three (3), which sought to examine the extent to which residents' articulations of contested slave memories provide a workable basis for developing the SRP. Consequently, the survey asked a number of questions to answer this question.

#### *6.3.1 Community attractiveness and markers*

To gain an understanding of residents' perceptions of slavery heritage tourism, respondents were asked whether they were aware their community attracted tourists. Almost all the respondent across the five communities stated that they were aware their communities were slavery heritage destinations. Respondents were then asked to mention four major draw of tourists to their community. This multiple response open question produced 3,479 responses. Using the frequency count, Table 6.7 reports the top five ranked attractions that respondents believed provided significant appeal for tourists. A cursory look indicates the attractions cover a broad spectrum of cultural heritage assets that could be described as either tangible or intangible.

In *Elmina*, respondents identified numerous attractions. In terms of scale and notoriety, *Elmina* Castle ranked first. This result was of no surprise once it found that practically all respondents referred to the castle as the tangible reminder of the TAST. Similarly, respondents identified Fort St. Jago (originally Fort Coenraadsburg) as a feature of the town that attracted tourists.

**Table 6.7: Sample of cultural heritage assets by community**

Community	Attraction	Response		
		N	%	Rank
<i>Assin Manso</i>	Slave River	117	28.5	1
	PANAFEST/Emancipation Day	115	28.0	2
	Tombs of Samuel Carson and Crystal	91	22.1	3
	Reverential garden	52	12.6	4
	Slave auction building	35	8.5	5
	<i>Sub-total</i>	410	100.0	
<i>Elmina</i>	<i>Elmina</i> Castle	230	43.6	1
	Fort St. Jago	87	16.5	2
	Historic buildings	83	15.7	3
	Dutch cemetery	80	15.1	4
	Java museum	47	8.9	5
	<i>Sub-total</i>	527	100.0	
Cape Coast	Cape Coast Castle	274	47.4	1
	Kakum National Park	108	18.7	2
	Cultural festival and events	90	15.5	3
	Jacob Wilson Sey's houses	56	9.7	4
	Heritage house	49	8.4	5
	<i>Sub-total</i>	577	100.0	
<i>Salaga</i>	Slave market	186	35.8	1
	Slave wells	130	25.0	2
	History of TAST	84	16.1	3
	Slave baths	70	13.4	4
	Cultural festivals and events	49	9.4	5
	<i>Sub-total</i>	519	100.0	
<i>Bono Manso</i>	Martin Luther King Memorial	100	27.0	1
	PANAFEST/Emancipation Day	91	24.5	2
	Mystic pan	80	21.6	3
	Slave market	60	16.2	4
	Marcus Garvey Memorial	39	10.5	5
	<i>Sub-total</i>	370	10.0	
<b>* Grand total</b>		<b>2403</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* Frequency count exceeds 1028 because of multiple responses offered by respondents.

Source: fieldwork, 2012

Like *Elmina*, Cape Coast's strong point as a slavery heritage destination was its history and architecture. Consequently, respondents readily identified the Cape Coast Castle as the major draw for the community. Interestingly, Jacob Wilson Sey's houses and Heritage House were ranked among the top five (Table 6.7). The former was a prominent wealthy African merchant and political activist purported to own several Gothic style buildings in Cape Coast many of which housed 'slaves'. Although many of these buildings are in ruins, they have become an increasing source of court cases between extended family members and descendants of 'slaves'.

For *Assin Manso* respondents, the Slave River was the most dominant attraction. Although little is documented of the role of the Slave River during the TAST, oral history recounts slaves had their last formal bath in the river before being sent to holding quarters in Cape Coast, *Elmina* or *Anomabo*. Interviews with opinion leaders in the community revealed the Slave River was the yardstick to measure how local residents understood the TAST and its role in remembering and articulation of collective slave memories. Thus, the Slave River represents "cleansing, sorting and the final exodus of captives to the unknown" one opinion leader proffered.

In the case of *Salaga*, respondents identified the Slave Market as the major attraction (Table 6.7). Respondents also mentioned the numerous Slave Wells as a unique feature that attracts tourists especially African diasporans. Interestingly, some residents identified the history of TAST is a major draw for tourists considering that the town was the site of a major slave market.



Slave River in Assin Manso



Elmina Castle



Tourists at the site of the Salaga Slave Market



Monument at the slave market in Bono Manso

**Plate 6.1: Showing some TAST related cultural assets. Photo by author**

The most common features mentioned by residents of *Bono Manso* mirrored the town's recently acquired status as "Slave Route" site (Table 6.7). Through the educational and awareness campaign by the AAC, *Bono Manso* has recently been added to the stock of communities on Ghana's Slave Routes. Consequently, normative responses to the question were provided based on AAC educational literature. Specifically, 20.5% of respondents mentioned the Martin Luther King Jnr. Memorial (erected by the AAC in memory of the slain African-American civil rights

campaigner). The rating of PANAFEST/Emancipation Day (18.7%) as the second cultural heritage asset of the community is consistent with the participation of the town in the Annual event.

Taken together, the results presented in Table 6.7 highlight the heritage landscapes and aspects of the built environments. However, except the famed forts and castles in Cape Coast and *Elmina* many of these assets are raw characteristics or features that must be transformed into slavery heritage products. Given that many of these assets have fallen into a state of partial or complete disrepair, it is critical that conservation measures are put in place; otherwise the very resource which local residents value, as potential attractions will be destroyed. There is a well-established body of knowledge, which underscores the fact that contemporary societies treat their heritage as a product in pursuit of economic gains, which makes tourism a viable option (Ashworth, 1992; Graham *et al.*, 2000; du Cros, 2001). Nevertheless, enough evidence has been marshalled to challenge community notion that not all cultural assets are tourism attractions, nor that assets associated with TAST should automatically become tourist attractions.

### *6.3.2 Perception of tourism*

While several researchers have noted the increasing importance of tourism to former TAST communities, they also have pointed at the ambivalence of experience in the host-guest interaction. Burner (1996) observed a simmering ‘discomfort’ between residents of *Elmina* and African-Americans in the articulations of collective slave memories with the latter described as ‘too emotional’ by the former. Boakye (2003) also observed that the premium placed on the articulation of collective slave memories by residents of

*Assin Manso* were related to the economic returns of tourism. Following previous studies, the present survey asked a number of questions to understand respondents' experiences about tourism in the different communities. However, the focus was on how residents' perceptions dig into the extent to which collective slave memories of the community constitute a basis for developing and promoting the SRP.

Consequently, the survey asked respondents, “*what do you feel about the introduction/expansion of tourism in this community?*” As shown in Table 6.8, Cape Coast (87.2%) residents indicated the highest ‘happy’ response to the expansion of tourism contrary to the notion that residents were averse to additional tourism development (Teye *et al.*, 2002). *Salaga* residents (4.7%) were ‘very worried’ with the introduction/expansion of tourism in their community.

**Table 6.8: Reactions to the introduction/expansion of tourism by community**

Community	N	VW (%)	SW (%)	W (%)	NW/H (%)	SH (%)	H (%)	VH (%)	NO (%)
<i>Assin Manso</i>	141	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	12.8	85.1	0.7
<i>Elmina</i>	225	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.8	20.4	76.4	0.0
Cape Coast	296	2.4	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.0	8.1	87.2	0.7
<i>Salaga</i>	236	4.7	0.0	0.4	0.4	1.7	8.1	71.6	13.1
<i>Bono Manso</i>	130	0.8	2.3	0.0	0.8	0.8	14.6	80.8	0.0
Total	1028	2.0	0.3	0.3	0.4	1.3	12.3	80.2	3.3

NV=Very worried; SW=Somewhat worried; W=Worried; NW/H=Neither worried/happy; SH=Somewhat happy; H=happy; VH=Very happy; NO=No opinion

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Further analyses were conducted by using one-ANOVA to determine if differences existed between community of residence and reactions towards the introduction/expansion of tourism. Since the homogeneity of variance assumption was not met for this data, *Welch's* adjusted *F*-ratio (significant at an alpha level of .05) was used for the statistical test. The result indicated no significant difference among the communities regarding the introduction/expansion of tourism (*Welch's F* (4, 459.042) = 2.159,  $p > .05$ ). Thus, irrespective of community of residence, respondents welcome the introduction/expansion of tourism.

To understand the rationale behind community reactions to tourism, respondents were asked an open-ended question to explain their response to the earlier question. Respondents were able to identify up to two reasons why they supported the introduction/expansion of tourism in their community. The responses were categorised into key themes for easy interpretation. The results are shown in Table 6.9. It suggests that *Bono Manso* residents were proud of the introduction of tourism. This feeling was expected given the community's increasing popularity among diasporan Africans. Earlier studies have noted community pride as one of the intangible benefits local residents derive from tourism (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Koster & Randall, 2005).

In the case of Cape Coast, residents identified the economic benefits of tourism. Comments such as "tourism promotes investment, "improves standard of living", "boosts income-earning activities of local businesses", "increases tax revenue to local government authorities" and "creates job opportunities" were made to support their stance. The result illustrates that Cape Coast residents were aware of the potential of



economic impact of tourism, which relates to their stance to promote their TAST relics symbolically.

**Table 6.9: Reasons for the introduction/expansion of tourism by community**

Dimension	Descriptions	Community (%)				
		AS	ELM	CC	SAL	BM
<b>Positive statements</b>						
Community pride	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>–Living in a slavery heritage destination says something positive about me to others</li> <li>–Having tourists come to my community is a pleasure</li> <li>–Pride of being an indigene due to increased notoriety of community as former TAST site</li> </ul>	9.9	6.7	6.8	11.4	17.7
Economic benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Promotes investments</li> <li>– Improves standard of living</li> <li>– Boosts income-earning activities of local businesses</li> <li>–Increases tax revenue to local government authorities</li> <li>–Creates job opportunities</li> </ul>	32.6	33.3	42.9	14.8	17.7
Socio-cultural benefit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>–Opportunity to learn about tourist culture</li> <li>–Demand for TAST related sites and cultural programmes</li> <li>–Awareness/recognition of local cultures and heritage</li> <li>–Community spirit among local residents</li> <li>–Promote peace and tranquillity among local residents</li> </ul>	18.4	28.9	22.6	20.3	22.3

**Table 6.9. Continued**

Community development	–Infrastructure provision	34.0	23.1	16.6	23.3	26.2
	–Better maintenance of public spaces					
	–Increased protection of community landscapes					
Reparations for slavery	– ‘Development curse’ because of TAST	0.7	0.9	1.0	2.1	3.1
	–Unjustified enslavement of Africans					
	–Slavery was a crime against humanity and those affected by its results should be compensated					
	–Prettification and petrification of former slave communities					
Education	–Education of community on tourist culture	0.7	4.0	21.1	4.7	6.9
	–Education of community on the TAST					
	–Revival of history of community through public educational campaigns					
Sustainability	–Our ancestors left these resources for us to protect and preserve	0.0	0.4	0.3	8.5	1.5
	–Preservation of our TAST heritage sites for future generations					
	–Protection of our cultural heritage					
<b>Negative statements</b>						
Socio-cultural costs	–Embarrassment of family life	0.7	0.4	3.4	1.7	2.3
	–Homosexual activities and sexual promiscuity among youth					
	–Overcrowding					
	–Obliteration of alternative histories					
	–Adverse stereotyping:					
	–Crime					

**Table 6.9. Continued**

Economic costs	–Overdependence on tourism	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.0
	–Tourism has not changed the economic well-being of locals					
	–Tourism only benefit government and traditional authority					
	–Foreign take-over of tourism business					
There are none	–No opinion	2.1	2.2	3.0	12.7	2.3
	–Part of being a good citizen is supporting community development initiatives					
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		141	225	296	236	130

Note: AS=Assin Manso; ELM= Elmina; CC= Cape Coast; SAL= Salaga; BM= Bono Manso

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

*Elmina* residents support the expansion of tourism because of the socio-cultural benefits to be derived. Respondents thought that tourism would enhance social interaction with tourists and improve quality of life. Also of concern were the “opportunity to learn about tourist culture”, “demand for TAST related sites and cultural programmes”, “awareness/recognition of local cultures and heritage” and “community spirit among local residents” and promoting peace and tranquillity among local residents.

*Assin Manso* residents felt that tourism expansion could contribute to community development and poverty alleviation. Respondents felt their community was developmentally cursed because of its role during the TAST. This corroborates findings in Chapter 5 that descendants of ‘slaves’ in *Assin Manso* felt developmentally cursed. Thus, expanding tourism was considered exculpation to collective slave memories.

While the result raised the question of reality versus perception, it highlights the dangers of pinning residents' perceptions of tourism to only tangibles.

### *6.3.3 Perceived impacts of tourism*

Following previous studies, the survey asked respondents a number of questions to gauge how tourism affects the natural, social and cultural environments. The literature suggests that because residents' perceptions of tourism were subjective, inconsistent, and premised on several factors, their reactions move along a continuum (Doxey, 1975; Budowski, 1976; Dogan, 1989; Ap & Crompton, 1993).

#### *6.3.3.1 Tourism and family life*

When asked, “*how does tourism affect you and your family life here?*”, both positive and negative effects of tourism were expressed across the five communities. Table 6.10 indicates that in *Assin Manso*, tourism was thought to be responsible for an “increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST”. As expected, a wide cross-section of residents recognised the deep historical knowledge of the TAST which they had acquired since the introduction of tourism in their community. Residents indicated that there were no negative effects of tourism on their family life. Other positive statements of tourism included “promoting income-earning or productive activities”, “opportunity to meet tourists from different countries”, and “re-uniting with African diasporans”.

Among residents in *Elmina*, tourism was the area's most important economic resource. The most frequent answer was “promoting income-earning or productive activities”. Other comments were “opportunity to meet tourists from different

countries”, “increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST” and “renovation of historic buildings”. Some negative effects were also recognized relating to sexual abuse/molestation, inappropriate dressing of tourists and “no personal benefits from tourism” (Table 6.10). The finding that tourism promotes income-earning or productive activities was of no surprise although few respondents were employed in or associated with the tourism industry (refer to Table 6.1).

**Table 6.10: Effects of tourism on residents’ way of life**

Community	Description of impact	Frequency	Percent
<i>Assin Manso</i>	–Increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST	58	41.1
	–Promoting income-earning or productive activities	32	32
	–Opportunity to meet tourists from different countries	23	16.3
	–Re-uniting with African diasporans	28	19.9
	<i>Total</i>	141	100.0
<i>Elmina</i>	–Financial incentives from diasporans	17	7.6
	–Receive presents from tourists	5	2.2
	–Opportunity to travel abroad with penpals	3	1.3
	–Increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST	36	16.0
	–Promoting income-earning productive activities	66	29.3
	–Opportunity to meet tourists from different countries	41	18.2
	–Re-uniting with African diasporans	4	1.8
	–Renovation of historic buildings	22	9.8
	– No direct personal and family benefits	1	4.9
	–Sexual abuse/molestation	11	4.9
	–Inappropriate dressing of tourists	9	4.0
	<i>Total</i>	225	100.0

**Table 6.10. Continued**

Cape Coast	–Financial incentives from diasporans	2	0.7
	–Presents from tourists	3	1.0
	–Opportunity to travel abroad with penpals	4	1.4
	–Increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST	10	3.4
	–Promote income-earning or productive activities	58	19.6
	–Opportunity to see President Obama live	57	19.3
	–Opportunity to learn tourists culture	8	2.7
	–Re-uniting with African diasporans	28	8.8
	–Preservation of historic buildings	1	.3
	–No direct personal and family benefits	86	29.1
	–Dysfunctional families	6	2.0
	–Sexual abuse/molestation	35	11.8
	<i>Total</i>	298	100.0
<i>Salaga</i>	–Financial incentives from diasporans	17	7.2
	–Presents from tourists	2	.8
	–Opportunity to travel abroad with penpals	1	.4
	–Increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST	74	31.4
	–Promote income-earning or productive activities	42	17.8
	–Opportunity to meet tourists	33	14.0
	–Opportunity to learn tourists’ culture	30	12.7
	–Increased cost of living due to tourists’ spending	2	.8
	–Inappropriate dressing of tourists	35	14.8
	<i>Total</i>	236	100.0
	<i>Bono Manso</i>	–Financial incentives from diasporans	52
–Presents from tourists		11	8.5
–Opportunity to travel abroad with penpals		3	2.3
–Increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST		7	5.4
–Promote income-earning or productive activities		25	19.2
–Opportunity to meet tourists		27	20.8
–Opportunity to learn tourists’ culture		3	2.3
–Re-uniting with African diasporans		2	1.5
<i>Total</i>		130	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Residents of Cape Coast also reported both positive and negative experiences of tourism. The main positive experience with tourism was “promoting income-earning or

productive activities”. An interesting and instructive observation was that residents stated they had “opportunity to see President Obama”. They recalled how the entire town became engulfed in the frenzy of the historic visit of the first African-American President of the United States. For respondents, the opportunity to catch a glimpse of President Obama was a testimony to the touristic development of Cape Coast as a preferred African-American tourist destination. One respondent commented that, “having President Obama visit the castle showcased the town to the whole world as a desirable destination and I am proud to be a Cape Coaster”. Whilst pride was engendered by the visit, it also resulted in “increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST” and “re-uniting with African diaspora”. Further research is needed to explore this finding; nevertheless a groundswell of anecdotal evidence from interactions with local residents suggests that the President Obama’s visit ‘repaired’ the perceived strained relations between diasporans and their ancestral homeland (Lamousé-Smith, 2007; Osei-Tutu, 2007).

However, respondents complained about not personally benefiting from tourism activities in the community (Table 6.10). Perhaps this observation puts into perspective Sirakaya *et al's*. (2002) finding that local residents who benefitted personally from tourism were much supportive of its development. Although they considered that tourism benefits accrue mostly to a minority of the population, they valued the enhanced status of becoming a popular tourist destination. As mentioned earlier, respondents cited numerous visits to the Cape Coast Castle by important dignitaries and celebrities invoking nostalgic pride.

In *Salaga*, residents' positive experience of tourism related to "increased appreciation of family history connected to the TAST", "promoting income-earning or productive activities", "opportunity to meet tourists" and "opportunity to learn tourist culture". The finding that tourism plays a stimulating role in the appreciation of family history connected to the TAST throws light on how the community is meaningfully dealing with its past. This is probably due to some prominent diasporan Africans retracing their "family roots" to the town. However, when the result is weighed in the balances of history, they were found to have important implications for developing the SRP for tourism. Building on African diaspora desire to learn of their roots supposed descendants of 'slaves' and slaveholders cashed in on their status by converting the filial piety into economic gain. Thus, in the tourism arena, there was continual pitting of local residents against descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of enslavers for the control and access to tourist dollars.

Some respondents were also concerned about the provocative dressing of tourists (Table 6.10). This finding should be viewed in the context of the community's conservative lifestyle, as residents were predominately Muslims. A second noteworthy observation about the finding relates to the presence of religious tourists during a local festival. When specifically questioned, opinion leaders and the traditional authorities made a distinction between residents' attitude towards foreign tourists and visitors who patronise a popular religious festival hosted by the community. In practice, however, respondents lump both of these groups together for almost all touristic purposes but do not accord them same treatment. The *Maulidi*, a Muslim celebration of the birth of Prophet Mohammed, held yearly in *Salaga* attracts more than 1,000 faithfuls from



different parts of Ghana and West Africa, according to locals. It is the immodest and provocative conduct of the guests (notably the *Fulani* who are seen as truly transient) that residents abhor.

Residents in *Bono Manso* experienced both economic and social effects of tourism (Table 6.10). Most frequent comments were made that tourism had encouraged “financial incentives from diasporans”. In fact some expatriate African-Americans had responded to the problems of acute shortage of clean and safe drinking water in the community by providing financial and material assistance in that regard. The activities of the AAC also precipitated an African-American to be installed as a local ‘development chief’. Indeed, some African-Americans have been granted rights to land, purportedly for developing tourist and recreational facilities for both host and guests in the community.

#### 6.3.3.2 *Reactions to resettlement/relocation*

Respondents were asked what their reactions would be if they were moved or resettled elsewhere because of tourism. The result presented in Table 6.11 is of interest for several reasons. First, a significant part of the sample in *Bono Manso* (73.9%) recorded the highest support to resettle or relocate because of tourism. Although the underlying assumptions are unclear, it lends some credence to the earlier finding that respondents were uncomfortable about the simmering geo-political tussle between *Ashanti* and *Brong* paramountcies regarding the town’s sovereignty.

**Table 6.11: Reactions to resettlement or displacement due to tourism by community**

Community	N	VD (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	N (%)	SP (%)	P (%)	VP (%)
<i>Assin Manso</i>	141	24.1	14.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.1	46.8
<i>Elmina</i>	225	21.8	8.9	0.4	0.0	4.0	19.1	45.8
Cape Coast	296	23.3	5.4	0.3	0.0	4.7	23.3	42.9
<i>Salaga</i>	236	86.4	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2	0.0
<i>Bono Manso</i>	130	13.8	10.8	1.5	0.0	0.8	26.9	46.2
Total	1,028	36.4	8.4	0.4	0.0	2.6	17.8	24.6

NP=Very displeased; D=Displeased; SD=Somewhat displeased; N=Neutral; SP=Somewhat pleased; P=Pleased; VP=Very pleased  
Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Secondly, *Salaga* (86.4%) respondents were ‘displeased’ to be moved away or resettled because of tourism (Table 6.11). Anecdotal evidence suggests that residents were averse to relocation or displacement of any sort because of previous experiences of inter-ethnic conflicts. Many key informants were aware of social upheaval following the *Konkomba-Namumba* war (1994) and spoke of the need to establish close ‘affinity’ not to be developmentally displaced from it.

Table 6.11 also suggests that residents in Cape Coast, *Elmina* and *Assin Manso* seemed to ‘favour’ the prospect of being moved or resettled elsewhere because of tourism. While the reasons were not clearly discernable, some conjectures can be made. In the case of Cape Coast and *Elmina*, perhaps (and supported by opinion leaders) residents felt government or developers would compensate them appropriately if such a

need arouse. Another possible reason relates to residents' perception that the community stand to benefit enormously from large-scale tourism development. Given the growing sense of pride associated with tourism in these two communities, it is not unreasonable to assume that residents were willing to be resettled because of the potential benefits of large scale tourism development while ignoring sustainability issues. However, there was dissension within some of the communities. The chief fishermen (spokespersons for the Fishermen's Association) in both Cape Coast and *Elmina* were unanimous in their displeasure to be resettled because of tourism, describing issues of resource allocation, access, and the importance of long-term sustainability of the fishing industry. For the fisher folks the sea was their wherewithal and way of life. For opinion leaders of *Assin Manso*, relocation represented an opportunity to share the merits of development in other parts of the country because of the myth of 'development curse' of Slave Route communities.

A one-way ANOVA was performed to determine if differences existed in residents' reactions towards being moved or resettled elsewhere when categorised by community of residence. Here too, *Levene's F test* indicated that the data set did not meet the assumption of homogeneity assumption, prompting the use of *Welch's F test*. The result showed that the communities significantly differed in their reactions towards being moved or resettled because of tourism (*Welch's F* (4, 418.136) = 211.179,  $p < .05$ ). The estimated omega squared ( $\omega^2 = .44$ ) indicated that 44% of the total variation in average score of residents' reactions towards being moved or resettled was attributable to their community.

In addition *Games-Howell post hoc* tests was performed to determine which of the five communities differed significantly. The results showed that residents of *Assin Manso* were more predisposed to being moved or displaced because of tourism activities than residents in *Salaga* (mean difference = 3.22s; 95% CI = 2.56, 3.88;  $\rho < .05$ ). Additionally, residents in *Elmina* favoured the prospect of being moved or resettled than *Salaga* residents (mean difference = 3.56s; 95% CI = 3.02, 4.05;  $\rho < .05$ ) while those in *Bono Manso* were more oriented towards tourism development-induced displacement than *Salaga* residents (mean difference = 3.86s; 95% CI = 3.25, 4.46;  $\rho < .05$ ). The results also indicated that *Salaga* did not favour the idea of resettlement than *Assin Manso* (mean difference = -3.22s; 95% CI = -3.88, -2.56;  $\rho < .05$ ), *Elmina* (mean difference = -3.53s; 95% CI = -4.05, -3.02;  $\rho < .05$ ), Cape Coast (mean difference = -3.56s; 95% CI = -4.02, -3.10;  $\rho < .05$ ) and *Bono Manso* (mean difference = -3.86s; 95% CI = -4.46, -3.25;  $\rho < .05$ ).

#### **6.4 Summary**

This chapter presented the socio-demographic profiles of local residents in the study areas. Each community appeared different given the social pathologies and economic transformations that have taken place since the abolition of the TAST. The elements of distinction informed the opinions of local residents regarding collective slave memory and expectations from the nascent tourism industry.

The results show that there were a number of outcomes from collective slave narratives but the major challenge was meeting the expectations of tourists interested in the community's past without stirring tensions with other social groups. However, for

some communities like *Salaga* and *Bono Manso* the subtleties of difference between the various social groups were of little significance because various community members disassociate their way of life from the past, whereas in *Assin Manso*, Cape Coast and *Elmina* the recollection of collective slave memories utilises and hinges on the past.

## **CHAPTER 7: MULTIPLE CONTESTED HERITAGES, IDENTITIES AND SPACES**

### **7.0 Introduction**

This chapter is composed of four major sections and addresses the three remaining research questions guiding the study. Research question two (2) seeks to understand the complexities of collective identity that produces multiple arenas for collective memory narratives in the tourism realm. The presentation of findings on the social contestations answers this question. It includes four main themes: 1) differences in social structure and interactions; 2) residents' awareness and support for SRP; and, 3) perceived social contestations.

The second and third sections analyse local residents' reactions to the political and spatial contestations in order to answer research question five (5): To what extent does the multiple contested collective slave memories highlight the spatial challenges of developing the SRP as a cultural tourism product? The answer is discussed under five main themes: (i) community awareness and support for WHS programme; (ii) local versus world heritage meanings; (iii) knowledge of slavery heritage sites; (iv) differences in knowledge of slavery heritage sites; and (v) perceived spatial contestations. These themes were identified in line with the conceptual framework guiding the study (see Figure 2.1).

### **7.1 Social contestations**

One significant observation of the current slavery heritage research is that authors acknowledge the presence of multiple stakeholders with varying power influences.

However, there has been very little actual attempt to examine the social contest of space among the stakeholders who define their roles as guardians of collective slave memories. Indeed as succinctly put by Schramm (2008), the SRP fails to recognise the social contest in the interpretation and presentation of slavery heritage sites. Understanding this dichotomy has implications for managing TAST cultural heritage assets, especially with growing involvement of descendants of enslavers and descendants of “slaves” in tourism in former TAST communities.

#### *7.1.1 Differences in social structure and interactions*

As mentioned previously, a focus was placed on deconstructing the social identities and representations in former TAST communities. Consequently, survey respondents were asked to express opinions about social identities and representations in order to understand how they have been mobilised or institutionalised. The analysis presented here delved not only into the ‘sameness’ and ‘differences’ of social identities and representations but also the dynamics in social, historical and geographical contexts.

As Table 7.1 indicates the questions asked and responses provided by respondents were on issues of social identity, membership and representations. While the percentile scores across community do not hold for ranking, they show the extent of respondents’ knowledge on the subject of social identities and the flux of unstable representations. Apart from *Bono Manso* (26.2%), descendants of ‘slaves’ are well known in the rest of the communities. This result was of no surprise given the perception that inhabitants in *Bono Manso* are descendants of freed ‘slaves’. The pattern of responses also indicates that descendants of enslavers were commonly known in Cape

Coast (72.3%) and *Elmina* (67.1%). This is also not surprising considering the historical antecedent of these two communities (Feinberg, 1989; Shumway, 2011). However, the case of *Salaga* residents responding mostly in the negative is interesting because while historical records indicate that the *Ashanti* and *Akyem* slave traders were sacked from the town, respondents identified some former slave merchant homes. Similarly, descendants of mullatos were commonly known in *Elmina* (90.2%) and Cape (83.4%). The phenomenon is not common with *Assin Manso*, *Salaga* and *Bono Manso* (Table 7.1).

**Table 7.1: Answers to yes/no questions by community**

Question	Response	Community (%)					Total (%)
		<i>Assin Manso</i> (n=141)	<i>Elmina</i> (n=225)	Cape Coast (n=296)	<i>Salaga</i> (n=236)	<i>Bono Manso</i> (n=130)	
Are you aware of the presence of descendants of 'slaves' in this community?	Yes	80.1	79.6	80.7	64.8	26.2	69.8
	No	19.1	20.0	18.9	25.8	62.2	27.1
	IR	0.7	0.4	0.3	9.3	4.6	3.0
Are you aware of the presence of descendants of enslavers in this community?	Yes	0.0	67.1	72.3	13.1	0.0	38.5
	No	99.3	32.4	27.7	78.0	97.7	58.9
	IR	0.7	0.4	0.0	8.9	2.3	2.5



**Table 7.1. Continued**

Are you aware of the presence of descendants of mullatos in this community?	Yes	0.0	90.2	83.4	0.0	0.0	43.8
	No	100.0	9.8	16.6	100.0	100.0	56.2
	IR	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Are abusive words used to describe descendants of enslavers in this community?	Yes	0.0	0.0	17.2	0.0	0.0	5.0
	No	0.0	89.3	69.9	43.2	0.0	49.6
	DK	0.0	10.7	12.5	46.2	0.0	16.5
	IR	0.0	0.0	0.3	10.6	0.0	2.5
	N/A	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	26.4
Are abusive words used to describe descendants of 'slaves' in this community?	Yes	96.5	78.7	82.8	3.8	45.4	60.9
	No	2.8	0.0	0.0	28.8	0.0	6.6
	DK	0.0	21.3	16.9	56.8	54.6	29.9
	IR	0.7	0.0	0.3	10.6	0.0	2.6
	N/A	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Are abusive words used to describe descendants of mullatos in this community?	Yes	0.0	44.4	40.2	0.0	0.0	21.3
	No	0.0	38.2	38.5	0.0	0.0	19.5
	DK	0.0	17.2	20.9	0.0	0.0	9.8
	IR	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1
	N/A	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	49.3
Are descendants of 'slaves' discriminated in relation to skin/stool land acquisition?	Yes	29.1	25.3	38.2	22.5	18.5	28.0
	No	53.9	65.8	55.4	44.1	71.5	56.9
	DK	16.3	8.9	6.4	27.1	10.0	13.5
	IR	0.7	0.0	0.0	6.4	0.0	1.6
Are descendants of 'slaves' discriminated in relation to marriage?	Yes	11.3	12.0	14.9	7.6	6.9	11.1
	No	71.6	80.9	81.8	61.4	81.5	75.5
	DK	16.3	7.1	7.1	24.6	11.5	11.5
	IR	0.7	0.0	0.0	6.4	0.0	1.6

**Table 7.1. Continued**

Are descendants of 'slaves' discriminated in relation to employment?	Yes	9.2	11.6	11.8	3.0	3.1	8.3
	No	76.6	81.3	86.1	66.1	85.4	79.1
	DK	13.5	7.1	2.0	24.6	11.5	11.1
	IR	0.7	0.0	0.0	6.4	0.0	1.6
Are descendants of 'slaves' discriminated in relation to chieftaincy issues?	Yes	70.9	80.9	73.0	0.0	60.0	56.0
	No	29.1	19.1	27.0	100.0	40.0	44.0

Note: DK=don't know; IR = Information refused; N/A: Not applicable

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

To the respondents who answered the questions of awareness in the affirmative, they were subsequently asked how descendants of enslavers, descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of mullatos were identified in the community. The import of this question was to determine whether respondents' beliefs about the social identities served to influence their attitudes. Respondents in *Bono Manso*, *Assin Manso*, *Elmina* and Cape Coast stated that facial markings was the most reliable means of identifying descendants of 'slaves' whilst residents in *Salaga* mentioned ethnicity. In the case of identifying descendants of enslavers, residents of *Elmina* and Cape Coast mentioned 'historic buildings' whilst residents of *Salaga* identified them based on 'possession'. The most common means of identifying descendants of mullatos in Cape Coast and *Elmina* were their 'European names' and 'historic buildings'.

The findings enumerated above were both interesting and disturbing. It was interesting in the sense that it highlighted how social identities were still connected to TAST. For example, the result shows that apart from *Salaga*, facial markings were the

common means of differentiating commoners and descendants of ‘slaves’. Rattray (1932) observed that facial marks in pre-colonial Ghana differentiated captured enslaved Africans of different raiders and a means to identify those who escaped. Der (1998) drawing on archival materials believed that many of the captives brought down to the forts and castles with facial markings were of *Dagomba*, *Gonja* or *Frafra* ethnic stock.

Another interesting finding related to the identification of descendants of enslavers in Cape Coast and *Elmina*. Here again, there was evidence (perhaps incontrovertible) to support respondents’ claim that descendants of enslavers lived in historic buildings. Architectural studies suggest that many wealthy African merchants in Cape Coast and *Elmina* constructed several multi-family masonry dwellings that served as storage houses for captives (Neils & Hyland, 1978/1982; Hyland, 1995a, 1995b).

On the flipside, the findings were disturbing in the sense that in contemporary times facial markings serve different purposes (i.e. identification, beautification and for traditional medical treatment) for different ethnic groups. Additionally, within the wider society such perceptual and stereotypical beliefs about identities generally tend to inform the negative attitudes alluded to by descendants of ‘slaves’ in Chapter 5.

To further provide insights into underlying social relationships, respondents were asked whether offensive terms were used to describe descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers and descendants of mullatos. Table 7.1 indicates that Cape Coast residents used abusive language to describe descendants of enslavers. A majority of respondents in *Assin Manso* also attested that disparaging words were used to describe descendants of ‘slaves’. About 44.4% of respondents in *Elmina* affirmed that abusive words were used to describe descendants of mullatos (Table 7.1).

When asked to mention such epithetical words used to describe descendants of ‘slaves’, 97% of the respondents mentioned the word *slave* (locally translated *donko* in Cape Coast, *Elmina*, *Assin Manso*, and *Bono Manso*; *Kanye* or *baawa* in *Salaga*). Others included *awowa* [pawn] and *nnommum* [war captives]. This finding is significant because one might have expected that given the prescription that prevents local residents from publicly divulging someone’s slave ancestry; colloquialisms and suggestive slangs would be avoided. Indeed, While Rattray (1927) and McCaskie (1995) have provided different etymology of the word *donko*, in the view of Cooper (1979:105), “the word ‘slavery’ carries with it a bundle of connotations—all of them nasty”. However, currently the term is not only socially frowned upon, but also considered ethnically offensive, especially in *Akan* speaking areas, because of its connotation to people of northern origin (Der, 1998). It was therefore, interesting that residents of former TAST communities still held notions of people forcibly ruptured and this invoked identities of descendants of ‘slaves’. As alluded to previously, the intrinsic value of collective slave memory was exploited for tourism gain. Thus, prima facie, local residents have learned to co-exist with descendants of ‘slaves’ because of tourism.

A further point to note about Table 7.1 is that except in *Salaga*, residents in *Assin Manso* (70.9%), *Elmina* (80.9%), Cape Coast (73.0%) and *Bono Manso* (60.0%) reported discrimination of descendants of ‘slaves’ in relation to chieftaincy succession. This finding is consistent and corroborated those from the interviews with descendants of ‘slave’ and descendants of enslavers.

### 7.1.2 Residents' awareness and support for SRP

Though Teye (2009) aptly described the SRP as conflated with different emotional expressivities and spatial dimensions, there remains a need to understand local residents' attitude towards the objective(s) set by the SRP given the nature of complexity associated with the memorialization of the TAST. The current research thus sought to examine local residents' attitudes towards developing the SRP for cultural tourism. Three measures of examining local residents' attitudes were adopted. The first sought to understand their awareness pertaining to the SRP. The second measure asked respondents to state whether they supported or opposed the SRP. The third measure, evaluated the extent of agreement on a seven point Likert scale with seven representing the most positive value.

Only 16.7% of the total sample reported that they knew about the SRP. (Table 7.2). Across the communities, 31.8% of residents in *Salaga* appeared to be more aware of the SRP whilst majority (96.9%) of those claiming unaware came from *Bono Manso*. Pearson's chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistic detected statistically significant association between support for the SRP and community of residence ( $\chi^2 (4) = 52.536, \rho < .05$ ). Thus irrespective of community, local residents on the Slave Routes were not aware and by implication, had poor knowledge of the SRP. However, 86.7% of the respondents overwhelmingly support SRP, with residents of *Bono Manso* (96.9%) indicating the most support (Table 7.2). There was some indication that presenting flashcards to respondents may have biased or blinkered their views.

**Table 7.2: Residents' awareness of and support for SRP**

Question	Response	Community (%)					Total (%)
		<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Are you aware of UNESCO's SRP?	Yes	9.2	14.2	13.5	31.8	9.2	16.7
	No	90.8	85.8	86.5	68.2	90.8	83.3
Do you support UNESCO's SRP?	Yes	86.7	87.2	91.6	75.8	96.9	86.7
	No	6.6	5.0	3.1	8.5	2.3	6.6
	Undecided	6.7	7.8	5.3	15.7	0.8	6.7

Fieldwork, 2012

An open-ended question then asked of respondents the reasons and motivations underlying support for or opposition to SRP. Content analysis proved useful in categorising the responses into key themes based on “support” or “oppose” statements. Table 7.3 lists the reasons in support and against the SRP. The interest by residents of *Salaga* to support the SRP for conservation reasons was not surprising given that many of its TAST relics could best be described as raw or uncommodified assets (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). The data revealed that the increasing popularity of tourism with its associated socio-economic benefits provided the necessary impetus and justification to protect and conserve the community's TAST cultural heritage assets. Frequent comments were made that conservation “creates opportunities for more tourists to see TAST monuments in good shape” and “ensure the sustainability of heritage sites”.

**Table 7.3: Reasons underlying support or opposition to the SRP**

Theme	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Education	11.5	34.3	23.6	3.0	15.5	19.0
Nostalgia	10.4	6.1	11.5	4.0	0.0	7.0
Remembrance	18.5	12.7	16.0	3.5	6.2	11.7
Conservation	50.0	36.6	36.1	75.9	69.0	50.8
Re-membering Africans with African diaspora	4.6	7.0	2.1	2.0	7.0	4.2
Symbolic guilt	0.0	0.0	4.5	2.0	0.0	2.6
Lack of education	0.0	3.3	6.3	0.5	2.3	3.0
“Discomfort” with memorialization	5.4	0.0	0.0	9.0	0.0	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*	130	213	288	199	129	959

\*Frequency count less than 1028 because it excludes “undecided” response to the previous question

Source: Fieldwork: 2012

Educational reasons resonated more with *Elmina* residents. They pointed out that the SRP provided the conduit to educate residents on the history of the TAST. For them education would not only close their knowledge gap on the subject but also offer opportunities for younger generations to understand and come to terms with atrocities of the past in order not to repeat them. However, as contended by this study, the challenge for the SRP was what collective slave memories to present, how to present it, what stories to tell and who to present it.

Respondents in *Assin Manso* referred to remembrance as a reason for supporting the SRP (Table 7.3). By and large, respondents were of the opinion that the SRP provided an invaluable avenue to remember the privations, sufferings and horrors of the TAST. They believed remembering the past provides a road map to understanding and

cementing social identities in their community. However, given the earlier discussion, it is safe to say remembering does not occur in a social vacuum and more often than not influenced by dominant narratives (Wertsch, 2002; Misztal 2010). In view of the earlier finding that respondents preferred forgetting, these observations further buttress the inter-subjectivities and complexities of developing the SRP for cultural tourism. However, a number of studies have demonstrated that society's disposition towards remembrance helps educate the populace to learn from past events in order to forestall future occurrences (Linenthal, 1995; Beech, 2000, 2001; Lennon & Foley, Butler, 2001).

Related to remembrance was a sense of nostalgia felt by Cape Coast residents (Table 7.3). Although nostalgic feelings raise the issue of identities, most respondents indicated that the SRP provided the platform for the articulation of collective slave memories through the preservation of TAST relics. Comments included: 'we need to remember our community history', 'we need to feel part of the history of the TAST' and that 'it makes us appreciate our history; history we have always denied because of shame'. They perceived the Cape Coast Castle as both an expression of a painful past and wider appreciation of what the community has inherited which should be preserved for future generations.

Residents of *Elmina* support the SRP based on the idea of re-membering Africans with the African Diaspora (Table 7.3). As noted earlier, that community has witnessed increased interest by Africans from the diaspora to make a return journey and to re-connect emotionally at the *Elmina* Castle (Bruner, 1996). Residents acknowledged



that the SRP provided the psychological platform for re-membering Africans in the diaspora with those on the continent, especially in former TAST communities.

Table 7.3 also depicted the reasons why residents in former TAST communities oppose the SRP. Residents in Cape Coast (6.3%) made frequent references to their lack of education on the SRP. Given the result in Table 7.2, it was not surprising that they attributed their seemingly weak understanding of the SRP to lack of education. They recognised being confused over the differences and relationships between ‘buzz words’ such as ‘Joseph Project’, ‘World heritage’ and ‘Emancipation Day/PANAFEST’ even with the help of flashcards. The most common comment among respondents was “ I don’t really know much about this project so I cannot state whether I support it or not”.

Some residents of *Salaga* did not support the SRP because of “discomfort” with memorialization. This, perhaps, confirmed earlier findings that residents in *Salaga* although comfortable recollecting memories of maltreatment of their progenitors preferred that some aspect of collective TAST memories be forgotten. Thus, feeling of discomfort at memorialization stemmed from their continued residence to the very sites their forbearers suffered. For this reason, aspects of collective slave memories had to be forgotten in order to enhance the community’s well-being in the foreseeable future.

### *7.1.3 Perceived influence/power and representations*

One issue that is immediately apparent about collective memory that was commented on by Halbwachs (1990) is the notion of power. The fact that the content of collective memory changes between and within different groups with differing power status suggests that memories about the past are always acts of power. In understanding the underlying power influences of the social interaction between the different social

groups, respondents were invited to rate their perceived level of influence vis-à-vis other stakeholders (i.e. traditional authorities, descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers, occupiers of heritage houses, MoT, GMMB, GTA). Nineteen statements were evaluated where 1 indicated that the stakeholder had “no influence” and 5 “a great deal of influence”. The average power score obtained from the perspective of residents was the influence they perceived each stakeholder had in the use, ownership, conservation and commemoration of collective slave memories.

**Table 7.4: Perceived influence/power of stakeholders on the Slave Routes**

Statement	<i>Assin Manso</i> (n=141)		<i>Elmina</i> (n=225)		Cape Coast (n=296)		<i>Salaga</i> (n=236)		<i>Bono Manso</i> (n=130)		p-value
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Traditional authorities influence upon government’s decision to develop tourism in the community	<u>4.47<sup>a</sup></u>	1.12	<u>1.24</u>	0.43	<u>4.45</u>	1.24	<u>3.96</u>	1.61	<u>4.60</u>	0.94	934.65 .001*
Local residents influence upon government’s decision to develop tourism in the community	<u>3.67</u>	1.46	<u>4.31</u>	0.80	<u>3.60</u>	1.47	<u>2.74</u>	1.42	<u>3.56</u>	1.16	57.66 .001*
Traditional authorities influence upon GMMB or GTA decision to promote TAST sites for cultural tourism	<u>4.53</u>	0.96	<u>1.01</u>	1.01	<u>4.37</u>	1.29	<u>3.94</u>	1.61	<u>4.58</u>	1.06	1303.32 .001*

**Table 7.4. Continued**

Local residents' influence upon GMMB or GTA decision to promote TAST sites for cultural tourism	<u>3.69</u>	1.41	<u>3.56</u>	3.56	<u>3.56</u>	1.50	<u>2.98</u>	1.39	<u>3.58</u>	1.19	8.74 .001*
Descendants of 'slaves' influence upon GMMB or GTA decision to promote TAST sites for cultural tourism	<u>4.12</u>	0.44	<u>1.21</u>	0.49	<u>1.05</u>	0.16	<u>4.77</u>	0.44	<u>4.70</u>	0.47	6475.39 .001*
Occupiers of heritage houses influence upon GMMB or GTA decision to promote TAST sites for cultural tourism	<u>1.19</u>	0.39	<u>2.56</u>	1.43	<u>2.69</u>	1.58	<u>1.14</u>	0.35	<u>1.19</u>	0.39	115.65 .001*
Traditional authorities influence upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics	<u>4.39</u>	1.13	<u>1.01</u>	0.26	<u>4.58</u>	1.02	<u>4.01</u>	1.52	<u>4.72</u>	0.71	1863.04 .001*
Local residents' influence upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics	<u>3.62</u>	1.43	<u>4.35</u>	0.63	<u>3.70</u>	1.38	<u>3.17</u>	1.44	<u>3.72</u>	1.08	44.53 .001*

**Table 7.4. Continued**

Descendants of enslavers influence upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics	<u>1.30</u>	0.87	<u>3.79</u>	0.87	<u>4.00</u>	0.72	<u>1.02</u>	0.14	<u>1.40</u>	0.84	1684.05 .001*
Descendants of 'slaves' influence upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics	<u>3.41</u>	1.29	<u>3.28</u>	1.40	<u>3.17</u>	1.55	<u>4.36</u>	0.75	<u>4.33</u>	0.59	66.66 .001*
GMMB influence upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics	<u>4.35</u>	0.97	<u>4.68</u>	0.66	<u>4.71</u>	0.84	<u>4.05</u>	1.22	<u>4.50</u>	0.90	15.99 .001*
Traditional authorities influence on the commemoration of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>4.77</u>	0.60	<u>1.10</u>	0.30	<u>4.79</u>	0.74	<u>4.18</u>	1.46	<u>4.85</u>	0.52	3050.03 .001*
Descendants of enslavers influence on the commemoration of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>1.46</u>	1.00	<u>2.15</u>	1.53	<u>2.13</u>	1.64	1.08	0.46	<u>1.06</u>	0.34	56.75 .001*

**Table 7.4. Continued**

Descendants of 'slaves' influence on the commemoratio n of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>3.69</u>	1.37	<u>2.07</u>	0.27	<u>1.68</u>	0.49	<u>4.08</u>	0.91	<u>4.54</u>	0.57	904.47	.001*
Ministry of tourism influence on the commemoratio n of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>4.52</u>	0.83	<u>4.81</u>	0.51	<u>4.82</u>	0.60	<u>4.76</u>	0.53	<u>4.56</u>	0.74	6.32	.001*
African Diaspora influence on the commemoratio n of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>4.61</u>	0.61	<u>4.07</u>	1.63	<u>3.08</u>	1.85	<u>4.51</u>	1.12	<u>4.60</u>	0.64	47.40	.001*
PANAFEST Secretariat influence on the commemoratio n of TAST events such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST	<u>3.74</u>	1.23	<u>2.67</u>	1.13	<u>3.14</u>	0.58	<u>3.31</u>	0.62	<u>3.68</u>	0.88	30.67	.001*

<sup>a</sup> 7-point Likert scale; <sup>b</sup>  $\rho$  - Welch's *F* test; \*  $\rho < .05$

Underlined Mean show differences are statistically significant at  $\rho < .05$  according to Games-Howell post hoc test.

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

One-way ANOVA was then performed to determine whether differences existed between the community and perceived power/influence of stakeholders. The existence of a significant relationship was tested in comparison to the  $p$ -value with the statistically significant level of 0.05. Additionally, the *Games-Howell post hoc* test was conducted to identify where the differences between the communities lie. The results of one-way ANOVA (Table 7.4) shows that community was significantly associated with all 19 perceived power/influence statements. This suggests that community had merit in explaining the residents' perceived influence/power of the various stakeholders.

*Elmina* residents perceived themselves to be more influential than traditional authorities. Against the backdrop of the town's chieftaincy conflict (and attendant social tensions), local residents perhaps felt traditional authorities lacked the credibility and local support. This goes to support the claim of Williams (2010) that community members in African societies do have expectations of the chieftaincy institution. The *Games-Howell post-hoc* test suggested that the perceived influence of traditional authorities was statistically significantly lower in *Elmina* compared to *Assin Manso* (mean difference = -3.22s; 95% CI = -3.49, -2.95;  $p < .05$ ), Cape Coast (mean difference = -3.21s; 95% CI = -3.42, -2.99;  $p < .05$ ), *Salaga* (mean difference = -2.71s; 95% CI = -3.01, -2.41;  $p < .05$ ) and *Bono Manso* (mean difference = -3.35s; 95% CI = -3.59, -3.10;  $p < .05$ ).

Another noteworthy observation from Table 7.4 was that *Salaga* residents felt descendants of 'slaves' wielded a more sizeable clout than descendants of enslavers. This further gives credence to the earlier finding that local residents expressed hate or revengeful feelings towards *Ashantis* for their transgressions during the slaving era.

Furthermore, descendants of ‘slaves’ had a lower influence score on all the items in *Elmina* and Cape Coast except on issues of heritage conservation involving African diaspora. This finding parallels results from interviews with descendants of ‘slaves’, which suggested that social identity and representations underlie collective slave memories. Therefore, it is possible to infer that residents of *Elmina* and Cape Coast were prejudiced against descendants of ‘slaves’ in comparison to members of the Africans diaspora. In fact, those interviewed pointed out stereotypical attitudes of local residents that either rejected or affirmed notions of “stranger” representations in the community. In stark contrast, Cape Coast and *Elmina* residents rated the influence of descendants of enslavers higher.

#### *7.1.4 Perceived social contestations*

The study then sought to determine residents’ reactions to the presence of social contestations on the Slave Routes. The respondents were required to rate their level of agreement or disagreement with eight statements that recognise the complexities of social identities and representations. ANOVA was also performed to isolate any significant differences that might be evident between the communities and the eight items, while *the Games-Howell post hoc* test was used to illustrate where the difference between the communities lie.

Table 7.5 presents the results. The results indicated no divergence of opinions across the communities on two statements: “TAST sites and relics are reminders of collective memory” and “descendants of ‘slaves’ have been assimilated into society”.

**Table 7.5: Perceived social contestations**

Statement	<i>Assin Manso</i> (n=141)		<i>Elmina</i> (n=225)		Cape Coast (n=296)		<i>Salaga</i> (n=236)		<i>Bono Manso</i> (n=130)		ρ- values**
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
TAST sites and relics are reminders of collective memory	6.47 <sup>a</sup>	0.94	6.45	0.93	6.45	1.00	6.31	1.55	6.43	1.07	0.44 .777
It would be better not to have a TAST relic/site here <sup>b</sup>	<u>5.40</u>	2.17	<u>6.49</u>	1.27	<u>6.69</u>	0.89	<u>5.42</u>	2.22	<u>5.99</u>	1.55	28.69 .001*
I have no personal emotional attachment to TAST relics in this community <sup>b</sup>	<u>5.75</u>	1.92	<u>5.84</u>	1.83	<u>6.63</u>	1.30	<u>4.38</u>	2.50	<u>6.03</u>	1.60	30.89 .001*
Descendants of 'slaves' have been assimilated into society	5.58	2.23	6.11	1.77	6.02	1.80	5.97	1.50	6.05	1.44	1.52 .194
Descendants of enslavers are highly respected people in society <sup>b</sup>	<u>4.15</u>	0.36	<u>1.33</u>	0.87	<u>1.41</u>	0.96	<u>5.07</u>	2.46	<u>4.13</u>	0.34	929.69 .001*
It is important to commemorate the legacies of the TAST	<u>6.39</u>	1.15	<u>6.36</u>	1.16	<u>6.58</u>	0.83	<u>5.98</u>	1.54	6.20	1.03	9.21 .001*
Descendants of 'slaves' should have a role to play in developing the SRP in the community	<u>6.08</u>	1.40	<u>4.06</u>	2.32	<u>4.39</u>	2.41	<u>6.23</u>	1.37	<u>6.20</u>	1.04	67.88 .001*
Descendants of enslavers should have a role to play in developing the SRP in the community	<u>4.19</u>	0.39	<u>5.87</u>	1.44	<u>5.65</u>	1.85	<u>3.27</u>	2.39	<u>4.20</u>	0.40	120.71 .001*

<sup>a</sup> 7-point Likert scale: \*\* ρ -Welch's F test; \* ρ < .05

<sup>b</sup> Reverse coded item

Underlined Mean shows differences are statistically significantly at ρ < .05 according to Games-Howell post hoc test.

Source: Fieldwork, 2012



Thus, regardless of community, local residents think that TAST cultural assets served as reminders of collective slave memory and that descendants of ‘slaves’ had been assimilated into societies. However, there were significant differences between the communities over the rest of the statements. *Assin Manso* residents were more likely to feel more connected to TAST sites because they served as reminders of collective slave memory than the rest of the communities. In contrast, assimilation of descendants of ‘slaves’ into society, importance of commemorating the legacies of the TAST and social status of descendants of enslavers were relatively important to *Elmina* residents; while the role of descendants of ‘slaves’ in developing the SRP was important for *Salaga* residents. Cape Coast residents had strong attachment and reverence for TAST relics in their community.

The *Games-Howell post hoc* test confirmed that *Assin Manso* residents were more likely to feel descendants of ‘slaves’ had a role to play in developing the SRP in the community than residents in *Elmina* (mean difference = 2.02s; 95% CI = 1.48, 2.55;  $\rho < .05$ ) and Cape Coast (mean difference = 1.68s; 95% CI = 1.18, 2.19;  $\rho < .05$ ). Likewise, *Salaga* residents were less enthused about the about the role of descendants of enslavers in developing the SRP than the remainder of the communities.

These results support previous findings made by the study. Firstly, the unfavourable disposition of Cape Coast and *Elmina* residents regarding the role of descendants of ‘slaves’ in developing the SRP goes to support the earlier findings that descendants of ‘slaves’ experienced discrimination and social exclusion. Similarly, the finding that *Salaga* residents were less receptive to the role of descendants of enslavers

in developing the SRP in that community confirms the earlier findings of negative emotions in the narratives of collective slave memories.

## **7.2 Political contestations**

The fact that the southern forts and castles are inscribed on the WHL creates the possibility of conflict in a number of ways. The most obvious is that collective slave narratives and heritage interpretations vary by designated and non-designated communities on the Slave Routes. Consequently, the current study examined the political contestations that attend to contested heritages on the Slave Routes.

### *7.2.1 Designated versus non-designated WHS and support for WHP*

Examining the political contestations of heritage began by first exploring residents' awareness and consequent support for the WHP. The objective of the questions posed on this subject was to answer the questions of ownership as well as the degree of importance of such designation for residents in former TAST communities.

As shown in Table 7.6, of the 1028 sampled only 18.4% were aware of the WHP while majority (90.2%) were unaware. *Salaga* residents (32.6%) were most aware of the WHP. Surprisingly, it was observed that residents in Cape Coast and *Elmina* were mostly unaware of the WHP even though the two towns boast of forts and castles that are listed. However, when asked to indicate their support or opposition for the WHP, *Bono Manso* (94.6%) recorded the highest affirmative response while residents in *Salaga* (14.8%) were mostly 'undecided' (Table 7.6).

**Table 7.6: Awareness and support for WHP**

Question	Response	Community (%)					Total (%)
		<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Are you aware of UNESCO's designation of WHS?	Yes	12.8	16.9	14.9	32.6	9.2	18.4
	No	87.2	83.1	85.1	67.4	90.8	81.6
Do you support the WHP?	Yes	94.3	92.0	90.5	77.1	94.6	88.8
	No	3.5	4.4	9.1	8.1	5.4	6.6
	Undecided	2.1	3.6	0.3	14.8	0.0	4.6

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

As previously noted, respondents were handed a flashcard detailing the objectives of the WHS. Indeed, for non-designated WHS communities (i.e. *Salaga*, *Assin Manso* and *Bono Manso*), levels of self-assessed knowledge improved. Pearson's chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistic showed a relationship between community and support for the WHP ( $\chi^2 (8) = 86.645$ ,  $\rho < .05$ ). Thus, regardless of community, residents were supportive of the WHP. Nonetheless, when participants were asked to explain their stance, they pointed out several aspects of the issue. Depending on their stance, the responses offered were grouped under themes for ease of interpretation (Table 7.7). As illustrated, *Assin Manso* residents proffered reasons in the nature of CHM. Comments were largely related to the protection, conservation and preservation of TAST relics, enhancement of heritage awareness and educational values of WHS listing. *Elmina* residents supported the WHP because of social sustainability reasons. They expressed views about foreign and intercultural exchange, revival of local crafts and cultural forms, protection of cultural landscapes and boosting the slavery heritage image of the

communities. In the case of *Salaga*, respondents anticipated tourism development as evidenced in the provision of recreational amenities, increased tourist visitation; restoration of dilapidated heritage buildings and improved infrastructure to TAST related sites.

**Table 7.7: Reasons in support or against WHS programme by community**

Theme	Community (%)					Total (%)
	<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
Social sustainability	8.7	13.4	7.8	2.0	5.4	7.6
Economic sustainability	15.2	12.9	19.3	27.4	21.5	19.3
Cultural heritage management	55.1	44.7	37.3	29.4	49.2	41.4
Tourism development	17.4	24.4	26.4	31.8	18.5	24.8
Restrictions on use of heritage	0.0	4.1	7.8	0.0	0.0	3.3
Appropriation of communal lands	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.9
Multiple interpretation of local heritage	0.0	0.5	0.3	1.0	3.8	0.8
Political	3.6	5.3	1.0	4.0	1.5	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*	138	217	295	201	130	981

\*Frequency count less than 1028 because it excludes “undecided” response to the previous question

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Residents of *Bono Manso* supported the WHP for economic sustainability reasons. They believed listing of TAST relics could bolster economic opportunities in

their community. The possibility of attracting investment capital from abroad and philanthropists was also not lost on respondents.

The UNESCO WHS designation will bring more opportunities for locals in the community (#198/BM).

World heritage status can draw a lot of investors to our community. We need potable water, library, schools and accommodation facilities to attract and enhance our tourism image (# 13/BM).

Many of the youth in this community are unemployed and that has contributed to rural-urban migration. WHS status can create employment avenues for these youths (#53/SAL).

The results in Table 7.7 show that respondents in non-WHS designated areas demonstrated a predominately positive feeling. Their expected impacts of WHS status followed the growth of tourism in Cape Coast and *Elmina*. Anecdotal evidence gathered suggest that because these communities are economically deprived and desperate for development, local residents support any initiative that ultimately improves standard of living and livelihoods. Thus, residents in *Assin Manso*, *Bono Manso* and *Salaga* felt WHS listing was a precursor to tourism development. While these claims could not be verified because of lack of empirical data on the impact on World Heritage designation in Ghana, previous studies lend some credence to the present finding (Drost 1996; Pocock 1997; Shackley, 1998; Thorsell & Sigaty, 2001).

### *7.2.2 Perceived political contestations*

As previously mentioned, host community reactions to WHS designation is increasingly becoming an important issue for conservationists and tourism experts. An important justification for the examination of local residents' reactions to the changes wrought by WHS designation is vital for long-term planning and development. However, the current

discussion shows that support is based on each community's unique place identity, especially in non-WHS designated areas. Consequently, fourteen indicator items were used to examine local residents' perceptions of political contestations on the Slave Routes.

**Table 7.8: Residents' perceived political contestations**

Statement	<i>Assin Manso</i>		<i>Elmina</i>		Cape Coast		<i>Salaga</i>		<i>Bono Manso</i>		p-values
	(n=141)		(n=225)		(n=296)		(n=236)		(n=130)		
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Slave Trade relics/sites are the local community's pride	6.26 <sup>a</sup>	1.66	<u>6.48</u>	1.38	<u>6.45</u>	1.47	<u>5.80</u>	2.04	<u>5.97</u>	1.69	6.43 .001*
Having the designation of World Heritage status is good for all of humanity	6.55	0.74	6.44	0.92	6.34	1.32	6.51	1.27	6.53	1.00	1.38 .237
Slave Trade relics/sites should be protected for future generations	6.65	0.62	6.58	0.90	6.65	0.76	6.60	1.06	6.42	0.89	1.84 .119
It would be better <i>not</i> to have Slave Trade relics/sites listed as World Heritage Sites <sup>b</sup>	<u>6.46</u>	1.06	<u>6.17</u>	1.67	<u>6.02</u>	1.91	<u>4.87</u>	2.47	<u>5.77</u>	1.80	19.44 .001*
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage Sites contributes to the image of Ghana as a slavery heritage destination	6.42	1.14	<u>6.63</u>	0.85	<u>6.59</u>	1.07	<u>6.12</u>	1.71	<u>6.52</u>	1.05	5.18 .001*
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflicts with local meaning of heritage.	<u>6.35</u>	1.73	<u>2.44</u>	1.93	<u>2.56</u>	2.29	<u>6.63</u>	1.20	<u>6.90</u>	0.68	428.67 .001*

**Table 7.8. Continued**

Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage is acknowledgement of the painful and embarrassing past	<u>6.43</u>	1.24	<u>6.06</u>	1.52	<u>6.14</u>	1.39	<u>5.68</u>	2.00	<u>5.06</u>	2.15	12.39
											.001*
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST	<u>6.96</u>	0.42	<u>3.04</u>	2.52	<u>2.81</u>	2.55	<u>6.82</u>	0.71	<u>6.95</u>	0.37	313.60
											.001*
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST	<u>5.56</u>	2.27	<u>2.91</u>	2.38	<u>2.78</u>	2.38	<u>6.17</u>	1.69	<u>6.76</u>	0.72	261.92
											.001*
Having the designation of World Heritage status commodifies Slave Trade relics/sites for tourist use	<u>4.68</u>	2.38	<u>4.87</u>	2.22	<u>4.66</u>	2.41	<u>5.18</u>	2.23	<u>3.31</u>	2.40	13.85
											.001*
World Heritage Programme is mainly meant to promote tourism	6.00	1.79	5.70	2.00	5.55	2.22	<u>5.99</u>	1.70	<u>5.48</u>	1.66	3.23
											.012
Being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is important to conserve TAST assets	<u>6.72</u>	0.56	<u>6.58</u>	0.91	<u>6.53</u>	1.13	<u>6.19</u>	1.46	<u>6.43</u>	0.83	7.27
											.001*
Putting in place efficient regulations on conservation is critical to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes	6.57	0.91	<u>6.55</u>	0.82	<u>6.76</u>	0.61	<u>6.45</u>	1.24	<u>6.53</u>	0.80	5.38
											.001*

<sup>a</sup> 7-point Likert scale: \*\*  $p$  - Welch's  $F$  test; \*  $p$  < .05

<sup>b</sup> Reverse coded item

Underlined Mean shows differences are statistically significant at  $p$  < .05 according to Games-Howell post hoc test.

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

One-way ANOVA analysis followed by *Games-Howell post hoc* test was conducted to determine differences between the communities and the fourteen political contestations items. The tests showed no significant difference on three statements. However, as shown in Table 7.8, substantial differences were noted with the remaining statements involving issues of ownership, use and conservation of TAST relics. For most part, *Assin Manso* residents thought that having the designation of WHS was good for all humanity, acknowledgment of the painful and embarrassing past; constantly remind descendants of ‘slaves’ of their embarrassing past; fosters more conflict to collective memory of the TAST and necessary impetus to conserve TAST assets. The result of the post hoc test indicated that *Assin Manso* residents were more inclined to the idea that designating TAST relics as WHS fosters more conflict to the collective slave memories than residents in *Elmina* (mean difference = 3.91s; 95% CI = 3.44, 4.38;  $\rho < .05$ ) and Cape Coast (mean difference = 4.15s; 95% CI = 3.73, 4.45;  $\rho < .05$ ).

On the other hand, *Elmina* residents felt strongly about TAST relics in the community, recognised that WHS designation had marketing value or quality brand for Ghana, which ensures commodification. They were also likely to appreciate that designating TAST sites as WHS contributes to Ghana’s image as slavery heritage destination than residents in *Salaga Coast* (mean difference = 0.50s; 95% CI = 0.18, 0.83;  $\rho < .05$ ).

On their part, Cape Coast residents tended to agree that preserving TAST was a reward from WHS designation and that conservation was critical in promoting tourism on the Slave Routes. *Bono Manso* residents strongly indicated that WHS status was a powerful catalyst for conflict between world and local meanings of heritage. It was



interesting to note that *Bono Manso* residents were significantly more likely to perceive conflict with local meaning than *Assin Manso* (mean difference = 0.54s; 95% CI = 1.11, 0.97;  $\rho < .05$ ), *Elmina Coast* (mean difference = 4.18s; 95% CI = 4.06, 4.84;  $\rho < .05$ ), *Cape Coast* (mean difference = 4.33s; 95% CI = 3.93, 4.73;  $\rho < .05$ ).

### **7.3 Spatial contestations**

A pioneering aspect of this study, as compared with other studies conducted on Ghana's Slave Routes and elsewhere, was the attempt to investigate systematically the spatial nature of contested multiple heritages. In presenting the data, this section gives primacy to residents' knowledge about former TAST communities as well as perceptions about the spatial contestations of heritage. In other words, knowledge of the different Slave Routes sites is critical to identifying residents' perceptions of other TAST communities relative to their own and how this influences their spatial contestations of heritage.

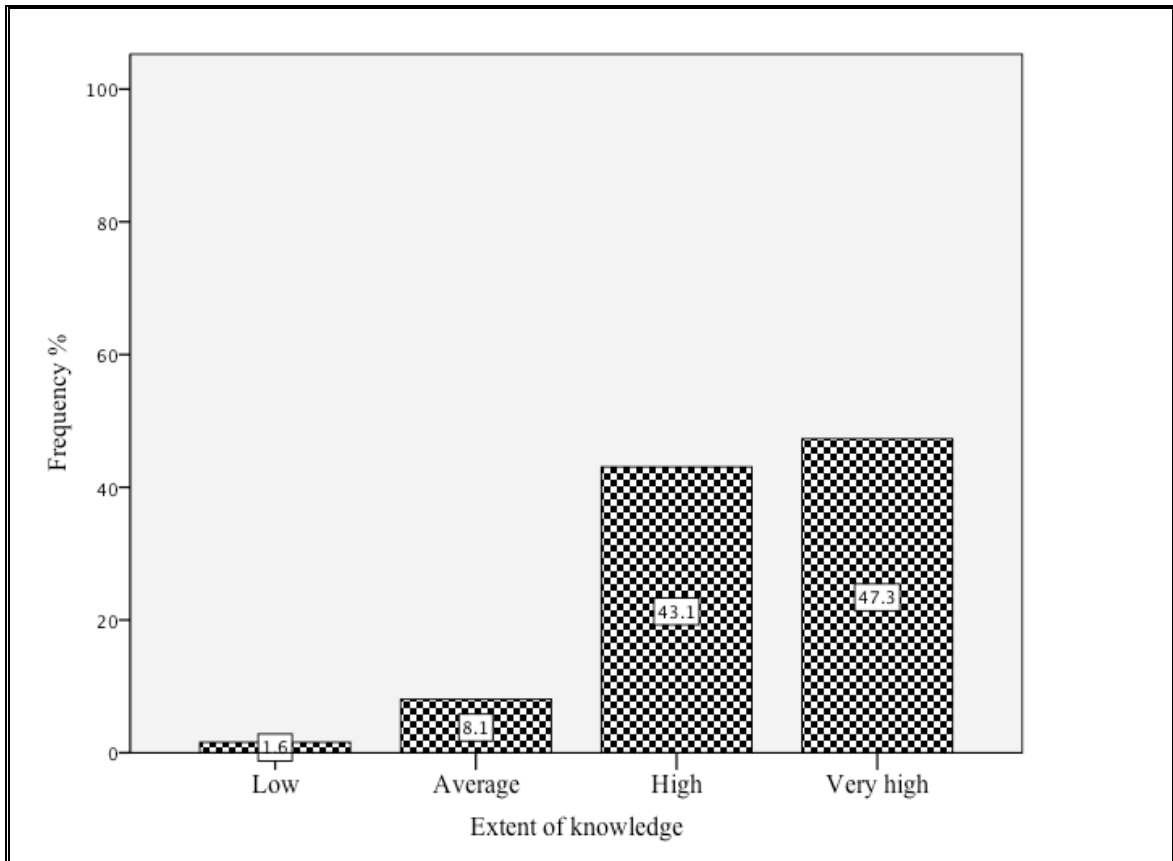
#### *7.3.1 Knowledge of slavery heritage sites*

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they knew other slavery heritage destination/sites. This question was incorporated to measure respondents' degree of knowledge of other former TAST communities relative to their own. Results suggest that of the total sample, majority (73.6%) were aware of other slavery heritage destinations/sites whereas minority (26.4%) were unaware. Across the communities, majority of residents in *Assin Manso* (87.9%) *Elmina* (86.2%) *Cape Coast* (82.1%) and *Bono Manso* (63.8%) were aware of other TAST sites or communities while 52.1% residents of *Salaga* were unaware.

Given that majority of respondents in *Salaga* were aware their community attracted tourists and had positive experiences of the nascent industry (refer to Chapter 6), this was a reasonably high figure concerning lack of knowledge of other slavery heritage sites. This is not to say, however, that alternative explanations cannot be proffered. The pervasive sentiments of appropriation and exclusion of slavery heritage by the southern Slave Route communities, particularly Cape Coast and *Elmina* was one possible explanation. Indeed, an issue that arose prominently in the interviews with the traditional authorities and opinion leaders was the contestations of “grand slave emporium” between *Salaga* and Cape Coast. While this observation was hardly considered new, as Der’s (1998) seminal paper has demonstrated, its importance underpinned the apparent ‘lack of knowledge’ expressed about residents’ knowledge about ‘other’ Slave Routes communities. The lack of participation of the community for several years in TAST events such as Emancipation Day/PANAFEST was another possibility.

Respondents who answered in the affirmative were then asked to mention five of former TAST sites/communities. The number of ‘correct’ responses that a respondent provided out of five was deemed his/her knowledge about the Slave Routes. The score point system used ranged from 0 to 5 with 5 being “very high knowledge”, 4 for “high knowledge”, 3 for “average knowledge”, 2 for low knowledge”, 1 for “very low knowledge” and 0 for “no knowledge”. Figure 7.1 and Table 7.9 present extent of respondents’ knowledge of slavery heritage sites. On the average, respondents were able to mention three slavery heritage sites apart from their community. The extent of

knowledge ranged from low (1.6%) average (8.1%), high (43.1%) to very high (47.3) in that order (Figure 7.1).



**Figure 7.1: Extent of respondents' knowledge of slavery heritage sites by community**

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The finding from Table 7.9 aptly describes the scope and scale of Ghana's role (particularly the southern coastal town's role) in the historic TAST. Using the frequency count, *Salaga* (18.7%), *Anomabu* (12.4%), *Elmina* (10.0%), *Kromantse* (9.5%) and Cape Coast (9.2%), ranked one and so on. As noted earlier, *Salaga* was the greatest slave market site. It is also hardly surprising that *Anomabu* and *Kromantse* ranked among the top Slave Route sites. Like Cape Coast and *Elmina*, *Anomabo* was an

important port town and slave market even though much of its historic grandeur now lies in ruins.

A closer examination of the ranking by community revealed the influence of spatial proximity. There was a preponderance of Cape Coast, *Elmina* and *Assin Manso* residents, to mention sites on the southern routes, within close proximity to each other while those in *Salaga* and *Bono Manso* mentioned northern or hinterland routes. Notable exception was the case of *Salaga*, *Elmina* and Cape Coast, which were popular sites across geographical areas. For instance, whereas respondents in Cape Coast were aware of *Anomabu* (50.6%), *Elmina* (58.0%) and *Kromantse* (57.1%), residents in *Salaga* and *Bono Manso* had no knowledge of other important stops on the southern routes (Table 7.9).

Similarly, only *Salaga* residents were aware of *Kafaba* and *Navrongo* as two important trading as well slave markets on the northern or hinterland routes. In the case of *Kafaba*, concerns expressed by traditional authorities and opinion leaders over its neglect as one of the most important Slave Routes used by *Mossi* traders (Der, 1998) perhaps reflected the frequent mentioning by residents. As a result of this finding and in keeping with earlier speculations offered regarding the level of awareness of *Salaga* residents towards ‘other’ slavery heritage sites relative to their own, Table 7.9 presents perhaps the most interesting of all the analyses. Even though *Salaga* ranked first, 174(28.2%) and 243(39.4%) were the majority responses from *Elmina* and Cape Coast respectively. Also worth noting was the fact that whilst 37.1% of *Bono Manso* residents knew of *Assin Manso*, only one respondent gave it a mention in *Assin Manso*.

**Table 7.9: Knowledge of slavery heritage sites by community**

Rank <sup>a</sup>	Sites mentioned	Community (%)					Total (%)
		<i>Assin Manso</i>	<i>Elmina</i>	Cape Coast	<i>Salaga</i>	<i>Bono Manso</i>	
1	<i>Salaga</i>	19.6 (121*)	28.2 (174*)	39.4 (243*)	-	12.7 (78*)	18.7 (616*)
2	<i>Anomabo</i>	5.4 (22*)	44.0 (180*)	50.6 (207*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	12.4 (409*)
3	<i>Elmina</i>	34.4 (114*)	-	58.0 (192*)	4.2 (14*)	3.3 (11*)	10.0 (331*)
4	<i>Kromanste</i>	0.3 (1*)	42.6 (133*)	57.1 (178*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	9.5 (312*)
5	Cape Coast	32.2 (98*)	60.5 (184*)	-	3.6 (11*)	3.6 (11*)	9.2 (304*)
6	Sekondi	0.0 (0*)	51.0 (125*)	49.0 (120*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	7.4 (245*)
7	<i>Assin Manso</i>	-	29.9 (66*)	33.0 (73*)	0.0 (0*)	37.1 (82*)	6.7 (221*)
8	<i>Assin Praso</i>	70.8 (92*)	19.2 (25*)	10.0 (13*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	3.9 (130*)
9	<i>Kafaba</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	100.0 (97*)	0.0 (0*)	2.9 (97*)
10	<i>Navrongo</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	97.7 (85*)	2.3 (2*)	2.6 (87*)
11	Kumasi	1.2 (1*)	2.3 (2*)	8.1 (7*)	82.6 (71*)	5.8 (5*)	2.6 (86*)
12	<i>Benyin</i>	0.0 (0*)	1.5 (1*)	98.5 (66*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	2.0 (67*)
13	<i>Gwollo</i>	0.0 (0*)	1.5 (1*)	0.0 (0*)	78.5 (51*)	20.0 (13*)	2.0 (65*)
14	<i>Kintampo</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	90.2 (55*)	9.8 (6*)	1.8 (61*)
15	<i>Yendi</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	1.7 (1*)	96.7 (58*)	1.7 (1*)	1.8 (60*)
16	<i>Assin Fosu</i>	32.8 (19*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	67.2 (39*)	0.0 (0*)	1.8 (58*)
17	<i>Paga</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	98.1 (52*)	1.9 (1*)	1.6 (53*)
18	<i>Heni</i>	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	100.0 (39*)	1.2 (39*)
19	<i>Accra</i>	11.1 (1*)	22.2 (2*)	55.6 (5*)	0.0 (0*)	11.1 (1*)	0.3 (9*)
20	<i>Abandze</i>	0.0 (0*)	100.0 (6*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.2 (6*)
21	<i>Bono Manso</i>	100.0 (1*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (0*)	0.0 (1*)
Total	N**	470	899	1144	494	294	3301
	%	14.2	27.2	34.7	15.0	8.9	100.0

<sup>a</sup> Based on frequency count; \* The figures in parentheses are frequency count; \*\* The frequency count exceeds 1028 because of multiple responses

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Conversely, 14(4.2%) and 11(3.6) ‘correct response’ were reported by *Salaga* residents for *Elmina* and Cape Coast respectively. Despite the fact that these are the leading tourist destinations in Ghana, and designated WHS sites on the southern Slave Routes. These perhaps lend credence to the study’s earlier observation of an emerging process of oscillation between collective slave memories and historical accuracy that tends to de-construct the past. This raises questions of authenticity of collective memory claims by the different Slave Route communities.

From a theoretical standpoint, it lends support to Halbwachs’ thinking on the dialectical relationship between memory and places. Halbwachs (1997:230 cited in Truc, 2011) asserts “it would be difficult to describe the event if one did not imagine the place”. Thus, the localization of collective slave memories over Slave Routes tends to be contested albeit with tacit knowledge of the symbolic representation of the historic TAST events over geographical space.

### *7.3.2 Perceived spatial contestations*

Fifteen statements on a 7-point agreement scales were used to gauge residents’ perceived spatial contestations on the Slave Routes (Table 7.10). Further analysis using *Welch* ANOVA examined residents’ opinions in the different communities. In particular, *Games-Howell post hoc* test was conducted to see where the differences lie. The results of the statistical testing are discussed below.

The study found that *Bono Manso* residents were more inclined to think that gaining recognition as part of Ghana’s SRP was important to conserving TAST relics. They felt that both northern and southern Slave Route communities represented a genuine and authentic idea of collective memory in contemporary times and inclined to

favour communities on the Slave Routes controlling most of the tourism related services. They were also more likely than residents in *Salaga* to believe that greater government support was important to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes.

The study also found that *Salaga* residents were more inclined to believe that TAST relics in the north were different from those in the south and that tourism promotion was generating friction between TAST sites listed as WHS and those not listed and by extension between northern and southern Slave Route communities. They did not expect their local needs, wants and priorities to be satisfied through tourism promotion, as they tended to believe the number of visitors to their community were far less than those patronising the forts and castles. Consequently, they recognised that cooperation of all communities on the Slave Routes was critical to delivering a single experience.

Statistical testing found that Cape Coast residents were likely to think TAST assets in their community informed visitors more about the TAST than those at *Assin Manso* (mean difference = 1.02s; 95% CI = 0.56, 1.48;  $\rho < .05$ ), *Salaga* (mean difference = 2.25s; 95% CI = 1.74, 2.76;  $\rho < .05$ ) and *Bono Manso* (mean difference = 1.52s; 95% CI = 0.97, 2.07;  $\rho < .05$ ). They were also significantly inclined to believe that “the castles and forts on the southern routes represented the history and collective memory of the TAST” (Table 7.10). Furthermore, residents were less likely to believe the statement that “both Slave Route communities in the north and south are able to equally represent their history and collective memory of the TAST for tourism promotion”. However, despite this opinion, they were likely to think that current preservation and developmental projects on the Slave Routes balanced the contestations

to the collective memory of the TAST. Finally, they stated that tourism awareness of residents of former TAST sites was important to conservation and preservation of TAST assets.

**Table 7.10: Perceived spatial contestations of heritage and spaces**

Statement	Assin Manso (n=141)		Elmina (n=225)		Cape Coast (n=296)		Salaga (n=236)		Bono Manso (n=130)		ρ- values **
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	
Gaining recognition as part of Ghana's Slave Route Project is important to conserving TAST assets	<u>6.47<sup>a</sup></u>	0.62	6.42	0.75	6.40	1.06	<u>6.14</u>	1.62	<u>6.53</u>	1.07	2.34 .054
TAST relics in the north are different from those in the south	<u>4.60</u>	1.95	<u>5.40</u>	1.94	<u>5.44</u>	1.90	<u>5.85</u>	2.04	<u>4.70</u>	2.33	11.41 .001*
Tourism promotion of the Slave Routes is generating conflicts between northern and southern Slave Route communities	<u>3.30</u>	1.95	<u>3.15</u>	2.09	<u>3.59</u>	2.35	<u>4.23</u>	2.66	<u>2.88</u>	2.29	8.62 .00*
The TAST assets in the south inform visitors more about the historic TAST than those assets in the north	<u>5.58</u>	1.83	<u>6.45</u>	1.24	<u>6.61</u>	1.08	<u>4.36</u>	2.70	<u>5.09</u>	2.14	52.33 .001*
The castles and forts on the southern routes represent the history and collective memory of the TAST	<u>6.49</u>	0.93	<u>6.69</u>	0.55	<u>6.76</u>	0.76	<u>1.55</u>	1.48	<u>6.48</u>	0.82	656.42 .001*
Tourism is generating friction between those listed as WHS and those not listed	<u>3.97</u>	2.32	<u>3.56</u>	2.26	<u>3.83</u>	2.48	<u>6.43</u>	1.18	<u>4.40</u>	2.50	128.02 .001*
Local residents on the southern routes are able to include their needs in preservation of TAST assets and tourism development than those in the north	<u>5.32</u>	2.00	<u>5.87</u>	1.56	<u>5.87</u>	1.80	<u>6.26</u>	1.40	<u>5.33</u>	2.12	9.15 .001*
There is a balance between the numbers of tourists to the castles and forts and those to the northern slave markets sites	<u>2.99</u>	2.18	<u>2.85</u>	2.19	<u>2.09</u>	1.84	<u>3.15</u>	2.56	<u>2.84</u>	2.42	10.64 .001*
Both Slave Route communities in the north and south are able to equally represent their history and collective memory of TAST for tourism promotion <sup>b</sup>	<u>2.28</u>	1.94	5.49	1.78	<u>5.99</u>	1.57	<u>1.96</u>	1.76	<u>1.57</u>	1.47	349.27 .001*



**Table 7.10. Continued**

TAST assets and spaces in both northern and southern Slave Routes communities represent a genuine and authentic idea of collective memory of the TAST in contemporary times	<u>5.71</u>	1.62	<u>5.95</u>	1.37	<u>6.42</u>	0.92	<u>5.92</u>	1.75	<u>6.43</u>	1.10	11.79 .001*
Current preservation and developmental projects on the Slave Routes balance the contestations to collective memory of the TAST	<u>2.48</u>	2.38	<u>5.90</u>	1.23	<u>6.32</u>	1.04	<u>2.61</u>	2.21	<u>5.33</u>	2.25	204.97 .001*
Co-operation of all communities on the Slave Routes is critical to delivering a single experience	<u>6.39</u>	1.04	<u>6.37</u>	1.01	<u>6.58</u>	0.92	<u>6.73</u>	1.05	<u>6.12</u>	1.72	6.16 .001*
Communities on the Slave Routes own most of the tourism related services	<u>5.10</u>	2.01	<u>1.94</u>	1.68	<u>2.17</u>	1.84	<u>5.60</u>	1.87	<u>6.10</u>	1.44	275.96 .001*
Greater government support is important to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes	6.58	0.82	6.61	0.70	6.61	0.83	6.55	0.94	6.66	0.83	0.33 .856
Tourism awareness of residents of former TAST sites is important to conservation and preservation of TAST assets	6.53	0.75	6.57	0.70	<u>6.72</u>	0.56	<u>6.40</u>	1.30	<u>6.70</u>	0.54	5.28 .001*

<sup>a</sup> 7-point Likert scale: \*\*  $\rho$  -Welch's *F* test; \*  $\rho < .05$

<sup>b</sup> Reverse coded item

Underlined Mean show differences are statistically significant at  $\rho < .05$  according to Games-Howell post hoc test.

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

To provide further insights into the above results, Spearman's correlation coefficient was conducted to determine whether relationships existed between each of the perceived spatial contestations items for the sample ( $n=1028$ ). As shown in Table 7.11, there were direct correlations between the perceptions of spatial contestations items and the statement that "tourism promotion was generating conflicts between northern and southern Slave Route communities".

**Table 7.11: Correlation of perceived spatial contestations with statement “tourism promotion is generating conflict between northern and southern Slave Routes communities”**

<i>Perceived spatial contestations of heritage</i>	rho	Prob.
Gaining recognition as part of Ghana’s Slave Route Project is important to conserving TAST assets	-.027	.388 n.s
TAST relics in the north are different from those in the south	.077*	.014
The TAST assets in the south inform visitors more about the historic TAST than those assets in the north	.034	.270 n.s
The castles and forts on the southern routes represent the history and collective memory of the TAST	-.089**	.004
Tourism is generating friction between those listed as World Heritage and those not listed	.231**	.001
Local residents on the southern Slave Routes are able to include their needs in preservation of TAST assets and tourism development more than those in the north	.082**	.009
There is a balance between the numbers of tourists to the castles and forts and those to the northern slaves markets sites	.026	.406 n.s
Both Slave Route communities in the north and south are able to equally represent their history and collective memory of TAST for tourism promotion	-.005	.881 n.s
TAST assets and spaces in both northern and southern Slave Route communities represent a genuine and authentic idea of the collective memory of the TAST in contemporary times	-.057	.069 n.s
Current preservation and developmental projects on the Slave Routes balance the contestations to collective memory of the TAST	-.048	.123 n.s
Co-operation of all communities on Slave Routes is critical to delivering a single experience	.000	.990 n.s
Communities on the Slave Routes own most of the tourism related services	.023	.466 n.s
Greater government support is important to tourism promotion on the Slave Route Project	-.005	.884 n.s
Tourism awareness among residents of former slave sites is important to conservation and preservation of TAST assets	.014	.659 n.s

\*\* Correlation is significant at .01 level (2-tailed), \* Correlation is significant at .05 level (2-tailed), n.s. = not significant;

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Of the fifteen statements, the perception that tourism was generating friction between those listed as World Heritage and those not listed had the strongest relationship and significantly correlated with the perception that tourism promotion is generating conflict between northern and southern Slave Routes communities,  $r = .23$ ,  $\rho$  (2 tailed)  $< .01$ . As residents' belief that TAST cultural assets qualified for WHS recognition increases, tourism promotion engendered spatial contestations significantly. Similarly, the statement that the castles and forts on the southern routes represented the history and collective memory of the TAST was strongly related to the statement that tourism promotion was generating conflict between northern and southern Slave Route communities,  $r_s = .08$ ,  $\rho$  (2 tailed)  $< .01$  (Table 7.11). Given the perception that the castles and forts on the southern routes were the tangible reminders of the TAST, it sounded reasonable that tourism promotion exacerbated the tensions between designated and non-designated WHSs on the Slave Routes.

The impact of tourism on former TAST communities,  $\tau = .08$  significantly correlated with spatial dissonance due to tourism promotion; so was the belief that the physical attributes of TAST sites in north were different from those in the south  $r_{pb} = .07$  which contribute to the spatial contestations of heritage on the Slave Routes.

#### **7.4 Dimensions underlying multiple contested heritages**

As highlighted in Figure 2.1, collective slave memories influence the heritagisation process. However, the degree to which the different social groups and communities articulate collective slave memories at different spatial scales depend largely on power influences. Thus, contested multiple heritages are created and circulated by the different

collectives who derive meanings and uses for the past. The findings in general show the community is an important arena for articulating contested collective slave memories.

This section seeks to assess the interdependence and dimensionality of the postulated multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes using EFA. Besides, it facilitated the testing of the hypothesis that:

*Ho: No underlying dimension will emerge from the analysis of multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes.*

A PAF using oblique rotation (Direct Oblimin) reduced the 37 items to two interpretable factors (with satisfactory level of reliability) that induce multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. The null hypothesis underlying the use of factor analysis was that factors were unrelated, which was rejected by the Bartlett's test of sphericity ( $\chi^2(28) = 3903.759, < .05$ ). Apart from this, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value of .82, verified the appropriateness of using the technique.

Table 7.12 shows the final structure of the 8 items operationalized as multiple contested heritages. Overall, the two factors combined explained 59.6% of the variance. The first factor displayed 6 items with preponderance to the "glocalization" of heritage through tourism promotion because of UNESCO's recognition of some TAST cultural assets as WHS. It showed an eigenvalue of 3.43 and a coefficient alpha of .88. It accounted for a variance of 42.97%, which is 42.97% of the total variance. The second factor consisted of 2 items, which dealt with memorialization of collective slave memories and accounted for 16.70%, which was equal to 59.68% of the total variance. This factor showed an eigenvalue of 1.33 and a coefficient alpha of .81 (Table 7.12).

**Table 7.12: Factor analysis of community reactions to multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes (N = 1028)**

Scale items	Rotated factor loadings	
	I	II
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflict with local meaning of heritage.	-.859	
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST	-.840	
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST	-.738	
Both Slave Routes communities in the north and south are able to equally represent their history and collective memory for tourism promotion	-.713	
Descendants of enslavers are highly respected people in society	-.710	
Communities on the Slave Routes own most of the tourism related services	.636	
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage is acknowledgement of the painful and embarrassing past	.	.828
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage will constantly remind descendants of 'slaves' of their embarrassing past		.827
Eigenvalues	3.43	1.33
% of variance	42.97	16.67
$\alpha$	.88	.81

Scale: from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Given that the two interpretable factors were extracted, the null hypothesis that suggests that no underlying dimension will emerge from the analysis was rejected. Hence, it was concluded that at least the two factors determine the multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes from local residents perspective.

## 7.5 Summary

This chapter highlighted the interrelationship between heritage and identity in time and space. Overall, the physical attributes of TAST cultural assets were intrinsic to multiple contested heritages and identities. However, identities of the different social groups distinguished each community. It seemed evident; therefore, that in Cape Coast and *Elmina*, the presence of descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers and descendants of mullatos account for the perpetual social contestations whereas the rest which had some or no such manifestation of such social group reported no less social tensions. The data also suggested that given the dynamics of each community, heritage was reselected and re-interpreted by local residents in response to their contemporary needs.

Chapter 8 will investigate tourists understanding, behaviours and attitudes at TAST cultural sites. As mentioned in Chapter 2, visitors create and use their own heritage for their contemporary needs.

## **CHAPTER 8: UNDERSTANDING THE KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR OF TOURISTS TO SLAVERY HERITAGE SITES**

### **8.0 Introduction**

Results of the data analysis conducted on the tourists' survey are presented in this chapter. The chapter is composed of five major sections. The first section details the visitor classification and consequent socio-demographic and trip profile. The second section analyses the perceived political contestations emanating from the transformative nature of WHS recognition of some TAST cultural assets. Social contestations are discussed in the third section under three main themes: connectivity and engagement, attitudes to SRP and perceived social contestations. The fourth section, discusses the spatial context within which visitors' remember, consume and commemorate the collective slave memories. Finally, the results of statistical analysis were reported in regard to factor analysis, MANOVA and discriminant analysis.

### **8.1 Classifying slavery heritage tourists**

Despite the extensive attention and wealth of literatures pertaining to cultural heritage tourism, there remain no accepted or universal criteria for segmenting the market. Different authors have tended to adopt different variables, taking a cue from Kotler (1980) that geographic, demographic, psychographic and behavioural characteristics form the basis of segmenting consumer markets. Some authors emphasize the significance of socio-demographic and trip characteristics; others stress a need to understand travellers' cultural motivations; while another school of thought suggests that activities undertaken is a core determinant of the cultural tourist. The attendant

result is that researchers seem to be measuring different aspects of the same construct. As McKercher and du Cross (2003) noted, the notion that the cultural tourist is a highly motivated person who travels for cultural reasons and seeks deep experiences provides very little understanding of why cultural tourists travel and what type of experiences they seek at a destination.

While both the activity-based and benefit-based approaches may suffice to make a case for segmenting cultural tourists, the analysis of McKercher (2002) and McKercher and du Cross (2003) seem to be most suitable for the present purpose. However, the benefit-based approach to segmentation is not without challenges. There is consensus that demographic variables are not accurate indicators, although evidence suggest some demographic and trip variables appear to be useful in differentiating cultural tourists within otherwise similar ethnic or racial groups (Milman, 1991; Prentice, Witt & Hamer, 1998; McKercher & du Cross, 2002). As succinctly put by Kotler, Bowen and Maken (2003), for segmentation to be meaningful it needs to be measurable, accessible, substantial and actionable.

With regard to the current study, the objective of classification was to gather data to enable the analysis of three postulated categories of visitors to TAST sites; namely, colonial-linked tourists, 'roots' tourists and "other" tourists. It must be noted, however, that because TAST sites constitute flagship attractions, all the international travellers to Ghana are potential visitors even though motivations and connectivities to the sites differ. The dimensions of trip purpose and connection to the TAST was, therefore, used as criteria and prospective respondents had to satisfy two screening questions, namely, 1) would you describe the main purpose of visiting Ghana as related to slavery heritage



tourism or genealogy; and 2) are you personally related or connected to anyone affected by the TAST? Of the 556 international visitors surveyed, 121(21.8%) described their main trip purpose as related to slavery heritage tourism or genealogy and were personally related or connected to the TAST, while 47(8.5%) were personally related or connected to the TAST but had other trip purpose (Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1: Group composition of international visitors to TAST cultural sites/communities**

International visitors	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Sampled international visitors	566	-
Connected slavery heritage visitors	121	21.8
Connected other purpose visitors	47	8.5
Not connected purpose visitors	388	69.8

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

A further 388(69.8%) described themselves as not personally connected to the TAST and with travel motives other than slavery heritage tourism or genealogy. For ease of presentation, these three groups were identified in the margin of the tables as ‘connected slavery heritage’, ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors.

### *8.1.1 Socio-demographic profile and trip characteristics of visitors*

In order to effectively promote the Slave Routes for cultural tourism routes, it was essential to generate specific knowledge about the visitors who patronise TAST cultural

assets. Table 8.2 provides a detailed descriptive analysis of the three groups of visitors to TAST memory sites. The results show that ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents were mostly older with an average age of 37 years. They also tended to be well educated and from middle-class backgrounds. Perhaps not surprisingly, majority of this cohort were Black or African-American, originating from the United States.

In terms of trip profile, they tended to be first timers, but those with accumulated destination travel experience had visited Ghana between 4 and 7 times in the preceding five years. On average, trips undertaken to Ghana were of a longer duration of 19.2 nights. Very few significant differences were noted between intended length of stay and total trip duration. This suggests that visitors connected to the TAST and searching for personal heritage deemed Ghana as their main destination. This is not entirely surprising given their presumed familial ties to the destination. The majority (69.4%) of this cohort visited as part of a full package tour with an average party size of 19.9 (Table 8.2). Differentiating trip type by visitation history revealed that repeat visitors preferred packaged tours. It is unclear why repeat visitors participated in packaged tours. However, anecdotal evidence gathered indicate that despite being familiar with the destination, the affective bonds visitors (especially, diasporan Africans) derive from inclusive tours to TAST sites was a key-determining factor in the decision to revisit, aside travel cost.

**Table 8.2: Profile and trip characteristics**

	Connected slavery heritage (n=121)	Connected other purpose (n=47)	Not connected other purpose (n =388)	$\chi^2$ Statistic (p-values)
<b>Visitor profile</b>				
<i>Country of origin</i>				332.130
United states	87.6	57.5	6.4	(.001*)
Netherlands	0.0	6.4	12.9	
Germany	0.0	6.4	14.4	
Norway	0.0	0.0	9.3	
Canada	0.8	4.3	10.3	
England	9.9	17.0	17.0	
Others	1.7	8.5	29.0	
<i>Gender (%)</i>				1.061
Male	38.0	42.6	43.3	(.588)
Female	62.0	57.4	56.7	
<i>Age (%)</i>				32.497
< 30	45.5	48.9	63.9	(.001*)
31-52	30.6	38.3	29.4	
53+	24.0	12.8	6.7	
<i>Marital status (%)</i>				41.052
Single	45.5	55.3	66.5	(.001*)
Married or living with female partner	16.5	21.3	12.9	
Married or living with male partner	27.3	21.3	19.6	
Widowed	9.1	0.0	0.5	
Divorced/separated	9.1	2.1	0.5	
<i>Education (%)</i>				44.619
< Secondary school	4.1	4.3	7.0	(.001*)
Completed secondary school	5.0	36.2	1.5	
Some college or university	47.9	31.9	58.8	
Completed college/university/diploma/degree	28.1	27.7	27.8	
Completed postgraduate	14.9	27.7	4.9	

**Table 8.2. Continued**

<i>Ethnic origin (%)</i>				568.150
White/Caucasian	0.0	0.0	87.6	(.001*)
Black Caribbean	9.1	6.4	3.9	
Black African	2.5	8.5	4.6	
Black or African-American	76.9	34.0	1.5	
White and Black Caribbean	0.8	2.1	0.0	
White and Black African	10.7	44.7	0.0	
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.5	
Other Asian background	0.0	0.0	1.0	
Other mixed background	0.0	0.0	0.8	
<i>Annual household income (%)</i>				23.035
< US\$ 50,000	27.3	19.1	25.0	(.001*)
US\$ 50,000-100,000	45.5	40.4	48.7	
US\$ 100,000-150,000	14.0	17.0	15.7	
US\$ 150,000-200,000	8.3	19.1	10.1	
US\$ 200,000-250,000	2.5	0.0	0.5	
> US\$ 250,000	2.5	4.3	0.0	
<b>Trip characteristics</b>				
<i>Visitation history to destination (%)</i>				17.200
First time	85.1	55.3	77.6	(.001*)
Repeat visitor	14.9	44.7	22.7	
<i>Repeat visits to destination/site (%)</i>				6.351
Twice	33.3	38.1	43.7	(.174)
3-6 times	66.7	52.4	55.2	
7+	0.0	9.5	1.1	
Length of stay (mean nights)	19.2	12.1	21.7	154.720 (.001*)
Total trip duration (mean nights)	20.6	15.7	28.8	172.090 (.001*)

**Table 8.2. Continued**

** % Describing their trip purposes other than related to slavery heritage tourism or <i>genealogy</i>				21.870 (.001*)
Vacation/leisure/recreation		78.7		45.6
Business/meetings/professional		4.3		9.5
VFR		12.8		12.6
Volunteering		2.1		16.2
Educational/Research		2.1		16.2
<i>Trip type (%)</i>				22.921
Full package	69.4	51.1		47.4 (.001*)
Partial tour with transport and accommodation only	24.8	29.8		42.3
Non-packaged/ind.	5.8	19.1		10.3
Travel party size (mean)	19.9	16.8	14.9	141.764 (.001*)

Note: \*\*Question not asked of respondents with travelling for slavery heritage reasons

\* Significant set at .05

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The ‘connected other purpose’ cohort tended to be younger, less educated but with higher incomes. They were mainly of mixed race from United States and England. Comparing their trip profile, this subgroup attracted a disproportionately large number of repeat visitors. This is perhaps mainly because 78.7% described their trip as vacation/leisure/recreation with a relatively shorter average length of stay, and recorded travel size of 16.8.

Conversely, the ‘not connected other purpose’ cohort tended to be young single, of middle-income status and mostly White/Caucasians from several countries. In relation to trip characteristics, they mostly patronised partial tours with transport and accommodation and stayed an average of 21.7 nights. The length of stay and average

mean nights spent away from home indicated this sub-group undertook some touring perhaps to neighbouring countries. This is not entirely surprising given the distance and travel cost to the destination. Besides vacation/leisure/recreation, an equal split of respondents indicated their trip purpose as related to volunteering and educational/research. This was not surprising given that 25.8% had indicated they were students. This corroborates Yankholmes and Akyeampong's (2010) observation regarding the increasing choice of Ghana as volunteer and gap year destination for overseas visitors mostly students.

Further analysis using chi-squared test of homogeneity showed that apart from gender ( $\chi^2(2)=1.061, p >.05$ ), statistically significant relationships existed between the three sub-groups with respect to socio-demographic indices (Table 8.2). Thus, gender may not discriminate between visitors interested in slavery heritage tourism or genealogy and those with or without connection to TAST heritage. However, there was a significant relationship between ethnicity and the three sub-groups ( $\chi^2(16)=568.150, p < .05$ ) as illustrated in Table 8.2. Furthermore, a contingency coefficient of .711 was obtained, indicating again a strong relationship. Those who described their ethnicity as Black or African-American or mixed (White and Black Caribbean or White and Black African) were more likely to be connected to the TAST and travelling for slavery heritage tourism or genealogy.

Similarly, there was an equally significant relationship between country of origin and the three sub-groups ( $\chi^2(12)=332.130, p < .05$ ). The contingency coefficient of .612 was large, indicating a robust relationship. Thus, country of origin, especially those that historically played a role in the TAST, influenced the decision to travel to Ghana.

## **8.2 Political contestations**

Relatively few studies have been carried out into how UNESCO's designation of some TAST sites as WHS influence the manner in which visitors remember, commemorate and attempt to resolve the contested spaces and heritages at TAST sites. In this section, questions relating to respondents' awareness, knowledge and support or otherwise of the WHP, prior knowledge and motivations for visiting TAST sites were examined. Questions were also asked relating to visitors' perceptions towards political contestations on the Slave Routes.

### *8.2.1 Awareness, knowledge and support for WHP*

As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, visitors play an important role in producing multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. Their entry into the community and presence at TAST memory sites while conferring legitimacy on some aspects of collective slave memory interpretations also have the potential of deepening the field of heritage contestations. Until now, TAST memory sites have become arenas for contesting identities of visitors whose personal or national heritage relates to it (Bruner, 1996; Austin 2002; Yankholmes & Akyeampong, 2010). This is further complicated by the WHP, which acknowledges some TAST sites as world heritage and excludes others in the universal meanings and significance of events relating to it.

In order to better understand visitor's level of knowledge and support concerning the WHP, respondents were first asked whether they knew and supported the programme. Majority (85.4%) of the respondents were aware of the WHP with the

‘connected other purpose’ visitors generally expressing a high level of awareness than other group of visitors (Table 8.3).

**Table 8.3: Knowledge and support for WHP**

Question	Response	Connected slavery heritage (%)	Connected other purpose (%)	Not connected other purpose (%)	Total (%)
Are you aware of UNESCO’s designation of WHS?	Yes	88.4	95.7	83.2	85.4
	No	11.6	4.3	16.8	14.6
Do you support the WHP idea?	Yes	61.2	80.9	65.7	66.9
	No	21.5	10.6	13.7	15.1
	Undecided	17.4	8.5	20.6	18.9

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Furthermore, the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors (80.9%) support the WHP idea more than others. The ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents reported disproportionately high percentages of ‘undecided’ responses. This may be more of a reflection of lack of knowledge rather than disinterest but needs further investigation (Table 8.3). Pearson’s chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) indicated that there was significant relationship between respondents’ level of knowledge and support for the WHP ( $\chi^2(2) = 170.803$ ,  $\rho < .05$ ). Thus, awareness and support of the WHP are related.

Respondents were then asked to briefly provide a reason for their answer choice. This question was to gauge their perceptions of political dissonance presented at TAST memory sites. However, because this question was posed in an open-ended manner, a variety of answers were generated which were manually coded and appropriate categories developed to exemplify and match the related themes (Table 8.4).



**Table 8.4: Stated reasons for support and opposition to WHP**

Theme	Connected slavery heritage (%)	Connected other purpose (%)	Not connected other purpose (%)	Total (%)
Cultural heritage management	15.7	31.9	40.7	34.5
Education	4.1	19.1	3.4	4.9
Preserve history	52.9	29.8	21.6	29.1
UNESCO institutional quagmire	0.0	4.3	11.1	8.1
Racialised encounters	17.4	10.6	6.4	9.2
Not much education	9.9	4.3	16.8	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	121	47	388	566

Fieldwork: Fieldwork, 2012

Table 8.4 presents the major themes that emerged from the analysis. It was found that the main reason proffered by the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors’ were mainly in the nature of CHM (40.7%). One respondent indicated “although I find the selection process quite arbitrary I support the idea of upholding cultural heritage.” Another commented that, “UNESCO helps preserve places of national and international importance for humanitarian ideals.” Other respondents believed that there was the potential for former TAST communities to capitalize on WHS designation to preserve their cultural heritage assets.

On the other hand, a little over half (52.9%) of the connected slavery heritage cohort mainly supported the idea of preserving history. They spoke of how WHS recognition of TAST relics bridges the gap between the past and present. One respondent said, “I understand there could be conflicting views of preserving contentious historical sites but, overall, I believe preservation is key to maintaining historic/cultural roots and informing future generations”. Another respondent discussed

the historical conscience awakened by maintaining living contacts with the past, “it is important to learn and be aware of the positive and negative aspects of the past”. Furthermore, another discussed collective memory, “I think it’s important that sites that tell a story of our collective memory should be preserved.”

About 16.8% of the ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents were constrained by their insufficient knowledge on the WHP. Additionally the ‘connected slavery heritage’ cohort were concerned about racialised encounters at TAST sites designated as WHS (Table 8.4). This observation was unexpected given the previous findings revealed there was statistically significant differences between the three sub-groups in relation to ethnicity and country of origin. Particularly, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ cohort worried that TAST memory sites had become platforms for settling contested narratives of the TAST. One respondent commented, “Although I like that it is world heritage, it does not feel comfortable in mixed groups”. Another respondent proffered a similar reason, “It is important that ‘white’ tourists from rich countries support poor countries. They have abused them before. Now they have to help them”. This points to the underlying political identities in the memorialization process that becomes unavoidable at TAST sites designated as WHS.

After stating whether they supported or opposed the WHP, respondents’ extent of knowledge of the site was assessed (Table 8.5). Respondents were asked whether they knew prior to their visit that the site/community was related to the TAST. A majority (about 95.9%) of the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents answered in the affirmative. This trend was lower among the ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors respectively.

**Table 8.5: Prior knowledge of site/community**

Question	Response	Connected slavery heritage (%)	Connected other purpose (%)	Not connected other purpose (%)	Total (%)	$\chi^2$ Statistic ( $\rho$ -value)
Did you know prior to this visit that this community was related to the TAST?	Yes	95.9	95.7	86.3	89.2	10.975
	No	4.1	4.3	13.7	10.8	(.004*)
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N		121	47	388	566	

\* $\rho \leq .05$

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Pearson's chi-square statistic showed statistically significant relationship between the three sub-groups in relation to prior knowledge of TAST memory site/community ( $\chi^2(2) = 10.975, \rho < .05$ ). This implies that the trip to the site may be dependent on their prior knowledge linked to the historic TAST. However, comparing the result here to Table 8.3 regarding respondents' awareness of the WHS revealed some interesting findings. It was observed that the 'connected slavery heritage' and the 'not connected other purpose' cohorts showed high prior knowledge of the site related to the TAST than as a WHS. The implication here is that respondents from these sub-groups knew of the sites' connection to TAST more than the recognition from UNESCO that their historic fabric was world class.

This observation is perhaps buttressed by the chi-square statistical analysis which confirmed respondents' prior knowledge depended significantly on country of origin ( $\chi^2(6) = 22.829, \rho < .05$ ), that is, respondents from countries that played a role in the TAST were likely to have knowledge of the site. Moreover, statistically significant

relationship existed between ethnicity and prior knowledge of the site linked to TAST ( $\chi^2(8) = 18.209, \rho < .05$ ). However, no statistically significant relationship was found between prior knowledge and educational level ( $\chi^2(4) = 9.433, \rho > .05$ ). The lack of statistical relationship implies that irrespective of educational level, respondents had prior knowledge that a site was linked to the TAST.

The respondents were asked in an open-ended format to specify one primary reason for visiting TAST memory sites. In order to summarize the results here, the responses were manually coded and categorised into seven motivational themes. The themes identified were: education, personal heritage, morbid curiosity, ‘to know historical past’, interest in cultural tourism, reverence for ancestors, and recommendations by travel company (Table 8.6). The findings herein are probably more indicative of the multiple uses of heritage sites alluded to by Ashworth (2001).

Table 8.6 indicates that the three groups differed in their motivations to visit TAST memory sites. For example, 75.2% of the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents were visiting in search of personal heritage. According to the respondents the historical narratives at TAST sites invoked emotional connection with their deceased predecessors. Within this context, their engagement with the site transcended its designation as WHS into the realm of life and personalised collective memory. Thus confronting their collective identity and collective heritage linked to the site was considered sacred or salutary than the suggestive significance of WHS.

I felt the need to reconnect to my African ancestors (# 045).

Visiting this sacred site was to rediscover myself. To have clarity! My ancestral roots are here and that makes a world of difference (# 067)

**Table 8.6: Reason as important in decision to visit TAST memory site**

Theme	Connected slavery heritage (%)	Connected other purpose (%)	Not connected other purpose (%)	Total (%)
Education	3.3	27.7	28.6	28.9
Personal heritage	75.2	8.5	0.3	7.0
Morbid curiosity	0.0	19.1	11.6	11.1
Remembrance and reverence for ancestors	7.4	2.1	0.5	4.2
To know historical past	12.4	23.4	22.7	20.2
Recommendations by travel company	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.1
Interest in cultural tourism	1.7	19.1	33.2	26.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	121	47	388	566

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

On their part, the connected other purpose subgroup felt the desire to “know historical past” (23.4%). Respondents noted that insofar as TAST relics served as tangible reminders of the experiences of their progenitors, the opportunity to experience the site developed into unarticulated historical consciousness. For them, the visit was a functional and spiritual expression of their historical connection to the past although slavery heritage tourism or genealogy was not the travel motive.

To see my history rather than hear it (# 023)

To see my history. I have been here before. Came this time with my family (# 531)

For the ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents, interest in cultural tourism (33.2%) played a central role in the reason to visit TAST memory sites. Majority of the

comments suggested that respondents considered TAST related relics as part of the overall cultural tourism offerings of the destination.

Visiting historical sites and experiencing Ghanaian culture (# 267).

Vacation in Cape Coast and desire to learn about the culture here and the slavery history, I haven't been taught at school (#056)

It happens to be one of the few tourist attractions in the area (#091)

Given that this group described their current trip as vacation/leisure/recreation, this finding was not surprising. However, it would have been interesting to have asked those who did not visit for slavery heritage tourism or genealogy trip whether their trip could be classified as a cultural holiday. Some may have had responded in the affirmative even though cultural tourism holidays are relatively rare (McKercher, 2004).

Nevertheless, a chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test found that the distribution in Table 8.6 was statistically significant ( $\chi^2(12) = 412.919, \rho < .05$ ). Thus, there was enough evidence to conclude that motivation to visit TAST memory sites and the three groups of visitors were related. In addition to this, the contingency coefficient values of .653 for this chi-square test indicated the relationship between motivation and the three groups was particularly strong.

Further analysis showed statistically significant relationships between ethnicity and the reasons stated for visiting TAST memory sites ( $\chi^2(48) = 349.440, \rho < .05$ ). It seems apparent that White/Caucasian visitors to TAST memory sites were motivated wholly or in part by interest in cultural tourism (33.2%). On the other hand, the quest for personal heritage (65.2%) was the main reason why Black or African-Americans visited TAST memory sites. Similarly, motivation outcomes were significantly associated with county of origin ( $\chi^2(36) = 374.815, \rho < .05$ ).

### 8.2.2 Perceived political contestations

Finally, respondents were asked to express their opinions about the political dissonance brought about by WH status of some TAST cultural assets. Fourteen items were evaluated where 1 represented “strongly disagree” and 7 ‘strongly agree”. Table 8.7 illustrates substantial differences between the three subgroups on the political contestation attributes. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents were inclined to believe that Slave Trade relics were the local community’s pride and that putting in place efficient conservation regulations was critical to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes. Consistent with the above findings, they were sensitive towards the idea of Slave Trade relics/sites as WHS, although they believed that WHS was acknowledgment of a shameful, painful, and embarrassing past. Consequently, they felt strongly that designating Slave Trade relics as WHS fosters more conflict to the collective memory of the TAST. The pattern was maintained with the statement that designating Slave Trade erases the meaning and emotional attachment to TAST; in fact, they felt that having such designation commodifies TAST sites for tourist use.

**Table 8.7: Perceived political contestations of heritage**

Statement	Connected slavery heritage (n =121)		Connected other purpose (n =47)		Not connected other purpose (n =388)	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
	Slave Trade relics/sites are the local community’s pride	6.24 <sup>a</sup>	1.22	4.19	1.89	4.66
Having the designation of World Heritage status is good for all of humanity	5.06	1.34	5.68	1.56	5.19	1.39
Slave Trade relics/sites should be protected for future generations	6.17	1.52	6.21	1.53	6.37	1.18

**Table 8.7. Continued**

It would be better <i>not</i> to have Slave Trade relics/sites listed as World Heritage Sites <sup>b</sup>	1.10	0.65	1.72	0.87	6.22	1.15
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage contributes to the image of Ghana as a slavery heritage destination	4.84	1.34	5.55	1.58	5.77	0.93
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflicts with local meaning of heritage.	6.90	0.58	6.63	1.15	3.47	1.90
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage is acknowledgement of the painful and embarrassing past	6.94	0.41	6.91	0.35	5.91	1.33
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage will constantly remind descendants of “slaves” of their embarrassing past	6.90	0.56	6.55	0.65	3.61	1.84
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST	6.90	0.56	6.68	1.12	3.28	1.68
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST	6.92	0.43	4.10	2.28	3.01	1.77
Having the designation of World Heritage status commodifies Slave Trade relics/sites for tourist use	4.33	1.96	4.04	1.80	4.12	1.88
World Heritage Programme is mainly meant to promote tourism	4.04	1.82	4.27	1.83	3.46	1.73
Being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is important to conserve TAST assets	5.55	1.49	5.31	1.75	5.80	1.22
Putting in place efficient regulations on conservation is critical to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes	5.71	1.50	5.31	1.70	5.46	1.55

<sup>a</sup> Scale: from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree

<sup>b</sup> Reverse coded item

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

In contrast, the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors were more likely to think that world heritage programme was merely meant to promote tourism. The ‘not connected other purpose’ were likely to be convinced that having the designation of WHS was good for humanity. Interestingly, they had a favourable disposition towards list TAST



relics as WHS, which they believed must pass on to future generations. In addition, they thought that the marketing value of WHS could be exploited by Ghana to brand her as slavery heritage destination while at the same time conserving TAST cultural assets.

### **8.3. Social contestations of heritage and identities**

This section deals with issues regarding visitors' engagement with former TAST communities. Given the peculiarity of emotional sensitivities to the TAST, the host-guest interaction engenders experiences heightened by a deeper engagement and connectivity to collective slave memories (refer to Figure 2.1). Even though the host-guest interaction and subsequent experiences at TAST sites vary considerably from locale to locale and person-to-person, the social space and distance between host and guest become contested given the variability of the contact situation.

#### *8.3.1 Connectivity and engagement*

A number of questions attempted to gauge the host-guest interaction and communication. The first question asked whether respondents were aware of the presence of the descendants of African 'slaves', descendants of African enslavers and descendants of mullatos in the community. As indicated in Table 8.7, the 'not connected other purpose' respondents were less likely to know the presence of the aforementioned social groups (especially, descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of enslavers) in the community prior to their visit. Given that an overwhelming proportion of this sub-group are from countries that played a prominent role in the TAST and who had prior knowledge of the site connection to the TAST, this was an interesting finding (Table

8.8). Although several alternative explanations can be given, the most relevant here is the fundamental ignorance among some Westerners about the *modus operandi* of the TAST (especially, regarding the involvement of Africans).

**Table 8.8: Awareness of different segments of community members**

Question	Response	Groups (%)			Total (%)	$\chi^2$ statistic (p-values)
		Connected slavery heritage (n =121)	Connected other purpose (n =47)	Not Connected other purpose (n =388)		
Are you aware of the presence of descendants of African 'slaves' in this community?	Yes	100.0	100.0	54.1	68.0	113.365
	No	0.0	0.0	45.9	32.0	(.001*)
Are you aware of the presence of descendants of African enslavers in this community?	Yes	90.1	93.6	41.2	56.3	135.723
	No	6.6	6.4	58.5	42.8	(.001*)
	IR	3.3	0.0	0.3	0.9	
Are you aware of the presence of descendants of mullatos in this community?	Yes	76.0	76.6	64.4	68.0	11.196
	No	17.4	17.0	19.1	18.5	(11.196*)
	IR	6.6	6.4	16.5	13.5	

Note: IR= Information refused

\*  $p \leq .05$

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The chi-square test values also showed significant relationships between the three groups' and awareness of the presence of descendants of African 'slaves' ( $\chi^2(2)=111.365, \rho < .05$ ), descendants of African enslavers ( $\chi^2(4)=135.365, \rho < .05$ ) and descendants of mullatos ( $\chi^2(4) = 11.196, \rho < .05$ ). That is, the three sub-groups appear to have the prior knowledge of the presence of different social groups in former TAST communities.

In a follow-up question, participants who answered in the affirmative were asked to identify their sources of information. Table 8.9 lists the sources of information used by the three groups regarding the presence of descendants of 'slaves' (DS), descendants of enslavers (DE) and descendants of mullatos (DM) in former TAST communities/sites, as well as the percentage of respondents that were informed by such source. In all, ten sources of information emerged namely genealogical research, prior research/personal research, family/friends, guidebook, local guides, 'lighter skin', 'European names', books/library/history lessons in school, Internet and local residents.

In general, 'connected slavery heritage' visitors were informed of the presence of descendants of 'slaves' by genealogical research whereas both 'connected and other purpose visitors' and 'not connected other purpose visitors' most often turned to local residents. This assumption was confirmed with a chi-square value ( $\chi^2(12) = 198.938, \rho < .05$ ), which showed a significant dependence of the three subgroups on the source of information about the existence of descendants of African 'slaves' in former TAST communities. The high contingency coefficient value of .587 further lends credence to this assumption. Similarly, although the respondents of the three sub-groups were informed by multiple sources on the presence of descendants of enslavers, they appeared

to rely on word-of-mouth. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors consulted family/friends whereas the ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ cohorts relied on local guides.

**Table 8.9: Sources of information about the presence of different segments of community members (% of respondents)**

Information source	Connect slavery heritage (n =121)			Connected other purpose (n =47)			Not connected other purpose (n =388)		
	DS	DE	DM	DS	DE	DM	DS	DE	DM
Genealogical research	50.4	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.3
Books/library/history lessons in school	35.5	4.5	0.0	19.1	0.0	0.0	24.3	3.1	0.0
Local residents	10.7	1.8	8.7	46.8	2.2	47.1	40.5	0.0	14.0
Family/friends	3.3	65.5	0.0	2.1	43.2	0.0	7.6	30.6	0.4
Internet	0.0	10.9	0.0	2.1	2.3	0.0	1.9	8.8	0.4
Prior visit/personal experience	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.8	2.3	0.0	24.8	0.0	0.0
Local guide	0.0	17.3	2.2	0.0	50.0	0.0	1.0	57.5	0.0
Guidebook	0.0	1.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
European names	0.0	0.0	45.7	0.0	0.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	69.6
Lighter skin	0.0	0.0	41.3	0.0	0.0	44.3	0.0	0.0	16.0

Note: DS= descendants of ‘slaves’; DE= descendants of enslavers; DM= Descendants of mullatos

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The chi-square value ( $\chi^2(10) = 57.467, p < .05$ ) also indicated that the three groups of respondents depended significantly on the source of information about descendants of enslavers. In the case of descendants of mullatos, ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors and the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors were inclined to believe that the many ‘European names replete in some former TAST communities was an

indication of the presence of descendants of mullatos. On the other hand, ‘connected other purpose’ visitors were informed by local residents. The calculated chi-square value indicates statistically significant relationship between the three groups and source of information on descendants of mullatos ( $\chi^2(12) = 82.881, \rho < .05$ ).

Notwithstanding these findings, further analysis showed significant relationship between ethnicity and source information on descendants of ‘slaves’ ( $\chi^2(48) = 135.091, \rho < .05$ ), descendants of enslavers ( $\chi^2(40) = 138.219, \rho < .05$ ) and descendants of mullatos ( $\chi^2(42) = 73.810, \rho < .05$ ). White/Caucasians sourced information from local residents regarding the presence of descendants of ‘slaves’, compared to Blacks or African-Americans who relied on genealogical research. Black Africans’ knowledge was mostly based on prior visit/personal experience. Black Caribbeans were equally informed by their prior visit/personal experience and local residents. The main source of information on descendants of enslavers identified by White/Caucasian visitors was local guides whereas Black Caribbeans, Black Africans and Black or African-Americans were heavily reliant on family/friends. Moreover, White/Caucasians, Black Caribbeans and Black or African-American were most discerning of the numerous ‘European names’ as indication of the presence of descendants of mulattos, while Black African got their information from local residents.

Several of these findings corroborate the community research. One, it confirmed the interviews with descendants of ‘slaves’ regarding their desire to share genealogical information and stories with visitors particularly diasporan Africans. In addition, it sheds light on their concern about the monetization of slave ancestry by local residents because of tourism. As the study has shown that because of their pecuniary interests in

tourism, local residents circumvent the social taboos that proscribe public disclosure of people's ancestry.

About 36.4% of the United States visitors got to know about the presence of descendants of 'slaves' from genealogical research whereas those from the Netherlands (37.5%) consulted books/libraries/history lessons in schools. The Norwegian (80.%) and British (39.7%) respondents were informed by local residents respectively. There were some variations in sources of information relating to descendants of enslavers. About 60.7% of respondents from the United States mentioned family/friends while Norwegians and British respondents stated local guides. The respondents from Netherlands became aware through family/friends (39.3%) as well as local guides (35.7%). In the case of descendants of mullatos, all the respondents from the various jurisdictions referenced the prevalence of 'Europeans names' and 'lighter skinned' people in the communities. The results of chi-square test indicated statistically significant relationship between ethnicity and sources of information about descendants of 'slaves' ( $\chi^2(36) = 125.028, \rho < .05$ ), descendants of enslavers ( $\chi^2(30) = 81.953, \rho < .05$ ) and descendants of mullatos ( $\chi^2(36) = 67.373, \rho < .05$ ). The results indicated that respondents from countries that played an instrumental role in the TAST were likely to know the existence of the different social groups within former TAST communities.

Respondents were asked whether they interacted with the different social groups during their tour. The 'connected slavery heritage' respondents (73.6%) had a higher percentage of affirmative responses. Majority (86.6%) of the 'not connected other purpose' indicated that they did not interact with descendants of 'slaves'. Furthermore, more than half of the respondents in the three groups claimed that they did not interact

with descendants of enslavers nor traditional authorities in the different TAST communities. However, all the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents, 66.0% of the ‘connected other purpose’ respondents and 71.9% of the ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents indicated that they interacted with local residents. Given that an overwhelming proportion of the sample reported being aware of the presence of these social groups and some having researched or consulted about them, this was a remarkably high figure.

Although respondents were not asked the frequency or intensity of their interactions, given the previous findings about knowledge of the presence of different social groups and sources of information it could be safely concluded that the host-guest encounters progressed, beyond the superficial and casual levels. Particularly for the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents who reported doing genealogy research, the interaction with descendants of ‘slaves’ was a deeply enriching engagement and a source of collective identity confirmation. According to Basu (2004), the importance of roots/family history tourists being drawn to specific individuals they have researched before journeying cannot be underestimated.

In the case of interactions with other visitors, the results show lower percentage recorded for the ‘connected slavery heritage’ cohort compared to the rest of the groups (Table 8.10). The chi-square value showed statistically significant relationship between interaction with visitors of other ethnic identities and the three visitor groups. The implication here is that spatial interaction between visitors at TAST sites was dependent on visitor’s connection to TAST and trip purpose.

**Table 8.10: Interactions and dispositions toward tourists of different ethnic identity**

Question	Response	Group (%)			Total (%)	$\chi^2$ Statistic ( $\rho$ - values)
		Connected slavery heritage ( <i>n</i> = 121)	Connected other purpose ( <i>n</i> = 47)	Not connected other purpose ( <i>n</i> = 388)		
Did you interact with tourists of other ethnicities during your visit?	Yes	27.3	93.6	83.5	72.1	156.857
	No	72.7	6.4	16.5	27.9	(.001*)
Are you comfortable with tourists of other ethnicities visiting TAST sites?	Yes	16.5	87.2	95.9	77.9	339.679
	No	83.5	12.8	4.1	22.1	(.001*)

\*  $\rho \leq .05$

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Given that previous studies have repeatedly indicated friction between visitors of different racial orientations, the respondents were asked once again to indicate whether they were comfortable with tourists of other ethnicity/race visiting TAST sites. Similar to the above results, about 83.5% of the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents responded in the negative while the rest; that is, 87.2% of the ‘connected other purpose’ and 95.2% of the ‘not connected other purpose’ cohorts responded in the affirmative (Table 8.10). The chi-square value also indicated significant relationship between the visitor groups and their dislike for tourists of other ethnic identities. This result was of no surprise given that majority of the ‘connected slavery heritage’ cohort were members of the African diaspora whom previous studies and indeed the current study had noted have aversion to the presence of other visitors at TAST sites. It further gives credence to the findings in Table 8.4 where the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were worried



about racialised encounters at WHS. For MacCannell (1992), as well as Hitchcock (1999), ethnic identity within the tourism realm generates unequal relationships between the ‘self’ and ‘other’.

Furthermore, respondents were asked to rate the importance to their total experience of the presence of other visitors from different ethnic backgrounds on a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 indicated “not at all important” and 7 “extremely important”). The result showed that the ‘not connected other purpose’ sub-group were more likely to think the presence of other visitors from other ethnic identities was important in their total experience. One-way ANOVA was performed to test whether differences existed among the groups and the importance they attached to the presence of other visitors from different ethnic backgrounds in their total experience. The result showed no statistically significant differences between the groups ( $F(2, 553) = 0.45, p > .05$ ). The lack of statistical difference implied that the presence of tourist of other ethnic identity did not influence the overall experiences and engagement at TAST sites.

However, when respondents were asked to explain in an open-ended format why the presence of visitors from other ethnicities was important in their total experience, the responses provided a deeper understanding of the subtleties of collective memory, heritage and identity. Particularly for the connected slavery heritage and the not connected other purpose visitors, the reasons were quite revealing. Content analysis of the comments suggested that majority of connected slavery heritage visitors felt that visitors regardless of ethnicity or racial orientation should be educated about the TAST. However, delineating education was to confront the dark past. Their comments were indisputably infused with racial tensions.

We must all learn about the qualities of man's inhumanity towards man (# 284).

Mainly Black Caribbeans need to know their history as many Black people in other countries don't know it (#200).

They should not be admitted inside. It is a historical and emotional experience to be endured by Africans and African diasporans (#075).

Important for all to learn the history so that it is not repeated. In addition, it's important for Europeans to understand they are privileged because of slavery (# 209).

There is still a lot of discrimination and what we can learn is how to treat each other well so we can improve race relations (# 491).

Some also while indirectly questioning the legitimacy of the other visitors' presence at TAST sites, replaced spectacle with solemnity.

I am here for my own edification; the presence or absence of others does not affect that (# 352).

I was more focused on my heritage and gaining as much knowledge as possible. To be honest, I was not paying attention to them or other ethnicities (#242).

Majority of the 'not connected other purpose' tourists stressed the importance of global memory. For these respondents the value of global memory ensures a harmonious relationship between the past the present while sustaining the plurality and diversity of a global citizen.

I think awareness of the horrible past concerning slavery is important and that regardless of one's ethnic background all humans are equal (# 432).

It's important for everybody, race does not matter (#137).

Slave Trade is important for global history. Many countries were involved (# 102).

The more a person learns about the other cultures and their history, the better he/she can make discussions in his or her life (# 171).

For others who perhaps felt themselves confronted by the site, memorialisation was an instinctual reaction to the reproduction of social cohesion against ‘white shame’.

It’s a global tragedy with many races involved. It is also educational and it is something that should not be forgotten (# 344).

Nice if both western tourists and African-American tourists learn from this place (# 389).

The entire world was/is affected by the Slade Trade so everyone should hear about the horrors perpetrated by Europeans (# 080).

### *8.3.2 Attitudes to the SRP*

The same awareness and support for SRP questions asked in the community research were administered to visitors. The purpose of administering the same question to the visitors was to compare and contrast the level of knowledge and support regarding the SRP with those held by community members and groups. In general, respondents of the three groups were aware of the SRP and supported it (Table 8.11). The ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors reported higher percentages of awareness and support of the SRP compared to the ‘connected other purpose’.

On the other hand, the ‘not connected other purpose’ were not aware of the SRP and, thus, were less supportive. Since majority were unaware, they were uncertain of their responses. The Pearson’s chi-square test was utilized to test the relationship between percentage of awareness and support or opposition to the SRP and the three groups of respondents. The results show statistically significant relationship between awareness of the SRP ( $\chi^2 (2) = 112.555, p < .05$ ) and support ( $\chi^2 (4) = 51.026, p < .05$ ) and the three sub-groups. That is, knowledge and support or opposition to the SRP and the three groups of respondents was related.

**Table 8.11: Awareness and support for SRP**

Question	Response	Group (%)			Total (%)
		Connected slavery heritage (n = 121)	Connected other purpose (n = 47)	Not connected other purpose (n = 388)	
Are you aware of UNESCO's SRP?	Yes	100.0	76.6	47.0	61.3
	No	0.0	23.4	52.6	38.7
Do you support UNESCO's SRP?	Yes	76.9	72.3	47.4	55.9
	No	14.9	6.4	11.9	12.1
	Unsure	8.3	21.3	40.7	32.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

### 8.3.3 Perceived social contestations of heritage

Eleven items were employed to ascertain whether respondents' presence at former TAST communities/sites conflates the social dissonance of collective heritage. The mean responses for each attitude item are presented in Table 8.12. Surprisingly, it looked likely that the 'not connected other purpose' cohort knew more than the average visitor regarding TAST history and national heritage linked to the TAST. As the results show, the respondents felt they now knew more about the historical importance of former TAST communities/sites and their countries historical connection to the collective memory of the TAST. This confirmed the previous finding that respondents from countries that participated in the TAST were interested in their country's heritage somehow linked to the TAST.

**Table 8.12: Perceived social contestations of heritage**

Statement	Connected slavery heritage (n=121)		Connected other purpose (n=47)		Not connected other purpose (n=388)	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
	I feel I learnt something of historical importance at former TAST communities/sites	5.82 <sup>a</sup>	0.78	5.65	1.43	6.38
I gained insights into the collective memory and history of the TAST	6.08	0.86	5.91	1.23	5.88	0.94
I am interested to learn more about my own heritage somehow connected to the collective memory of the TAST	6.11	1.15	5.38	1.63	5.56	1.32
The visit to TAST relics/sites raised my awareness of my country's history somehow connected to the collective memory of the TAST	5.09	1.05	5.34	1.14	5.70	1.19
The sources of information I consulted about the Slave Route communities/sites before my trip influenced my expectations	6.03	0.97	5.12	1.20	4.92	1.36
My experiences matched my actual experiences at former TAST communities/sites	5.78	1.05	5.36	1.20	5.22	1.11
The stories about TAST relics/sites complement each other	5.66	1.22	5.23	1.33	5.20	1.16
The interactions I had with tourists from different ethnic/racial backgrounds at TAST communities/sites are an important part of my experiences	5.52	1.23	5.85	1.35	6.14	1.06

**Table 8.12. Continued**

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The interactions I have with local residents are important part of my experiences as a tourist	5.42	1.32	5.42	1.26	5.98	1.32
The interactions I had with descendants of ‘slaves’ or enslavers are an important part of my experience as a tourist	5.78	1.29	4.61	1.54	4.19	0.62
The interactions I had with traditional authorities are important part of my experience as a tourist	4.87	1.38	5.44	1.26	4.72	1.26

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<sup>a</sup>Scale from 1= strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Moreover, the ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents felt their interactions with local residents were important part of their experience while the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors felt same with visitors of different ethnic/racial backgrounds. These findings confirm earlier observation that in comparison to the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors, these two sub-groups felt their engagement with local residents and presence of tourists of other ethnicities were important attributes of their experiences at TAST sites. It also raises an important question regarding the ways in which the two segments especially the ‘not connected other purpose’ sub-group appropriate their past. In fact, anecdotal evidence suggests visitors from countries that participated in the TAST, notably Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway perceived their interactions with local residents as facilitating the deep experiences of the community.

Given their connection and motivation to TAST memory sites, it was not surprising that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors gained more insight into their

personal heritage. They also felt their pre-trip information about the Slave Routes influenced their expectations and were likely to perceive that stories about TAST relics/sites complement each other. As a result, their expectations matched their experiences given that they did some pre-trip genealogical research and their inclination towards encountering descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. This result appeared to support the interview findings with descendants of ‘slaves’.

#### **8.4 Spatial context of contested heritage**

This section examines the use of collective slave memories as an expression of place-identity. As previously noted, given the difference between and within former TAST communities, collective heritage is place-bound. Consequently, the community or site serves both as the product to be promoted for cultural tourism, and at the same time developed in pursuit of spatio-temporal objectives.

##### *8.4.1 Spatial behaviour of visitors*

Having examined the spatial context of collective slave memories from the community perspective, visitors were asked a number of questions that gauged spatial contested heritages. The respondents were first asked to choose five Slave Route communities they considered most suitable as slavery heritage destinations in Ghana from a limited list that includes 10 out of 63 documented former slave market sites (Table 8.13) (Perbi, 2004).

**Table 8.13: Respondents preferred slavery heritage destinations/sites**

Site	Rank	Group (%)			Total (%)
		Connected slavery heritage	Connected other purpose	Not connected other purpose	
<i>Elmina</i>	1	23.8	22.4	22.8	23.0
Cape Coast	2	24.3	22.9	21.3	22.0
<i>Salaga</i>	3	19.3	18.7	19.1	19.1
<i>Assin Manso</i>	4	17.0	19.2	15.0	15.8
<i>Gwollo</i>	5	8.2	9.3	15.9	13.9
<i>Anomabo</i>	6	1.9	2.3	2.1	2.1
<i>Osu</i>	7	3.6	1.4	1.4	1.8
<i>Abonse</i>	8	0.4	1.9	1.0	0.9
<i>Bono Manso</i>	9	1.3	0.5	0.7	0.8
<i>Paga Nania</i>	10	0.0	1.4	0.6	0.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*		522	214	1914	2650

\*The frequency count exceeds 556 because of multiple responses offered by respondents.

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

In the order of ranking, *Elmina* (23.0%), Cape Coast (22.0%) *Salaga* (19.1%), *Assin Manso* and *Gwollo* (13.9) each were considered the most preferred slavery heritage destinations (Table 8.13). No significant differences were observed in frequency distribution of the mentioned sites between the three sub-samples of ‘connected slavery heritage’, ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ respondents. Moreover, although the result in Table 8.13 is hardly surprising, it highlighted a whole range of issues regarding the market appeal and viability of these sites as cultural tourism products. As mentioned elsewhere in the current study, apart from the famed forts and castles at Cape Coast and *Elmina*, many of TAST related assets would have to be transformed into cultural heritage products for easy, contemporary consumption by visitors.



Nonetheless, the survey set out to investigate the spatial movements of visitors on the Slave Routes. Respondents were asked if they had visited or planned to visit TAST sites or communities other than where the survey captured them. As expected, movements and spatial behaviour differed among the three groups of visitors. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were more likely to visit other TAST sites on the Slave Routes compared to the other sub-samples. This result, though patchy, does at least give an indication that the pattern of consumption of TAST-related relics is highly selective. While respondents were not directly queried as to why they had not visited or planned to visit other TAST sites, the dispersed nature of TAST sites meant travelling to attractions on the Slave Routes was circuitous, time-consuming and costly. Anecdotal evidence suggests factors of constraints rather than choice account for the disproportionate consumption of former TAST communities/sites.

Those, who responded in the affirmative, were then asked to indicate whether they expected their experiences at any of the aforementioned former TAST community/sites to be different. The results revealed that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were likely to think their experiences would be different than the rest. The chi-square test result revealed statistically significant relationship between the three sub-samples in relation to expected experience at TAST communities/sites ( $\chi^2 (4) = 20.831, p < .05$ ). Thus, the three sub-samples of respondents appear to have a stronger propensity to visit other TAST communities/sites because of experiential differences to be experienced.

The survey in an open-ended question asked participants identify reasons underlying their stance. The varied responses were grouped into categories as the text

presented them. Patterns were identified in the initial coding before being quantified. The categories were re-categorised into specific and meaningful categories and themes for ease of interpretation. As presented in Table 8.14, reasons differed significantly between the sub-groups of visitors.

First the connected slavery heritage group tended to believe that differences were likely because of the asset's cultural significance. Respondents did not have a positive view of TAST heritage assets designated as WHS and felt other TAST sites presented a much symbolic and richer experience in appreciating the past. This contradicts narratives of descendants of 'slaves' in Cape Coast and *Elmina* regarding the historical importance of those edifices. Typical comments made by the connected slavery heritage respondents support this claim. They wrote:

The north may shed more overall light on the history, creation and implementation of slavery (# 211).  
and,

The different places have different icons, which means different things for different people. For me, the Slave River has spiritual, emotional or physical healing or benefit than the 'European' dungeons (# 261).

While there was some evidence that majority of this sub-group were mainly diasporan Africans resentful of the touristified representations of the Slave Routes, this affirmed the view that cultural heritage assets designated as WHS were perceived in a different way to other TAST icons. This makes interesting the earlier discussion, which suggested that the 'connected slavery heritage' respondents perceived the Cape Coast Castle as the most preferred slavery heritage site in Ghana.

**Table 8.14: Respondents’ stated reasons for perceived differences in experiences at former TAST communities/site**

Theme	Group (%)			Total (%)
	Connected slavery heritage	Connected other purpose	Not connected other purpose	
Local guide interpretation	1.8	40.0	20.2	17.6
European influence	3.6	5.0	72.4	50.8
History	29.1	30.0	7.4	14.3
Universal vs. symbolic reminder	65.5	25.0	0.0	17.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*	55	20	163	238

\*Frequency count less than 556 because it includes affirmative responses to the previous question  
Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Conversely, 40.0% of the ‘connected other purpose’ respondents believed a different experience was dependent on guide services (Table 8.14). Respondents elucidated the role of the tour guide in communicating the significance of the site. Whilst the quality of interpretation influences the absorption of the asset’s cultural values by the visitor, there is a danger that because heritage is multi-consumed different groups can interpret an asset in various ways at different times. One of the striking observations made during the fieldwork was the presentation of hard historical facts by tour guides at the Cape Coast and *Elmina* castles that stirred emotional sensibilities of different visitors from different backgrounds. This lends support to some of the comments made by respondents.

Depends on your local guide...Have visited *Elmina* and it was very interesting (more shocking and real than Cape Coast Castle though). (# 163)

Each expresses a different aspect of the experiences of my ancestors (# 216).

The ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors seemed more inclined to believe that TAST experiences were derivatives of the different European influence during the slaving era (Table 8.14). Comments generally supported the notion that although most European settlers built fortifications along the coast, their socio-cultural and economic interactions shaped the local communities.

Because I am Dutch I may experience *Elmina* in a different way than Cape Coast for instance, because the Dutch used Elmina in the past. Nevertheless I don't think I should personally feel guilty for the things my ancestors have done (# 110).

Because I am European, I am not so interested in all of them. When I have seen one or two occupied by the English; I have seen most of them and got enough information (# 407).

Each has its own history because different Europeans constructed the forts (# 016).

Since not all the Slave Route sites were built by the same European countries, my experiences would be different (# 185)

A chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test was undertaken to establish any significant relationship evident between the three sub-samples and expectations of experience at TAST sites. The result indicated a statistical relationship between the sub-samples in their expectations of experiences at TAST sites ( $\chi^2 (6) = 181.765, \rho < .05$ ). Again, a contingency coefficient of .658 was obtained indicating a strong relationship existed.

#### 8.4.2 Perceived spatial complexes

The final part of the survey asked respondents to rate along a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree) 20 items that were used to measure spatial contestations of heritage. Table 8.15 shows the means and standard deviations. The first complexes constitute cultural values of TAST-related sites. As indicated in Table 8.15, the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors felt that local residents on Slave Routes wanted tourism. On the contrary, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were less likely to believe TAST sites in the south were of international significance more than those in north.

**Table 8.15: Attitudes to spatial contestations of heritage**

Statement	Connected slavery heritage (n=121)		Connected other purpose (n=47)		Not connected other purpose (n=388)	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD
	Local residents on the Slave Routes want tourist/tourism	5.77 <sup>a</sup>	1.06	5.78	1.06	5.48
Slave trade relics/sites in the south are of international significance more than those of the north <sup>b</sup>	4.25	1.99	2.29	1.06	1.30	0.46
Slave trade relics/sites in the south create an emotional connection more than those in the north	4.66	1.84	4.19	1.56	4.01	1.77
Slave trade relics/sites in the south are worth conserving as part of the collective memory of TAST more than those in the north	4.62	1.56	4.14	1.79	5.93	1.52

**Table 8.15. Continued**

Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana cannot be accessed because of lack of infrastructure	4.67	1.40	4.40	1.55	4.51	1.18
The forts and castles are more commodified for use than slave markets	5.10	1.11	4.72	1.37	4.59	1.08
The efforts (time and cost) required to travel to northern Ghana does not make it worthwhile <sup>b</sup>	3.58	1.52	4.40	1.88	3.98	1.61
Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana are similar but near other attractions <sup>b</sup>	6.82	0.86	1.36	0.48	1.66	1.05
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana are different but far apart from each other	4.70	1.05	4.48	1.30	4.52	0.93
There is sufficient information on the forts/castles more than other Slave Trade relics/sites	5.22	1.20	5.17	1.32	5.27	0.95
The forts and castles have better tourist appeal than slave markets	5.33	1.20	6.29	1.06	6.45	0.99
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana have a potential to offer interesting experiences if developed	5.33	1.12	5.21	1.50	5.09	1.08
Slave forts/castles offer better experiences to tourists because they are World Heritage Sites	4.68	1.42	6.57	0.49	5.71	1.47
Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana provide a more participatory, engaging and entertaining experience than those in the north	4.77	1.35	6.93	0.43	5.48	1.61

**Table 8.15. Continued**

The forts and castles meet different tourists expectations	5.33	1.04	5.48	1.47	5.21	1.17
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana are more authentic than those in the south	6.07	1.39	4.38	1.36	4.54	1.01
The forts and castles are not authentic <sup>b</sup>	2.07	1.79	6.08	1.61	4.21	1.57
There is better interpretation of the Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana than those in the north	4.91	1.37	6.57	0.49	5.76	1.41
Interpretation currently available at the forts and castles hurt the sensibilities of some tourists	5.12	1.64	4.48	1.71	4.72	1.49
Interpretation at <i>Elmina</i> Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Fort St. Jago are the same	5.28	1.33	6.51	0.50	6.18	1.26

<sup>a</sup> Scale from 1= strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree

<sup>b</sup> Reverse coded item

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

At the same time, they were less favourable to the idea that TAST relics or sites in the north created an emotional connection to the TAST than those in the north. While there was a tendency for the two stances to be mutually exclusive, it was a good pointer that connection to TAST heritage and prior interest in slavery heritage determined whose and which heritage was of value. It was interesting to note that, consistent with the earlier discussion, the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors reckoned that TAST sites in the south were more worth conserving as part of collective memory than those in the north. This seems to indicate that the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors fully appreciate their countries heritage linked to the TAST sites, a trait missing in the body of extant literature.

The pattern with the physical values complexes did not change with regard to the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors’ disposition towards heritage accessibility and commodification. This finding, perhaps, supports the earlier observation that notwithstanding constraints to TAST heritage sites, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors did not anticipate different experiences at different TAST sites. The result also confirmed the respondents’ feelings that the forts and castles were more commodified for tourists use than the slave markets. These findings put into perspective the earlier observation related to respondents’ views on the dichotomy between universal reminders versus symbolic reminders of collective slave memory and the use of forts and castles as spectacles of collective slave memory.

The third complexes assessed the product values of TAST relics at different scales. As Table 8.15 indicates, the ‘connected other purpose’ respondents felt strongly about the statement that the effort (in terms of time and cost) required to travel to the northern parts of the country was not worthwhile. Consistent with the above findings, the ‘connected other purpose’ respondents were less likely to perceive that TAST sites in southern Ghana were similar but near other attractions. Likewise, they were less likely to think that TAST relics in northern Ghana were different but far apart from one another. These findings would suggest that personal heritage interest was important in the decision to visit TAST memory sites. Table 8.15 also documents that the not connected other purpose visitors agreed that there was more information available on the forts and castles than other TAST relics, and that the forts and castles had a better tourist appeal than slave markets.



The final complex dealt with the experiential values of collective heritage but blurred with the previous complexes. The ‘connected other purpose’ respondents thought that the forts and castles offer better experiences to tourists because of their designation as WHS. This pattern was repeated with the statement that TAST sites in southern Ghana provided more participatory, engaging and entertaining experience than those in the north. They also indicated that the forts and castles were likely to meet different tourists expectations and disagreed that the fortifications were not authentic. They also were likely to think that interpretations about the southern TAST sites were better than those in the north and experienced serial monotony effects at Cape Coat Castle, *Elmina* Castle and Fort St. Jago.

Following similar results obtained, Table 8.15 shows that the connected slavery heritage respondents felt that TAST sites in northern Ghana had the potential to offer interesting experiences if developed. It was unclear if response to this statement indicated respondents would support commodification given that many of the northern Slave Route sites are the raw products that cannot be consumed. Given the earlier results that respondents were sensitive to the presence of other visitors from different ethnic orientation, they indicated that interpretation currently at the forts and castles hurt the sensibilities of some tourists. Finally, they were more inclined to believe that TAST sites in northern Ghana were more authentic than those in the south.

### **8.5 Underlying dimensions of multiple contested heritages**

In order to answer research question three: *what are the underlying dimensions explaining the multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes?*, EFA was performed.

This question was examined by testing the hypothesis that:

*Ho; No underlying dimension will emerge from the analysis of tourists' expectations, attitudes, and experiences at TAST sites relative to the presence of multiple contested heritages*

Factor analysis using PAF with Direct Oblimin rotation was conducted to reduce the forty-five items (i.e. 11 social, 14 political and 20 spatial contestations items) into three interpretable factors. The appropriateness of using factor analysis was determined by examining the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity. After rotation of the three factors a KMO = .84 was obtained which was appropriate by KMO guidelines (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2001). A significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ( $\chi^2(55) = 3150.903, < .05$ ) also suggested that the data set was suitable for factor analysis. Further, the three factors had an eigenvalue of greater than one and none of the items had a loading lower than .40 on the factors (Hatcher, 1994). The three-factor solution retained 11 items explaining cumulatively 60.73% of the variance. Reliability alphas of the three factors were .62, .68 and .73 respectively.

Table 8.16 presents the specific factor analysis results. The items that clustered on the same factors suggest factor 1 represents spatio-political considerations; factor 2 was labelled heritage accessibility and factor 3 sustainability/WHS ideals. The respondents felt the continuing tension between sites considered local heritage from the point of view of collective memory and those considered to have outstanding universal value. They also felt strongly that unbalanced development and structural factors such as physical access and infrastructure were the main barriers to TAST sites at various spatial scales. They further believed WHS designation impacted on the sustainability and conservation of TAST sites. Consequently, in answer to research question three, the discovery of three dimensions underlying visitors' heritage-related contentions at former

TAST communities/sites enabled the rejection of the null hypothesis. The finding was that three factors underlie visitors' attitudes towards multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes.

**Table 8.16: Factor analysis of multiple contested heritages (*N* = 556)**

Scale items	Rotated factor loadings		
	Spatio-political considerations	Heritage accessibility	Sustainability/WHS ideals
It would be better not to have Slave relics/sites inscribed on World heritage List	-.859		
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage Site fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST	.837		
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage will constantly remind descendants of 'slaves' of their embarrassing past	.768		
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST	.766		
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflicts with local meaning of heritage.	.759		
Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana are similar but near attractions	.753		
Slave Trade relics/sites in the south are of more national and international significance than those of the north	.722		
Slave Trade relics in northern Ghana are different but far from each other		.779	
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana cannot be accessed because of lack of infrastructure		.680	
Having the designation of World Heritage status is good for all of humanity			.816

**Table 8.16. Continued**

Slave Trade relics/sites should be protected for future generations			.712
Eigenvalues	4.42	1.18	1.07
% of variance	40.24	10.75	9.73
$\alpha$	.62	.68	.73

Scale from 1= strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Further analysis using MANOVA was conducted to determine significant differences between the visitor groups with respect to the three identified factors. Its application enables the identification of theoretically-related dependent variables. In addition, the technique reduces the risk of Type I error by controlling effect of the independent variable on the dependent variables instead of examining each dependent variable separately (Biskin, 1983; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Pillai's Trace statistic was used because of its robustness as the Box's  $M$  test of assumption of equal variance was not upheld,  $M= 125.015$ ,  $F(12, 79849.323) = 10.24$ ,  $\rho < .05$  (Mertler & Vannatta, 2002). The results of the MANOVA revealed the factors differed significantly between the three sub-groups of visitors, Pillai's Trace = 0.69,  $F(6, 1104) = 97.628$ ,  $\rho < .05$ . However, separate univariate ANOVAs on the factors revealed significant difference between the sub-groups of visitors and their perception of spatio-political contestations of heritage,  $F(2,553) = 601.0$ ,  $\rho < .05$  and sustainability/WHS ideals,  $F(2, 553) = 8.92$ ,  $\rho < .05$ .

The results show the 'connected slavery heritage' visitors were likely to perceive the presence of spatio-political dissonance because of the designation of some TAST cultural assets WHSs. On the other hand, the 'not connected other purpose' are more

likely to appreciate WHS designation in preserving and unlocking the intrinsic value from TAST sites in a sustainable manner (Table 8.17). However, there was a non-significant difference between the sub-groups in terms of heritage accessibility factors,  $F(2, 553) = 1.594, \rho > .05$  (Table 8.17). Thus, constraint imposed by accessibility to TAST memory sites had no significant effect on the sub-groups' perceptions of multiple heritage contestations on the Slave Routes.

**Table 8.17: MANOVA of multiple contested heritage factors by groups**

Factors	Means <sup>a</sup>			Univariates	
	Connected slavery heritage	Connected other purpose	Not connected other purpose	<i>F</i>	$\rho$
Spatio-political considerations	5.69	4.19	3.22	610.0	.001*
Heritage accessibility	4.69	4.44	4.52	1.59	.204
Sustainability and WHS ideals	5.61	5.94	6.14	8.92	.001*

Note: Agreement score was measured on a 7-point scale where 1= strongly disagree and 7=strongly agree

\*  $\rho \leq .05$

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Further, Games-Howell post hoc tests suggested that the 'connected slavery heritage' visitors were more likely to perceive the presence of spatio-political considerations factors. Similarly, they were less likely to recognise the impact of WHS designation as a catalyst for sustainability and conservation of TAST relics than the not connected other purpose visitors.

Following the MANOVA procedure, discriminant analysis was conducted to determine whether the three multiple contested heritage factors could predict visitors

attitudes. The first discriminant function explained 99.9% of the variance, canonical  $R^2 = .69$ , whereas the second explained only 1.0%, canonical  $R^2 = .16$ . The overall discriminant functions significantly differentiated the three sub-groups,  $\Lambda = 0.31$ ,  $\chi^2(6) = 650.482$ ,  $p < .05$ . However, removing the first function indicated that the residual function did not significantly differentiate the three sub-groups of visitors,  $\Lambda = 0.99$ ,  $\chi^2(2) = 8.62$ ,  $p < .05$ .

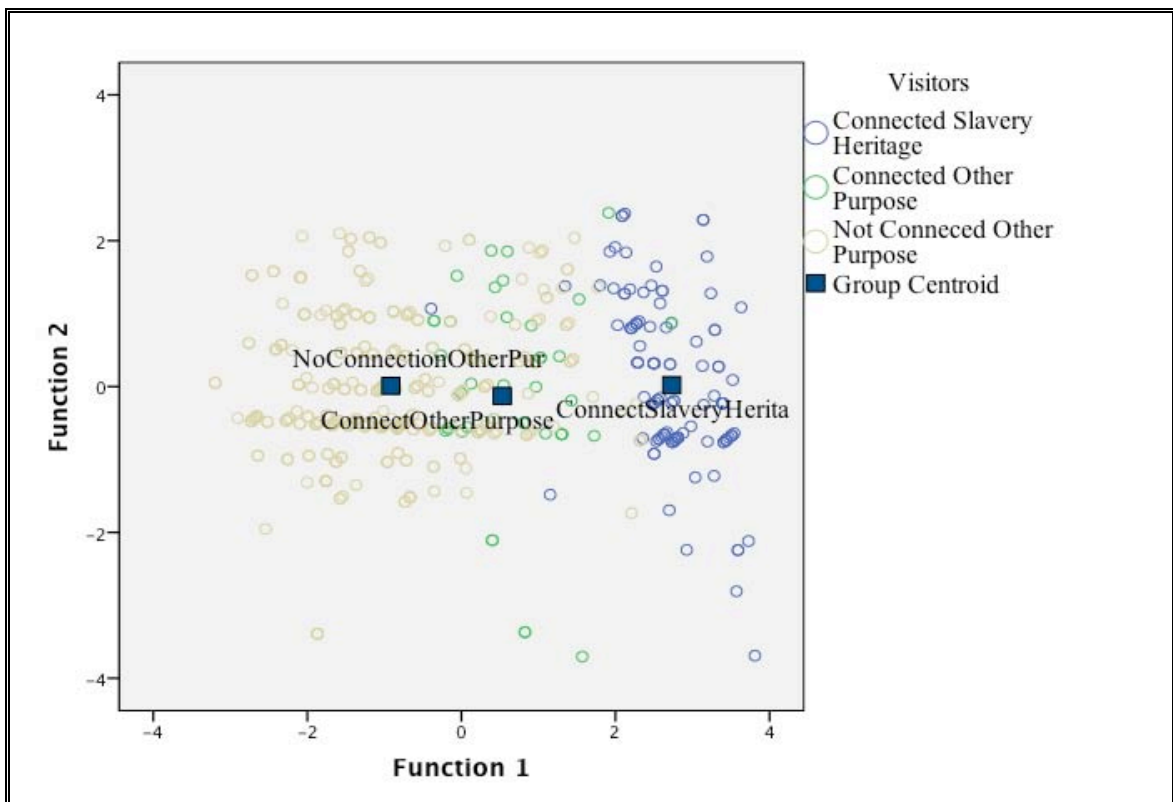
Table 8.18 presents the within-groups correlations between the predictors and the discriminant functions as well as the standard weights. The correlations between the factors and the discriminant functions revealed that spatio-political considerations demonstrate the strongest relationship with the first discriminant function while sustainability and WHS ideals show a negative relationship. On the other hand, heritage accessibility shows the strongest relationship with the second discriminant function, while spatio-political considerations show a weaker relationship.

**Table 8.18: Standardized coefficient of predictor variables with two discriminant functions**

Factors	Correlation coefficient with discriminant function		Standardized coefficient for discriminant function	
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 1	Function 2
	Spatio-political considerations	.99	.09	1.00
Sustainability/WHS ideals	-.12	-.06	-.10	1.00
Heritage accessibility	.04	.99	-.08	-.07

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Figure 8.1 shows the combined discriminant plot classification of the three visitors. The discriminant function plot showed that the first function discriminate the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors from the rest of the visitors, and the second function differentiate the ‘connected other purpose’ from the other sub-groups. Thus the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were generally different while the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors sit in between. Some factors such as spatio-political consideration fit the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors while some fit the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors.



**Figure 8.1: Separation of groups on discriminant functions**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

## 8.6 Summary

This chapter identified the socio-demographic profiles and trip characteristics of three groups of visitors to TAST sites. Each stratum appeared different and exhibited different behaviours. Moreover, each sub-group forms a continuum of attitudes and habits that tend to influence multiple contested heritages amongst them and connectivities to the site.

The demographic relationship shows that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors were mainly from the United States, older, well educated, middle class and Black or African-American. The ‘connected other purpose’ visitors were mainly from the United States and England, were younger, less educated but had higher incomes and were often from mixed racial backgrounds. The ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors on the other hand, tended to be young from several countries, single, White/Caucasian and predominately middle class. There were statistically significant relationship between some trip characteristics and the groups of visitors.

Generally, awareness and support for the WHP was high. However, the ‘connected other purpose’ cohort were more knowledgeable and supported the WHP more than other groups. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors support the WHP because it preserves the history of the TAST while the others thought CHM issues were important. Even though the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors and ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors were aware about the WHP, there was seemingly greater awareness of the site’s connection to TAST. It was notable, though that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors viewed the site as personal heritage whereas the ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors visited TAST for education,



morbid curiosity, knowledge of the past and interest in cultural tourism. It was also interesting to note the political contestations of heritage between the groups depending on their connection. The data suggested that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ and the ‘connected other purpose’ visitors were similar yet their stated reasons in support and opposition to the WHP and reasons for visiting TAST sites showed discrepancies. For most ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors, designating TAST sites as WHS was important but a painful reminder. The ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors saw TAST sites as tourism sites but did not feel any personal connection and responsibility whereas the connected other purpose felt WHS recognition was needed and they tended to value the designation.

It seemed evident that all the three groups of visitors were aware of the presence of different social groups within the communities although the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors showed marked differences in their prior knowledge of descendants of African ‘slaves’ and descendants of African enslavers. Whether this was due to their ignorance or disinterest in understanding the community dynamics was a research question meriting further investigation. However, it was notable that the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors knew the presence of descendants of African ‘slaves’ through genealogical research while they were informed about the presence of descendants of African enslavers and descendants of mullatos through family/friends and ‘European names’ respectively. On the other hand, ‘connected other purpose’ and ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors were informed by local residents, local/tour guides and realised the numerous ‘European names replete in the communities. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ sub-group generally expressed discomfort about the presence of tourists of

other ethnicities or racial orientation at TAST sites. The chi-square results showed a significant relationship between the visitor groups and their dislike for tourists of other ethnic identity. This finding conforms to the existing literature (Austin, 2002; Kreamer, 2004). The study also discovered that although they were not comfortable with tourists from other ethnic backgrounds, interactions influenced their total experience. The ANOVA test results showed statistically no significant relationship between the distribution and importance of interacting with tourists of other ethnic identities. One can therefore conclude that contestations exist among the different groups of visitors. This is probably more indicative of the multi-layered nature of engagement at TAST sites, which had more resonance for the ‘connected slavery heritage’ sub-group given their shared experiences of past injustices.

Most of the ‘connected slavery heritage’ respondents knew and supported the idea of the SRP more than the rest of the sub-groups. Clearly, as indicated by the chi-square, a significant relationship was found between awareness and support for the SRP. Respondents with higher knowledge were likely to support the SRP. More importantly, the ‘not connected other purpose’ felt that they had learned more about the historical importance of TAST sites which in turn raised their awareness about their jurisdiction’s history linked to the collective memory of the TAST. They also felt their engagement with local residents was important to the valuation of experiences at the site. Different experiences of social dissonance were expressed by the ‘connected slavery heritage’ and ‘connected other purpose’ visitors.

Similarly, there was an equally strong presence of spatial dissonance expressed mostly by the ‘connected slavery heritage’ and ‘connected other purpose’ visitors. The

difference between the southern and the northern Slave Route sites as well as the tension between sites with international recognition and those considered as ensuring symbolic collective memory maintenance appeared to be issues of importance depending on connection to the TAST.

Finally, the use of factor analysis resulted in the development of three dependent variables that reflected multiple heritage contestation dimensions (spatio-political, heritage accessibility and sustainability/WHS ideals). Consequently, the third research question that suggested that no underlying dimensions would emerge to explain visitors' perception of political, social and spatial contestations was not supported. There was enough related evidence to conclude there were three underlying dimensions of multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes. The idea that the 'connected slavery heritage' visitors are more likely to perceive spatio-political dissonance while the 'not connected other purpose' visitors positive disposition that designation of TAST heritage as WHS was meaningful so long as the sites are preserved for the future and the community benefit was supported by the MANOVA models and discriminant analysis.

## **CHAPTER 9: TOWARDS DEVELOPING GHANA'S SRP FOR CULTURAL TOURISM**

### **9.1 Introduction**

The purpose for this chapter is set forth in the conceptual framework underlying the study (see Figure 2.1). The study posits that given the presence of multiple stakeholders involved in recollecting collective slave memories, the use, meaning, and commemoration of the TAST is contested on multiple fronts. As such, five research questions connected to collective slave memories were posed:

1. whose articulation of collective slave memories should be privileged in the interpretation and representation of the SRP;
2. what does 'identity' mean to the different social groups in the articulation of collective slave memories and how does it affect tourism;
3. what are the underlying dimensions explaining the multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes;
4. to what extent does multiple contested heritages provide a workable basis for developing the SRP for cultural tourism; and,
5. to what extent does the articulation of collective slave memories highlight the spatial challenges of developing the SRP as a cultural tourism product?

This chapter provides considerable insights into the study findings and how they answer the aforementioned questions. Additionally, this chapter highlights the planning and marketing implication of the results for developing Ghana's SRP for cultural tourism.

## **9.1 Whose collective slave memories?**

One important focus of the current study put to question the unified collective memory mentality implicit in the SRP. The study's contention as supported by Halbwachs' thesis and depicted in Figure 2.1 is that, the different social groups who make legitimate claim or not to the TAST gain a sense of *liminas* or *communitas* in the recollection and forgetting of collective memories. Questions of how the various social groups within and between the different former TAST communities recollect and forget memory was explored. By asking and attempting to answer this question, the realities of different social groups with different inclinations and claim to the TAST event with its associated power relationships sufficed. All in all, the findings of the current study were consistent with those precepts of collective memory put forward by Halbwachs.

### *9.1.1 Within communities scenario*

Against the backdrop of shame and resultant stigma, the study found that both descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of enslavers had distinct collected slaves memories. Each sub-group appeared to have a deeper understanding of the past and believed they had a stake in preserving it. But because the idea of slavery had been perpetuated over time and space, descendants of enslavers contest the collective slave memories of descendants of 'slaves', especially when they make forays into kinship, marriage and family inheritance. Thus, for descendants of 'slaves', the value of collective silence and forgetting gave form to the future. While they recollect the stories of their progenitors who either made or did not make it across the Atlantic, they face a quandary with inter-generational collective memory creation and maintenance. In the

former, it emerged that an all-pervading silence still existed within families of descendants of ‘slaves’ in *Assin Manso*, Cape Coast and *Elmina*. Younger members of the family for the oft-cited reason of local residents constantly reminding them of their servile origins decide not to provide details of their family history. Even though grief and pain are associated with slave narratives, alternative versions of family history are told to the younger generations. On the contrary, slave ancestry continues to remain part of the collective and provide a sense of belonging and shared identity. This situation was mainly manifested in *Salaga*.

For descendants of enslavers, recollecting slave memory was a cathartic process because the elements of their remembrances are closely related to the family tree or the value of symbolic guilt, albeit romanticized for touristic gain. Moreover, forgetting was not a desirable option especially considering the increasing spate of family inheritance feuds. To ensure that descendants of ‘slaves’ accept the past in the service of the present, truth claims of collective slave memory were contested.

Not only descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers, but also local residents were implicated in the question of whose collective slave memory. The study found contradictions implicit in local residents’ articulation of collective slave memories. Local residents’ constructed collective memory based on the community’s role during the slaving era. Additionally, the shared collective memory reflected the popular discourse and performative representations at TAST events. The findings suggest that there were different emotional experiences in the articulation of collective slave memories both with respect to the involvement of Europeans and Africans. It was of note that whereas locals in *Assin Manso* expressed guilt in the treatment meted out to

their progenitors trekked from the north to the Slave River, those in Cape Coast grieved about the horrors of treatment in the castle dungeons. For residents of *Bono Manso* nothing other than sheer cruelty explained the inhuman treatment of their ancestors during the TAST. Contrary to popular discourse that Europeans were solely responsible for the injustices and human rights violations during the slaving era, *Salaga* residents were mostly revengeful against *Ashantis* in the articulation of collective slave memories.

With respect to memorialization, local residents in *Assin Manso*, Cape Coast and *Salaga* felt the maltreatment of their ancestors should be part of commemorative narratives. The arguments stressing memorialization in each of these communities was related to the roles each played during the slaving era. Thus, for those in *Assin Manso* given the narratives of slaves being bathed for the last time before their journey across the Atlantic reconnected them with their progenitors by reintegrating familial connections with members of the African Diaspora. In the case of Cape Coast, the presence of numerous fortifications and tangible heritage buildings served as constant reminders to the maltreatment of enslaved Africans in the castle dungeons. The presence of numerous tourists at the famous Cape Coast Castle contextually revived slave memories while the presence of descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers evoked the past. For *Salaga* residents, the knowledge of the community as the emporium of slaves makes explicit what the past shared with the present in terms of popular conception of community members as descendants of freed ‘slaves’. The results also showed that residents in *Elmina* remembered the trauma of their ancestors during the middle passage. Given the pivotal role played by the community, local residents felt the need to settle the wrongs that were committed against their ancestors. Lastly, *Bono*

*Manso* residents mostly wanted the memorialization of the involvement of chiefs and wealthy African merchants. While the slave memories of local residents depended largely on individuals who had knowledge of the past, it ensured social cohesion given the community's social and political make-up.

Theoretically, perhaps, it was not surprising the dialectal relationship between what local residents remember and what they prefer to forget. Because collective memory depends on social conditions, forgetting provided justification for eliminating structures that were inimical to the proper functioning of society. As with the theory, local residents preferred to forget the same slave memories related to the maltreatment of their ancestors, middle passage and involvement of chiefs and wealthy Africans merchants. While several reasons may be adduced to explain this phenomenon, in substance, the emotional pain or reverence of that pain best captured local residents' mood. Again, remembering and forgetting was related to the social hierarchy/power structures within the community. More importantly, it is argued here that despite local residents' desire to forget, their pecuniary interest in tourism fuels a search for a unified collective memory for the different collective identities within the community. In doing that, there was an element of commodification of narratives, transforming it from an intrinsic personal thing, to an extrinsic touristic product to be consumed.

As a result, expatriate diasporan Africans who have made lifelong commitments to return to their presumed homeland did not subscribe to the idea of forgetting or the use of TAST cultural assets for touristic purposes. Indeed, they emerged as particularly important social group from the qualitative research data. Their presence in the ancestral community, which had to all intent and purposes, evolved since their forbearers were



forcibly transported, conflated the field of contested slave memory. Though regarded as ‘strangers’ based on the community’s elaborate kinship system, they used their connection to TAST assets in the community to share stories of racial discrimination and injustices in their respective host countries. Their overt proselytization and criticism of efforts to preserve collective slave memory and did not receive support of everyone in the community. However, expatriate diasporan Africans considered themselves as the ‘true’ arbiters and repository of collective slave memories given the community’s need to forget and their ‘craze’ for tourism, which created multiple contested collective slave memories.

#### *9.1.2 Between communities scenario*

In looking at the different communities on the Slave Routes, that is, slave markets, slave camps and European fort factories, there was an obvious incentive to contest each other’s collective slave memories where necessary. As the findings show, the nature of collective slave memory tends to converge around the role each community played during the TAST. Paradoxically, for a very long time it was this same fault line that defined contestations between southern routes considered to beneficiaries of the TAST history and northern routes perceived as victims. This finding echo previous studies that the presence of multiple stakeholders lends itself to heritage dissonance. However, the underlying causes described here provide a useful framework developing the SRP on the Slave Routes. As with previous studies, residents in *Salaga* recounted stories of how captives were sold to *Ashanti* middlemen and European traders along the coast from where they were shipped overseas. For them, this history is downplayed and ignored in

the commemorative narratives of the TAST. Thus, underlying local residents' collective memory was the assumption that the town was significantly different and, therefore, more important than the fort communities.

As relatively latecomers in the slavery heritage destination genre, *Bono Manso* residents contested the symbolic role of *Assin Manso* in their articulation of collective slave memories. While historical accounts identified the latter as the biggest slave market that lay on the southern routes, the former perhaps due to the influence of researchers, tourism brokers and expatriate diasporan Africans who have studied or identified with it, accede to this presentation. However, for local residents in *Assin Manso* the presence of the Slave River was the prime determinant of the town's specificity on the Slave Routes.

The presence of tangible, built heritage as exemplified by the numerous fortifications underlined memory narratives of Cape Coast and *Elmina* residents. However, for residents the presence of TAST cultural assets reflected the reality, albeit a painful past. As is so often the case, residents identified the need to optimise the economic potential of such TAST cultural assets through tourism.

## **9.2 Identity in whose eyes?**

The second research question that asked whether identities of the different social groups influence articulation of collective slave memories was largely answered by the study's findings. Given the social organisation of former TAST communities and the range of social groups connected to the TAST, it was entirely unsurprising that issues of identity, group membership and representation define relations between and among the social

groups. The research resulted in the identification of four key relationships, each with its eccentricities that illustrated the influence of identities: (i) relationships between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers; (ii) relationships between descendants of ‘slaves’ and local residents; (iii) relationships between descendants of ‘slaves’ and expatriate diasporan Africans; and (iv) relationships between different types of visitors with different connections to TAST and trip purpose.

### *9.2.1 Relationships between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers*

The obvious example of how identity influences collective slave memories was the relationship between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. Although descendants of ‘slaves’ were comfortable living in *Assin Manso*, *Elmina* and Cape Coast with its slavery image, identifying with descendants of enslavers has become a social psychological dilemma. It was interesting to note that given the master-servant dichotomy that has perpetuated over time, descendants of ‘slaves’ developed a sense of belonging through the lens of descendants of enslavers.

### *9.2.2 Relationships between local residents and descendants of ‘slaves’*

The relationships between descendants of enslavers and descendants of ‘slaves’ at first present itself to the mind in the same guise as the relationships between local residents and descendants of ‘slaves’. However, by virtue of their connection and sensibilities to collective slave memory, descendants of ‘slaves’ in *Assin Manso*, *Elmina* and Cape Coast tend to be marginalised and denigrated by local residents. They were identified by

facial markings, ethnicity and in some case religious affiliation. These representations conflict with residents' feeling of attachment to collective slavery memory.

Such was the social setting of the relationships between the two groups. Ironically, although local residents valued forgetting, they had 'long' memories which were invoked in matters of marriage, chieftaincy. The implication is the idea of *mixed* identities, a situation where slave descent is either fabricated or appropriated by local residents for tourism purposes. Tourism then becomes one more ingredient in the mix as collective slave memories and representations are translated into each other.

### *9.2.3 Relationships between descendants of 'slaves' and expatriate diasporan Africans*

The relationships of descendants of 'slaves' and expatriate diasporan Africans were interesting because they show, how collective slave memory redefines socio-cultural realities at the community level. While both groups are considered cultural outsiders, expatriate diasporan Africans were markedly perceived differently because of their privileged status (mostly derived from economic class). However, for expatriate diasporan Africans who were passionate about finding their 'roots' and routes, their treatment as 'strangers' by local residents in their ancestral homelands drew them symbolically closer to descendants of 'slaves'. For reason of collective identity, this relationship delved into the personal past and operated exterior to the community boundaries. In order for this relationship to be strengthened, expatriate diasporan Africans provided the interpretative context for collective slave memories, which descendants of 'slaves' have bought into.

#### *9.2.4 Tourist-tourist interactions*

The identities of the different visitors play an important role in collective slave memories. For visitors who have personal connections to TAST and travel for slavery heritage reasons, there was a desire for personal heritage reclamation. While experiences were shared with other visitor groups, slave memories were considered distinct, exclusive and psychologically ethnic. Thus, ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors perceive their distinctiveness from other visitor groups and contested the liminal presence of other identities particularly the ‘not connected other purpose’ visitors. Despite their primordial sense of identity infused with collective slave memories, the legitimacy of other tourists did not influence experiences at the site. In this way, collective slave memories invoke identity because TAST cultural assets were confrontational.

### **9.3 Whose heritage?**

The idea that the different social groups ultimately construct their own heritage from a unique collective past was intimated by research question three, and this was largely supported. The results show disinheritance or exclusivity to the use and meaning of heritage by some former TAST communities due mainly to socio-economic and spatial disparities in development, and access to tourism-related space. This was further complicated by the UNESCO designation of some TAST sites as WHS, which imposes constraints on the interpretation of collective slave memories. Consequently, the demand for-or consumption of-TAST sites followed a time-space path in terms of motives for visiting, attitudes towards the contentious past, and expectations and experiences from

the heritage product itself. The question of whose heritage can be discussed in terms of the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy of what is regarded as collective heritage from the community as well as tourist perspectives.

### *9.3.1 Intrinsic and extrinsic dichotomy: the community dimension*

The study returned evidence to suggest that the different social groups on Slave Routes identify TAST cultural assets for their intrinsic values or significance. The physical presence of TAST relics in addition to the immutable presence of descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of enslavers were constant reminders of the past. Even though the recollection of collective slave memories did not unify collective identity, all the stakeholder groups seemed to regard TAST cultural assets for their intrinsic worth.

However, a key factor imposing a significant effect on extrinsic valuation of TAST sites was the UNESCO designation of the southern forts and castles as WHSs. In *Salaga*, the historical accounts of that community's role in the TAST depicted continuing tensions with the southern fort communities (i.e. Cape Coast and *Elmina*). Community members questioned interpretations at the famed forts and castles given that the bulk of enslaved Africans came from the north. In addition, the unequal spatial distribution of tourism has led to marginalization and for some a distorted interpretation of the town's contribution to collective slave memories, except being one of the host towns for PANAFEST/Emancipation Day events. Such was the situation that authenticity of collective slave narratives at the forts and castles surfaced in response to the question 'whose heritage?'

Just as *Salaga* residents felt disinherited, tourism consciousness especially the extrinsic use of TAST sites as tourism attractions, appeared often in response to the community's spatio-temporal development malaise. Community members accepted that tourism would strengthen the distinctive character of the community for a wider market and that WHS designation suggested a tourist sense of place, particularly for members of the African diaspora. The case of *Salaga*, therefore, contradicts the assumptions of dissonant heritage. The questions immediately arise as to why that community felt disinherited and contested the intrinsic values of the designated WHS and yet acceded to the promotion of TAST assets in their community through similar processes. While tourism-induced socio-economic development is the *raison d'être*, the relative lack of community awareness about the WHP coupled with its distinctive social organisation imply that even if TAST sites in a community were designated as WHS, the likely answer to 'whose heritage?' would be "ours".

Likewise, the emergence of expatriate diasporan Africans as a dominant user of TAST cultural assets did trigger conflict. Despite their relatively small numbers mainly domiciled in southern Slave Route communities coupled, with their social positions as 'strangers', expatriate diasporan Africans demonstrated a sense of conflict about tourism's use of TAST cultural assets, especially in respect of the forts and castles. While they proved problematic reconciling the notion of adaptive heritage, claims of heritage appropriation or 'Europeanisation of TAST heritage' punctuated the return experience. Both situations had, in effect, established collective slave memories so monstrous as to take a life of their own. Alternatively, their disregard for universal recognition of TAST heritage was in particular reaction to perceived injustices and

trampling of human rights suffered by their ancestors. This engendered a sense of loss of collective memory and collective identity in the restitution of who were the perpetrators and who were victims.

### *9.3.2 Intrinsic and extrinsic dichotomy: the tourist dimension*

The intrinsic and extrinsic dichotomy of multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes also features from the tourist perspective. Different connections and valuations of the site raised the question of ownership. The study showed that although awareness was high about the history of a site, reasons and the motives for visiting differed. While the ‘not connected other purpose’ visited TAST sites for their extrinsic and aesthetic appeal, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors went for personal heritage. Contestations seemed to be apparent in terms of how the different visitor groups evaluated the sites as tangible heritage and a bit of history as opposed to intangible heritage and collective slave memory. Even so, the ‘not connected other purpose’ tourists from countries which were instrumental in the TAST felt their right to personal or national heritage usurped in the presentation of ‘hard’ biased history. While for the ‘connected slavery heritage’ tourists, the presentation of ‘soft’ history in order to avoid controversy and conflict distorted the tragic past. Consequently, there were intrinsic difficulties in using collective slave memories for ‘edutainment’.

Again, these difficulties were exacerbated with universal recognition of some TAST sites and the implied global collective memory of the SRP. On one hand, there was fluidity to collective slave memory and collective identity. Perhaps most notably, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitors questioned which and whose collective slave



memory was to be recollected or interpreted by whom and for whom at designated TAST WHS. Thus, different expectations and attitudes to heritage experiences at TAST sites with recognition from the global community (but promoted for touristic ends) than for one conserved primarily for its intrinsic values does upset ‘connected slavery tourists’.

On the other hand, not all tourists construe universal recognition of TAST sites for the purpose of tourism. Even if such situation existed, the broader sense of managing TAST sites in such as manner a to facilitate its consumption, particularly for educational purposes, while not interfering with its cultural values make intuitive if not practical sense. More importantly, however, reclamation of personal heritage oscillates between the temporal and spatial realities of TAST sites and the manifold identities. Clearly, there were reasons why the ‘connected other purpose’ and the ‘not connected other purpose’ tourists did not sense the spatio-political contestations of TAST heritage, even though tourism invariably draws intangible associations with collective memory and collective identity.

#### **9.4 Who consumes the slavery heritage product?**

The fourth research question implying that multiple discordant heritages work to counter the objectives of the SRP was answered. Drawing on the findings, a series of arguments were developed in answering the extent to which articulation of collective slave memories provide a workable basis for developing the SRP for cultural tourism. The evidence presented by the current study indicated that the different stakeholders could not be presumptively accorded exclusive rights to TAST heritage; each holds multiple

collective slave memories. This complexity was compounded by the unequal power/influences that militate against the emergence of a single unified amalgamation of collective slave memories. Hence, rival collective appropriation of heritage determines questions of whether commemorative narratives of the perceived victims (in this case descendants of African 'slaves' and African diaspora) be given priority over that of the perceived perpetrators (i.e. descendants of African enslavers, traditional authorities, modern white inhabitants of countries in Western Europe or North America). Again, there were the active observers (here, expatriate diasporan Africans) adjudicating between the socially distant descendants of all victims and the geographically distant of all perpetrators.

The study proved of significant value that careful considerations should be taken when examining the consumers of slavery heritage. By its very nature, the Slave Routes presented variations of consumers in terms of associations and behaviour. The 'not connected other purpose' tourists constituted the majority consumer who visited TAST memory sites; recreation/vacation featured prominently in their decision to visit. However, for those from jurisdictions that were instrumental in the TAST, the pursuit of cultural tourism activities and education formed the core motives that shaped their experience and behaviour. This visitor showed a predilection for national heritage connected to the sites, favoured the inclusion of TAST sites on the WHL and, as a result felt that such recognition was unlikely to conflict with local meaning of heritage. The 'not connected other purpose' visitor also had low awareness of the SRP but appreciated the sensibilities of collective memory and collective identities and felt WHS designation was not enough reason to erase the meaning and emotional attachment to the heritage

presented. In addition, although he or she sought to immerse himself or herself in the local way of life, knowledge of the different community stakeholders was scanty and so sought to learn more about history of the TAST. The ‘not connected other purpose’ visitor was, therefore, the postulated colonial-linked tourist analogous to Cohen’s (1979a) experimental tourist or McKercher’s (2002) serendipitous cultural tourist.

The slavery heritage tourist, for who connection to TAST and trip purpose played a critical role in the travel decision and experience, was obviously aware of the site connection to the TAST. Although sentimental about the designation of TAST relics as WHS, this person conceived of the idea in terms of its role in preserving history. The visit to TAST sites was primarily for personal heritage and appreciated local pride associated with TAST heritage. However, this person was more predisposed to the idea that WHS designation conflicts with local meaning of heritage, painful, embarrassing and constant reminder of collective slave memories. The ‘connected slavery heritage’ tourist was also more aware of the SRP and tacitly supports it, knew the presence of different social groups within the community through genealogical research and therefore engaged the site and community more intensely to the extent of resenting the presence of other tourists. Overarchingly, the ‘connected slavery heritage’ tourist referred to the ‘root tourist’, similar to Cohen’s existential tourist.

The ‘connected other purpose’ tourist presented an interesting case. Even though having connection to TAST played a decisive role in the travel decision, this person in terms of experience and engagement oscillates between the ‘connected slavery heritage’ visitor and the ‘not connected other purpose’ person. This tourist was aware of the WHP and had the most support for the programme with same reason as the ‘not connected

other' purpose visitor. Similarly, he or she knew of the SRP and supported it and like the 'connected slavery heritage' tourist was emotional about the perceived political contestations on the Slave Routes. In terms of deep experience, the encounter with different segments of the host community and tourists from other ethnicities was highly personal but did not feel disinherited. This person appeared concerned about the social and economic realities of the host community and the state of TAST cultural sites. In effect, that was the *other* tourist akin to Cohen's recreational mode and diversionary mode of tourist. This person was predominantly in the contemporary world yet experientially removed from his or her "existential mode".

The answer to the fourth research question is that the study identified three types of tourists, and especially two types—those with connection who wanted an intangible roots experience, and those with no connection who wanted an intangible, built heritage experience. While they co-exist, there was some tension, as the spaces they shared had completely different meanings and consumed differently. Given that the 'not connected other purpose' visitors constituted by far the largest cohort, the risk was that tourists in search of their roots may be forced to be the minority even at their own heritage site. Consequently, SRP might need to be defined, presented and interpreted for the majority. This issue, from a product development standpoint presents an ethical challenge: whether to cater for the majority group who were looking for a shallow experience or cater for the group that sought deep personal meaning and experience. Because heritage was first and foremost a commercial activity, the product presented could not be mismatched with prior motivation and trip purpose (Ashworth, 1994). It, therefore, stands to reason that the 'not connected other purpose' visitors will expect something

that accords with their experience. Likewise, what they were not interested in will have to be omitted. A further challenge was that as pleasure tourism grows on the Slave Routes, collective slave memories risk undergoing significant changes, as more tourists will want a tangible, sightseeing experience.

### **9.5 Whose ‘roots’, which routes?**

The final research question suggesting the complexity of relationships between spatial contexts and multiple contested slave memories was largely answered. In terms of looking at the community, each social group clearly possessed defined collected memories that somewhat awkwardly fit together in somewhat amnesic societies. Essentially, collective slave memories defined social life and family connections in the community. It also provided a useful slate upon which to assess each community’s identity within spatial dialectic of the role played during the TAST. Together, the two provided the answer that imposing a single global collective memory did not address the fact that there were multiple collective memories.

In *Elmina* and Cape Coast, the forts and castles, in addition to numerous TAST related cultural assets reflected their historical connection to the TAST. While TAST cultural assets, provided an understanding of the intangible relationship with local identity and a sense of place, the focus of the communities was creating heritage for both local and tourists’ consumption. However, the parallel existence of heritage created conflict, as the different social groups who contributed to building that heritage either felt the asset no longer reflected their identity or felt disinherited.

In *Salaga*, preoccupation about local identity and representation illustrated continuing tension regarding the appropriation of TAST heritage by southern Slave

Route communities. The implication was that claims to tourism use of the past anchor contestations to collective slave memories. It further highlighted the peculiarities of the intrinsic and extrinsic values of TAST heritage.

The case of *Assin Manso* and *Bono Manso* poignantly reflected history in conflict with collective memory. Admittedly, what was recorded as history and what was experienced about the past provided legitimatization to symbolic representation of collective memory. In other words, *Bono Manso* residents' claim to collective memory linked to the African diaspora was in obvious relevance to tourism. The logic is that even though collective memory can be externalised, its social frameworks cultivate truth in the recollection process making a single collective memory a travesty.

Even from a touristic standpoint, the imposition of one collective memory does not work. There were different motives and different experiences for visiting TAST cultural assets. While some were tied to their collective slave memories, many were tied to the extrinsic (WHS) as the top brand. Whilst TAST cultural sites have witnessed increased visitations partly because they constituted primary attractions for most former TAST communities, the study results demonstrated that the oft-cited motives and consequent behaviours of visitors differed. It was therefore, reasonable to suspect that identities influenced experiences of the past. In addition, biases or nuances of connectivities to the TAST enhanced one's meaning and interpretation of collective heritage. In this way there were obvious problems in the conceptualization of developing the SRP for cultural tourism with its inherent paramount claim to global collective memory.

## **9.6. Summary**

The SRP confronts its proponents with one poignant question: can a single collective memory be attributed to or imposed on different social groups sharing multiple contested memories? Although it is rather difficult to answer this question from one position because there are ‘many’ answers, the universal conclusion to the discussion presented in this chapter is one. There are a series of organic collective slave memories involving the different social groups with slavery connection, imposed WHS areas, different visitors with different interpretations to multiple contested heritage sites all fitting, but not fitting together well.

## **CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS**

### **10.0 Introduction**

The final chapter presents an overview of the study findings reported in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. The implications and suggestions for areas of future research agenda are also presented.

### **10.1 Restatement of problem and purpose**

Collective memory belongs to different groups in heterogeneous societies. A persistent notion fuelled by the SRP is that a unified collective memory can be recollected, memorialised and commemorated by the different groups of people impacted by the TAST. The corollary of this is that the different social groups and collective interests are supposed to experience the same heritage and sense of identity. However, with insights from Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) collective memory paradigm and Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concept of dissonant heritage, support for this preposition is considered weak and over-generalised. By concentrating on a unified global collective memory, researchers were prone to missing or de-emphasising the presence of multiple stakeholders with varying degrees of power and influences that tend to include or exclude others to the remembrance, interpretation and use of TAST cultural assets. The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the multiple contested collective slave memories inherent in developing the SRP for cultural tourism. Even though some researchers have attempted to assess the tourism implications of developing the SRP, none have systematically examined how the presence of multiple stakeholders influences the interpretation, commemoration and consumption of TAST heritage assets.



In order to accomplish that in this study, it was necessary to first deal with the multiple stakeholders that lay claim legitimately or not to the TAST memory; and, second, examine the multiple heritages created and shared by the multiple stakeholders each of whom ascribes different use, interpretation and commemorative traditions to that same heritage. Consequently, the study set out to achieve the following objectives:

1. explore different community articulations of collective slave memories in portrayal of slavery heritage tourism;
2. ascertain the contestations of expectations, behaviours and experiences of visitors to TAST sites;
3. analyse the underlying heritage-related dimensions arising out of the development of the SRP;
4. propose a framework in understanding multiple contested heritage present on the Slave Routes; and,
5. establish the implications of the above four objectives for slavery heritage tourism planning and marketing.

The following sections present the main findings of the study in light of these objectives.

## **10.2 Articulations of collective slave memories**

The study results point to the existence of different versions of collective slave memories shared by the different social groups. In many cases, social networks made vivid by the unequal power structure highlight the complexities of intra-and interactions within and between the social groups. Significantly, articulation of collective slave

memories had a direct bearing on the community structure. This was particularly so because slavery narratives acted to legitimize the current social hierarchies and political structures. The outcome of unequal power relationships and representations was that the different social groups simultaneously remember and forget the same aspects of collective slave memories.

The data suggested identity was a central tenet in the collective memory process. In particular, identity was used as a rationale for excluding descendants of 'slaves' and expatriate diasporan Africans from a sense of belonging in *Assin Manso*, *Elmina* and Cape Coast. For expatriate diasporan Africans, tourism episodes and the notions of strangeness conflated the search for personal heritage and collective identity. More importantly, the crisis of identity and belonging to spaces of their progenitors was difficult appreciating from a collective memory standpoint. Instead, they felt more connected to descendants of 'slaves' because of their closeness to collective memory, existing social structures, and the increasing commodification of memory by local residents.

As far as descendants of 'slaves' were concerned, living comfortably in the community with its slavery image did little to address the reality of their servile origins. Their 'stranger' status and natal isolation impacted the present in spite of social proscription of slave ancestry. As such, identity defined the parameters of contested social space and distances with descendants of enslavers and local residents. However, this may not be universal or necessary condition for discrimination across the communities. The study returned evidence to show that variations existed based on kinship practiced in the different communities. That is, descendants of 'slaves' in Cape

Coast, *Assin Manso* and *Elmina* were discriminated in chieftaincy succession due to matrilineal system of inheritance practiced in those communities. This seemed less plausible for descendants of ‘slaves’ in *Salaga* where the patrilineal system of inheritance was practised.

Notwithstanding the drastic change in the social fabric, local residents felt comfortable living in the communities with their slavery image. Nevertheless, residents in *Assin Manso* were much less comfortable with proximity to the Slave River. The most cited reason related to the fact that slavery was intrinsic to community life. The articulation of collective memory for residents in Cape Coast was laden with grief and pain on behalf of their ancestors. *Salaga* residents damned the *Ashanti* enslavement of their progenitors. As a result, local residents were revengeful in their collective memory narratives.

That said, the return of members of the African Diaspora to former TAST communities’ also generated contestations to articulation of collective slave memories. The findings show that while the kinship system accorded them stranger status, they competed with other social groups within the community in validating their ‘purist’ version of collective slave memory as well as collective identity. Indeed, it was indicative that given their innate connection to the past and dominant discourse, they presented themselves as ‘true’ arbiters in negotiating collective memory that conveyed a symbolic value, particularly for descendants of African ‘slaves’. However, they struggled to recognise that the mundane socio-economic realities of their presumed ancestral communities required the recollection of collective memories for the consumption of tourists and fulfilment of contemporary needs.

Another finding of the study was that slave ancestry and notion of strangeness played into representational issues. The study found in *Assin Manso*, the role of descendants of ‘slaves’ regarding commemorative rituals during Emancipation Day festivities dwelt on recognition from traditional authorities. This led to insulation from the shared heritage and symbolic values of TAST commemorations. In Cape Coast and *Elmina*, however, slave ancestry formed the basis of discrimination from descendants of enslavers and local residents. Others centred on economic status, inheritance and tourism opportunity. While economic status produced intra-group differences, there was evidence of domestic diasporic movements arising from disempowerment in collective slave memories and contested spaces with descendants of enslavers.

Catharsis was another important expression of collective slave memories. This underpinned collective slave narratives of descendants of enslavers and expatriate diasporan Africans. Given the master-servant relationship and family feud over inheritance, descendants of enslavers in Cape Coast and *Elmina* felt cathartic release in recollecting and tracing family roots. Alternatively, expatriate diasporan Africans appreciated the cathartic release from sharing their experiences with the community. The interviews suggested that the search for ‘roots’ and routes was laden with stories of social marginalization and racial alienation encountered in their host countries. This, inevitably, precipitated solidarity from sections of the community most notably descendants of ‘slaves’.

Another expression underlying memory narratives was collective silence. It was interesting to note that other than for tourism purposes, descendants of ‘slaves’ would have preferred to remain silent. Aside the observed differences between generations of

descendants of 'slaves' that tended to recollect only the most easily accessible ('non-embarrassing') parts of collective slave memory, silence was used to enhance amnesia. Collective silence was more preferable, especially in circumstances when it brought shame to family members or used as the basis for discrimination in chieftaincy succession.

Closely related to the idea of collective silence was the desire to forget. It appeared that descendants of 'slaves' were more readily predisposed towards forgetting. Conversely, it was noted that descendants of enslavers, and expatriate diasporan Africans were averse to the idea of forgetting. The noteworthy differences associated with the various groups were in relation to identity. While descendants of 'slaves' felt forgetting was a powerful antidote to overcome the stigma and shame that has perpetuated over time, descendants of enslavers felt it was necessary for collective memory and social cohesion.

The result of the study also provided insights to the different truth claims by the stakeholders. While traditional authorities contested truth claims of their legitimacy most often linked to slavery, descendants of enslavers and descendants of 'slaves' felt that collective memory was prone to modification and manipulation. This finding highlighted the issue of power in recollecting collective memory.

### **10.3 Visitors' expectations, behaviours and experiences**

The majority of existing literature on slavery heritage tourism indicates that visitor profiles determined the motivations and engagement at the TAST sites. However, based on trip purpose and connection to the TAST, the current study examined visitors'

expectations, behaviours and experiences at TAST memory sites. The analysis clustered three modes of experience on the Slave Routes. The 'connected slavery heritage' mode were predominantly female, older, well educated, middle class with high incomes and often travelled on a full package tour with an average party size of 19.9. Most were from the United States and as such were Black or African-American. Majority were first timers but it seemed they had accumulated travel experience of the destination.

The data further revealed that because of their connection to the TAST and motivation for slavery heritage tourism or genealogy, their expectations and consequent engagement with the site was highly emotional, deep and personal. Their image of the site was, therefore, informed by collective memory and questions of identity. Perhaps because of their extensive familial and social ties to the site, they knew some TAST cultural assets were WHS and supported the idea, in order to preserve history. They seemed conscious of the connection between the history and community and were, therefore, knowledgeable about the presence of descendants of African 'slaves', descendants of African enslavers and descendants of the mullatos there. Apparently, their knowledge of these social groups were based on genealogical research, information from family and friends, and the existence of Europeans names in the community. However, the interaction with descendants of 'slaves' informed their sense of collective identity and overall experience with the host community. They ranked *Elmina* as the favourite slavery heritage destination but did expect their expectations and experiences to change spatially on the Slave Routes. Typically, they regarded non-designated TAST sites as symbolic reminders of collective slave memory than those captured on the WHL.

Very few tourists were connected to the TAST and motivated to travel primarily for leisure or fun. These tourists were usually young, less educated but had high incomes, from mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds originating from the United States or England. The trip was relatively of a shorter duration with no significant difference noted in the length of stay and the total trip duration in the destination area. Due partly to the connection to history, their expectations and engagement to the site was deep but the past seemed distanced from the present. These tourists were more knowledgeable about the WHP and thus support the programme. Although they knew the site's connection to the TAST, the importance of learning something about the site was the main motive for visiting. It was also apparent that they knew about the presence of descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of mullatos through their interaction with local residents while local guides told them about descendants of enslavers. They chose Cape Coast as the preferred slavery heritage destination and were likely to seek a unique experience at different TAST sites based on the effectiveness of local guide interpretation.

The study findings suggest majority of the people who visited TAST sites did not have a personal connection to the historic event and holidaying was the core reason for travelling. This sample was, on average were the youngest group studied with the highest proportion below 30. Most were single, well educated, affluent and mostly White/Caucasians from a diversity of geographic origins some of which played a historical role in the TAST. The trip was for the first time but of longer duration with a significant difference noted in the length of stay at the destination and total trip duration from home. They were most likely to participate in partial tours.

The data suggested that for this mode, awareness about the WHP was relatively low. Notwithstanding this point, they supported the WHP idea, citing CHM reasons. Further, most knew of the site connection to TAST than of its designation as WHS and that, perhaps, explains why culture played a major part in the decision to visit. Most also appeared less knowledgeable about the different social groups within the host community: it took their interaction with local residents to shore up their knowledge about descendants of African enslavers. Of greater significance, however, was the finding that the less proportions of these people felt that their experiences were less likely to be different at other TAST sites. This was against the backdrop that former TAST communities were controlled by different European powers. They believed that site interpretation was likely to be different, based on the sphere of influence by European powers.

While these findings helped the answer the key questions guiding the study, it still raised one key question: whether the consumption of TAST cultural assets could be turned into a majority undertaking or remain the preserve of a minority? The data seems to support the notion that TAST cultural assets could not be the sole preserve of colonial-linked tourists because their spatial consumption patterns were highly selective and oriented towards extrinsic values as tourist attractions. Alternatively, ‘roots’ tourists who sought to exclude others in terms of ownership and control of collective slave memories should not be sole consumers of the heritage product.

#### **10.4 Multiple contested heritages**

At first glance, examination of the study findings points to the presence of multiple contested heritages on the Slave Routes from both host community and visitors’



perspectives. Comparable to Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) prognosis, the presence of multiple contested heritages was based on proximity to collective slave memory (i.e. direct, indirect or no connection) and unequal power relationships between and among the stakeholders. Clearly, the complex question of 'whose 'roots', and which routes' becomes the focal point of what is described as heritage on the Slave Routes. A three-tiered hierarchy with each tier having its own sets of relationships/inter-relationships as well as vertical inter-relationships was identified by the current study. Even within each tier, one had a set of dynamics churning away. In addition, between tiers, different sets of forces were pushing and pulling to shape the area/experience.

The bottom tier represented former TAST communities with different social groups/stakeholders riveted by complex social networks. Though socially inconvenienced by each other's presence, they identified with the shared space because members were forced to co-exist. The analysis show that within each community, descendants of 'slaves' were proud of their personal heritage as they desired to psychically immerse themselves with expatriate diasporan Africans or Diasporan tourists to sustain collective identity. Nonetheless, collective use of the past was controversial because they insisted on the value of silence and forgetting given their stigmatised identity and unequal influence. As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:6), commented "the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future".

From the local residents perspective, the study reported that the conflict about heritage stems from commodification of collective slave memories. Such situations were evident in *Elmina* and Cape Coast where the local economy depended largely on

revenues from the tourist trade. The relationship between descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers, for one had largely remained fixed over time and space threatening self-esteem, sense of belonging and social identity on the part of the former. However, the relationship became explicit when tourists with or without connection to collective slave memory sought the community’s contentious past. Local residents and descendants of enslavers then used representations of descendants of ‘slaves’ to bolster a positive social image by misinterpreting aspects of social identity for tourism gain. Hence, the tourism places created and heritage offered were both used to fulfil simultaneously collective memory and economic livelihoods.

Although positions over the use of heritage were entrenched because of the unequal power/influences within the community, the return of members of the African diaspora as new, ‘temporary’ residents further accentuated tensions. The charge related to expropriation and misinterpretation of collective slave memories. Despite their cultural distance and identificatory confrontations, expatriate diasporan Africans felt an ethically superior claim to collective heritage. But some traditional authorities and local residents were reluctant to symbolically ‘buy into’ their essentialised view of heritage. In effect, TAST heritage was described as “theirs to forget” and “ours to preserve”.

The next tier was the SRP/TAST. Here the SRP has attempted to impose a ‘single’ collective memory on the whole set of different communities on the Slave Routes, from a Euro-centric perspective, and, especially with the TAST, from a touristic, product development perspective. It was instructive to note that all the different stakeholders supported the idea of the SRP although they had insufficient knowledge. However, they were found to differ in terms of reasons for supporting the

SRP. Four reasons emerged from the interviews with descendants of ‘slaves’, descendants of enslavers, traditional authorities and expatriate diasporan Africans. These included personal connection, education, conservation, nostalgic yearnings and re-membering Africans and diasporan Africans. Descendants of ‘slaves’ felt that the SRP was a useful way to memorialise their ancestors who survived the TAST during the middle passage and in the New World. Descendants of enslavers expressed the need for education in order to perpetuate slave ancestry while descendants of ‘slaves’ felt education was needed to address their stigmatised identity as a divisive element of heritage. Expatriate diasporan Africans considered education as the solution to empower local communities about the history of the TAST.

The spectrum of reasons on conservation differed among descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of enslavers. The former showed closer affinity towards conserving the intangible heritage compared to the extrinsic by the latter. Differences were also apparent in the nostalgic yearning for the past. The incidence of descendants of enslavers feeling nostalgic about TAST-related memorabilia and confirming their superior status, while descendants of ‘slaves’ were more selective about collective memory. This said, expatriate diasporan Africans took on the conservation ethic around universal recognition of some TAST cultural assets as WHS and valued non-designated WHS imbued with special meanings and significance. Furthermore, attitudes differed towards re-membering Africans and members of the African Diaspora. While descendants of ‘slaves’ articulated a view that took due cognisance of their unequal socio-economic status with diasporan Africans, expatriate diasporan Africans considered themselves as people of African origin based on collective slave memory.

Traditional authorities viewed the SRP as a tourism magnet for their communities. Overall, the imposition of the SRP represents a further disruption to existing socially constructed collective slave memories and embedded relationships, which at present may cause conflict, or may simply result in change over time. As a result, the SRP may be overtly or covertly shaping collective slave memories, by highlighting some and downplaying others.

The final level was that of the tourist. The study identified three types of tourists, and especially two types—those with a connection who wanted an intangible ‘roots’ experience, and those with no connection who wanted a tangible built heritage experience. While they co-existed, there were also some tensions, as the places visited had completely different meanings for the different tourists and thus were consumed differently. The difference in knowledge and support for the SRP was also of interest. More than twice as many ‘roots’ tourists than colonial-linked visitors knew and supported the idea of the SRP. The two groups also exhibited a number of differences regarding the political, social and spatial contestations on the Slave Routes

‘Roots’ visitors felt that WHS designation conflicted with local meaning of heritage, constantly reminded descendants of ‘slaves’ of their embarrassing past and fostered more conflict to the collective memory of the TAST. Gaining insights into collective slave memory and learning about their personal heritage emerged as key consequences of their visit. Their experiences also matched their expectations as they placed deeper value on the interactions with descendants of African ‘slaves’ and descendants of African enslavers more than local residents. Because engagement with the site was considered “sacred personal space”, they resented the presence of visitors of

other ethnic identity although such interactions were important in their total heritage experience. Concomitantly, these people were not selective of TAST sites despite the fact that they regarded TAST sites on the WHL as being commoditised for tourism.

Because they were seeking tangible sightseeing experiences, colonial-linked tourists were less likely to think that designating TAST sites as WHS conflicted with local meaning of heritage, or that such designation would constantly remind descendants of ‘slaves’ about their embarrassing past. Additionally, they did not appreciate the possibilities that designating TAST relics as WHS fostered more conflict to the collective memory of the TAST or that WHS would likely erase the meaning and emotional attachment to TAST. Instead, they felt it would enhance Ghana’s image as a slavery heritage destination while preserving TAST relics for posterity. Further, they were less aware of the presence of descendants of African enslavers in the host community. They rather learned about their existence from local guides, which was surprising considering that some of this cohort were from countries that were involved in the TAST. Consequently, colonial-linked tourists were more likely to say their historical knowledge about the TAST had increased because of their visit, and raised their awareness of the country’s history somehow connected to the collective memory of the TAST. They were also comfortable interacting with tourists of other ethnic identities to augment their overall heritage experiences.

The ‘glocalization’ of heritage through the WHP and the memorialization of collective slave memories were found to be the determinants of multiple contested heritages from the community perspective. Similarly, spatio-political considerations,

heritage accessibility and sustainability/WHS ideals explain the multiple contested multiple heritages from the tourist perspective.

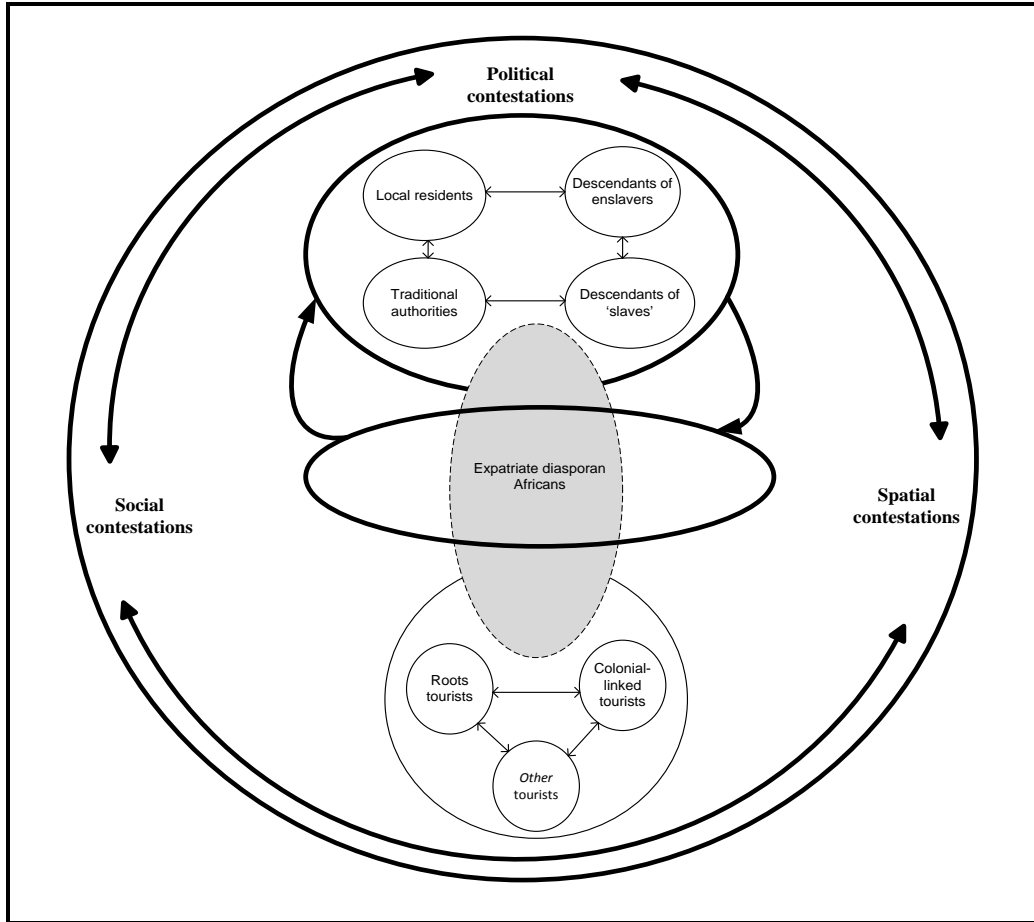
### **10.5 Revisiting the framework**

At this juncture, it is necessary to take a step back and contextualize the findings within the conceptual framework put forward in Chapter 2 (refer to Figure 2.1). In this regard, it seems plausible that the use of Halbwachs' (1980, 1992) theory on collective memory and Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concept of dissonant heritage succinctly captures the pluralisation of contested collective memories and heritages on the Slave Routes that raise a number of questions regarding validity of operating a single global memory illustrated by the SRP. The study findings show that collective memory expresses a sense of the continual anchoring of the 'collective' past in the present circumstances of the different social groups who lay claim legitimately or not to heritage created. It provides the framework within which social remembering and forgetting occur simultaneously but contested along different axes—spatial, temporal, individual, collected, economic and social status. As such, the notion of a single global collective memory is chimera, which ultimately discredits the lived experiences of the different social groups.

Specifically, the contestation of collective slave memory can be found in the behaviour of three main stakeholder groups: (i) community residents; (ii) expatriate diasporan Africans; and, (iii) tourists (Figure 10.1). The different local communities and their identities form a social fabric that fit together very awkwardly but the community functions in a way that recognised future changes. The presence of TAST cultural assets represented the physical and symbolic link to the collective past and community

members had the opportunity to become acquainted with the shared heritage. However, the recollection of the past was constantly reselected and reinterpreted by each social group in response to contemporary needs. Each social group was also conscious of the fact that both collective heritage and collective identity were socially constructed and tied to the social, economic and political processes operating within the community. Within the process of memory articulation, certain aspects might be suppressed, and relationships between social groups might be altered. However, those who sought to benefit from the use of collective heritage must be well placed to defend it through the laid down structures and institutions.

While community members recognised that local identity was intricately linked to collective heritage in reinforcing the uniqueness of the place, other collectives who benefited also influenced the heritagisation process. The expatriate diasporan African was one actor who maintained a living relation to the shared past. However, issues relating to assimilation and identity posed formidable challenges to their return although they were willing to assimilate into their ancestral community. So, the crisis in belonging to spaces of their past and present (i.e. they associated themselves with the community but the community regarded them as ‘strangers’) engenders interest and strong feelings of preserving remembrance of the past (Figure 10.1). Consequently, they felt they were the true vanguards of collective slave memory, particularly when amnesia had been the foundation of the former TAST communities and the gaze of the tourists was not value free. But exerting such control without resorting to the social hierarchy and power representation of the community interpenetrated each social group’s recollection of collective slave memory.



**Figure 10.1: Framework for understanding multiple contested collective slave memories**

The role of arbiter apparently played by expatriate diasporan Africans was a manifestation of the past and the present in a continuum. It was also multiple in the sense that it included the lived experiences of three groups of tourists for whom the collective heritage becomes either a personal, learning or hedonic experience (Figure 10.1). For ‘roots’ tourists the heritage had more to do with who was remembering in a sincere, wholesome, hallowed and meaningful way than whether the narrative was a recital of historical facts. The traumatic experiences of their ancestors formed not only



the core but also the right to collective slave memory. In common with this group but with an extra degree of separation from shared heritage, *other* tourists had access to the collective memory but continually conferred a sense of contemporary representation of identity in social interactions.

The potpourri of contested collective memory and collective heritage enumerated above seemingly lacked any similarity with a third group of tourists. For colonial-linked tourists, collective memory represented the tourist landscapes, which were to be preserved regardless of the identities that produced and inhabited them. Hence, heritage helped create competing versions of collective memory in which some identities were deemphasised, ignored or archived.

## **10.6 Implications for planning and marketing**

One of the main objectives of the current study was to highlight the planning and marketing implications of developing Ghana's SRP for cultural tourism. However, it is evident from even a cursory reading that planning and marketing issues were peripheral to the heart of the analysis. Hence, the title of this dissertation deserves comment and explanation. While, the SRP is primarily an outcome of planning, especially regarding the importance of preserving both the intangible and tangible heritage of TAST cultural assets, the scope of challenge needed to be met by former TAST communities. So the title of the dissertation offered an opportunity to examine the sensibilities of the different stakeholders towards collective slave memory and their response to developing the SRP. Initially, planning was to emphasise the socio-economic impacts of developing cultural tourism as a means of creating additional income and employment opportunities

for communities on the Slave Routes. In this regard, attention should be paid to the different social groups “owning” an effective planning process that takes into account the social structures and power influences.

The title was also intended to provide the opportunity to explore the use of marketing to attract the appropriate type of tourists. This meant examining tourists who will not only provide the greatest socio-economic benefit to the community but also one that appreciated the sensitive nature of TAST cultural assets, situation of each community and behavioural environment. One of the major consequences of this approach was to re-image and re-orient the Slave Routes to enhance Ghana’s brand reality and travel experience. For example, despite the euphoria that President Barak Obama’s first term visit to Ghana generated among the African Diaspora, Ghana is yet to capitalise on that visit to evoke the “embodied empathy” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2002) required to effectively brand her as unique diasporan destination of choice. Given this, an interesting question worth asking was whether a long-term market actually exists for the SRP and if the product highlights or reverberates the travel experiences of African diaspora.

Notwithstanding this, the study findings provide a number of pointers for developing Ghana’s SRP for cultural tourism. From a development perspective, planning cultural tourism on the Slave Routes presents enormous challenges. First some fundamental issues need to be addressed before the SRP can be developed fully to its tourism potential. Presumably, one of the main challenges will be to get all the different social groups to acknowledge their versions and articulations of collective slave memory. The current study highlighted the issue of having to deal with multiple

stakeholders with different connectivities and importance to aspects of collective slave memories. Similar to Timothy's (1997) idea of closeness to heritage, the study showed that the different social groups in the different communities evoke different collective slave memories depending on their intrinsic proximity to the TAST, perceived level of brutality and the physical/tangible heritage experiences. Therefore, attention should be paid to vested interests at the community level (Tosun, 2001; Timothy, 2002).

Again, because the intrinsic values of TAST cultural assets are threatened by commodification, developing cultural tourism further poses two challenges. Which routes will be politically omitted and which ones will be conveniently used to emphasise uniqueness and interrelationships between the diverse social groups and communities. This dichotomy proves daunting for encouraging control, co-ordination, collaboration and communication among the different communities and social groups within the communities. As the study showed, only Cape Coast and *Elmina* had some form of tourism infrastructure. The rest are without performing assets but are no less prone to the seduction of tourist dollars to improve the quality of their livelihoods.

Taking cognizance of the physical and spatial reality of former TAST communities is also critical in the search for sustainable management of the TAST cultural assets. As the findings of the current study suggested, the physical/tangible heritage evidence not only shapes the social conscience upon which rests personal and collective identity, but also associations were made with the past regarding the cultural heritage asset which may be of symbolic value but little touristic interest. As such, TAST cultural assets should be interpreted within the context in which they are presented. This helps to sustain visitor interest in the destination.

With reference to cultural tourism being incorporated into community development plans, there is a need for careful consideration of stakeholder attitudes toward heritage interpretation. Because collective slave memory is indispensable to community way of life it is important to establish a harmonious relationship between heritage and tourism. As the evidence suggested, collective slave narratives of the different communities are driven by commercial interest, which diverge from heritage values. Miller (1989) illustrates this by saying that long-term planning for heritage tourism with an integral continuing conservation policy is essential in ensuring quality experience for the visitor at the site. Likewise, du Cros (2001) suggests that balancing the commercial expectations and conservation ideals is crucial in maximising the tourism potential of the destination. Thus, the focus of cultural tourism should be educational in order to build local knowledge of the heritage presented.

As far as government's role is concerned, there is a need to co-ordinate and strengthen state agencies charged with different responsibilities regarding conservation and tourism. While heritage-oriented legislation is needed, enforcing the laws on the books is even more imperative in the case of Ghana. Currently, public agencies that are responsible for protecting heritage properties and tourism development are fragmented. For example, the GTA is the policy-implementing agency responsible for marketing, while management and control of historically and culturally significant artefacts are vested in the GMMB. Establishing cooperation and coordination between these two public institutions have not been optimal, to say the least. There is therefore an increasing need for public-sector cooperation and coordination in the formulation and implementation of appropriate policies surrounding heritage and tourism. One of the

effective ways of doing this is to empower communities on the Slave Routes by way of capacity building and safeguarding their collective slavery memories as an incentive for active participation.

In the light of the fact that some social groups felt disinherited, the process of safeguarding collective slavery memories should be devoid of ethnocentrism or racism. Hence, the inter-cultural dialogue between the different social groups and ethnic identities should be strengthened through education and sensitization programmes. Ultimately, developing the SRP for cultural tourism should be a shared responsibility of all the different stakeholders acting in the spirit of solidarity and cooperation.

Special attention also needs to be given to developing museums as crucibles of collective slave memories. While the Cape Coast and *Elmina* castles boast of museums with interpretative displays, the same does not go for the rest of the communities. While makeshift museums exist in *Salaga*, *Assin Manso* and *Bono Manso*, they do not house many valuable relics while their mode of presentation lack sophistication. In particular, many TAST-related relics and memorabilia in these communities are in private hands. Hence, attention needs to be given to developing public museums (particularly ethnographic ones) that encourage preservation and research on the TAST.

If the SRP is to become more than just a UNESCO buzzword or political albatross, it requires identifying the potential visitors and their needs and wants to match them with the goods and services. Thus, the concern for a marketing management approach is crucial given the SRP's quest to promote a single experience. McKercher and du Cros (2002) addressed demarking in the context of marketing cultural heritage assets and, whether all manner of tourists can consume the product. They argued that

marketers of cultural heritage assets demarket the asset to discourage demand, transfer demand between seasons or move demand away from vulnerable areas to more robust ones. Other scholars have argued the need to integrate marketing and visitor management through demarketing (Kotler & Levy, 1971; Groffe, 1998; Beeton, 2003). This approach recognises the function of the asset to receive the appropriate type of visitors. In this sense, Groffe (1998) identified three instances where demarketing strategies are useful.

The first scenario related to temporary shortages of the product caused by lack of supply or if demand is underestimated. The second circumstance occurred when the asset's popularity threatened the quality of the visitor experience. Lastly, when there was conflict between the demands of visitors and the need for safety. The implication of demarketing strongly supports the findings of the study that the Slave Routes are consumed largely by two groups of visitors— those with a connection to the TAST who want an intangible roots experience, and those with no connection but are interested in the tangible built heritage experiences. This appears to set the stage for conflict, as the majority group does not regard personal connection to the past as a basis for legitimate use of the asset. However, as pleasure tourism grows, the heritage asset also risks undergoing significant changes, as more people will want a tangible, sightseeing experience.

Moreover, because TAST sites visited by colonial-linked tourists are spatially different from those visited by 'roots' tourists; the same attractions can be separately marketed. Gunn (1988:57–58) contended that attractions have two functions. First, they entice, lure, and stimulate interest in travel. Second, provide visitor satisfaction, the

rewards from travel—the true travel product. Hence the task of the TAST heritage managers is to develop awareness of the expectations of the visitors and their level of satisfaction. Nonetheless, the challenge is interpreting the asset devoid of blatant political and ideological innuendos.

From the marketing perspective, developing Ghana's SRP for cultural tourism is yet to be fully realised in many quarters, for two reasons. First, the attempt to create a single heritage experience will inevitably reflect colonial-linked tourists. Indeed, judging from the visitor numbers to Ghana, support for the SRP may itself be a colonial legacy in tourism. Thus, given that majority of consumers tend to be primarily young, single, middle-class, westerners, it is likely that this situation will be perpetuated over time and space. Thus, the extent to which heritage managers (in this case the GMMB) can control the message or presentation, manage the tourist and resultant use of the asset is questionable. Secondly, with regard to the future of Ghana as a slavery heritage destination in the sub-region, looking to generate foreign exchange from 'roots' tourism, these findings are troubling. Although 'roots' tourists are target market for Ghana, they are likely to have an inclination to explore other 'pristine' Slave Routes as part of tracing their 'roots'. As already mentioned, members of the African diaspora identify themselves with the entire continent rather than specific regions or places. It stands to reason therefore that they would emphasise the qualitative personal heritage values at other routes if they feel collective heritage presented on Ghana's Slave Routes is appropriated by the numerically dominant western tourists who are interested in a shallow experience.

## **10.7 Future research**

While this study has highlighted the multiple contested heritages among and between the different stakeholders on Slave Routes, it has also raised many interesting unsolved questions that bear further investigation. As far as heritage products are concerned, further research needs to focus on examining the heritage values of TAST sites not designated as WHS. Does cultural values of TAST sites provide enough justification for development as cultural tourism products? To what extent will the different communities support tourismification of TAST cultural assets? How will commodification affect the authenticity of the assets for some visitors, especially those with connection to the TAST? It will also be interesting to consider the hierarchy of TAST cultural assets not recognised as WHS.

Further investigation needs to be done into how inter-generational shame and symbolic guilt influence heritage and identity over space and time. Previous studies dealing with the Holocaust have revealed the ascription of shame and guilt in memory narratives. This study has suggested that the different social groups in former TAST communities felt guilty on behalf of their forbearers who were involved in the enslavement of their kith and kin. The question is how morally significant is the attribution of shame and symbolic guilt and how does it confront their pecuniary interest in tourism? Will tourism ultimately homogenise collective slave memories of the various social groups? How will the monetary value placed on recollecting memory affect issues of truth and authenticity? Besides, the study highlighted the possibility of western tourists finding TAST sites confrontational with the presence of diasporan Africans as potential descendants of freed slaves. The question arises as to whether that




will encourage young modern western tourists to apologize or take social responsibility on behalf of their ancestors for the enslavement of Africans.

Further investigation is also needed regarding the nature of genealogical based travel motives of African diaspora visitors, especially when evidence linking their forbearers and presumed homeland appear to have been lost or ‘selectively’ forgotten except for the tangible reminders. It is generally assumed that the sustainability of diasporic communities is reinforced by reference to a presumed homeland from which they originated. However, the notion of stranger as used to describe the status of returnees by members of their ancestral communities suggests that the assumption of familial legacy is tenuous. An investigation of reasons explaining the African diaspora pursuit of family history may help provide a better understanding of returnees (as a social type) within the social hierarchy of ancestral communities. This is likely to help those willing to use genetics (difference in Deoxyribonucleic acid [DNA] sequences) to trace their lineage to regions in Africa. But while DNA testing may perhaps hold the key to unlocking the innate connection between Africans and diasporan Africans, it does also present challenges to collective slave memories as the findings of current study show.

Closely linked to the above is the possible avenue to investigate the phenomenon of domestic diaspora in former TAST communities and how that subverts the SRP. Will the perception of strangeness change due to tourism promotion, or will it exacerbate or mediate their sense of belonging?

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Community survey instrument

School of Hotel & Tourism Management 酒店及旅遊業管理學院			THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY 香港理工大學				
<p><b>THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HOTEL &amp; TOURISM MANAGEMENT</b></p> <p><b>COMMUNITY SURVEY ON DEVELOPING GHANA'S SLAVE ROUTE PROJECT FOR CULTURAL TOURISM: PLANNING AND MARKETING IMPLICATIONS</b></p> <p>This survey is for a dissertation being conducted by the researcher who is a doctoral candidate at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I shall be most grateful if you will spare part of your precious time to answer them to the best of your ability. Please be aware that this is purely an academic exercise and your responses to the questions below are important to the outcome of the study. Finally, your anonymity and confidentiality of the answers provided is assured. Thank you in advance of your time.</p>							
<b>STRUCTURE OF QUESTIONNAIRE</b>							
SECTION A	GENERAL ISSUES						
SECTION B	POLITICAL CONTESTATIONS						
SECTION C	SOCIAL CONTESTATIONS						
SECTION D	SPATIAL CONTESTATIONS						
SECTION E	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS						
<b>RESPONDENT IDENTIFICATION</b>							
01	DISTRICT NAME		04	QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER			
02	COMMUNITY NAME		05	R'S NUMBER			
03	BUILDING NUMBER		06	No. of People in H/HOLDS			
<b>INTERVIEWER VISITS</b>							
01	Visit	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	Final		
02	DATE (dd/mm/yy)	/ /2012	/ /2012	/ /2012	/ /2012		
03	TIME (start/end)	: :	: :	: :	: :		
04	RESULTS*						
05	IV'S NUMBER						
06	NEXT VISIT (date/time)						
07	LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGLISH <input type="checkbox"/> TWI <input type="checkbox"/> FANTE <input type="checkbox"/> GONJA <input type="checkbox"/> HAUSA					

## SECTION A: GENERAL ISSUES

1. Are you an “indigene” of this community or area?  Yes  No  Information refused
2. If no, please state your place of birth. Town: \_\_\_\_\_ Region: \_\_\_\_\_
3. How long have you continuously lived in this community? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are you aware this community attracts visitors?  Yes  No
5. If yes, can you list what you think attract visitors to this community? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How often do you meet or encounter tourists in this community?  
 Never  Rarely  Sometimes  Frequently  Unsure
7. How long do visitors usually stay? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Have you noticed if they visit any attractions(s) in particular?  Yes  No  
 Don't know
9. If 'yes', can you mention the particular attraction(s)? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Have visitors, either directly or indirectly spoken to you about reasons why they are visiting this/these attraction(s)?  Yes  No  Information refused
11. If 'yes' what kind of reasons does they give? \_\_\_\_\_
12. What do you feel about the introduction/expansion of tourism in this community?  Very Worried  Somewhat worried  Worried  Neither Worried/Happy  Somewhat happy  Happy  Very Happy  No opinion
13. Please explain your reason \_\_\_\_\_
14. How does tourism affect you and your family life here? \_\_\_\_\_
15. What would be your reaction if you were to move away or resettled elsewhere from this community because of tourism?  Very displeased  Displeased  Somewhat displeased  
 Neutral  Somewhat pleased  Pleased  Very pleased
16. Please explain your reason? \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION B: POLITICAL CONTESTATIONS

17. Are you aware of UNESCO's designation of World Heritage Sites?  Yes  No  
 Information refused
18. Do you support the World Heritage Programme?  Yes  No  Don't know
19. Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_

20. Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing “strongly disagree”, 2 “disagree”, 3 “somewhat disagree” 4 “neither agree or disagree”, 5 “somewhat agree”, 6 “agree”, 7 “strongly agree” (Please tick only one)

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	DK
Slave Trade relics/sites are the local community’s pride								
Having the designation of World Heritage status is good for all of humanity								
Slave Trade relics/sites should be protected for future generations								
It would be better <i>not</i> to have Slave Trade relics/sites listed as World Heritage Sites								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage Sites contributes to the image of Ghana as a slavery heritage destination								
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflicts with local meaning of heritage.								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage is acknowledgement of the painful and embarrassing past								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage will constantly remind descendants of “slaves” of their embarrassing past								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST								

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	DK
Having the designation of World Heritage status commodifies Slave Trade relics/sites for tourist use								
World Heritage Programme is mainly meant to promote tourism								
Being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is important to conserve TAST assets								
Putting in place efficient regulations on conservation is critical for tourism promotion on the Slave Routes								

### SECTION C: SOCIAL CONTESTATIONS

21. Are you aware of UNESCO's Slave Route Project? Yes No  
 Information refused
22. Do you support the UNESCO Slave Route Project? Yes No Don't know
23. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
24. Are you comfortable living in this community with its image as a former slave site/route? Yes No  Don't know
25. Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_
26. When the TAST is mentioned what do immediately think of? \_\_\_\_\_
27. What do you know about the TAST? \_\_\_\_\_
28. Do you remember the first story you heard about the role that this community played the TAST? What is it? \_\_\_\_\_
29. Is this story still important to you? Yes No  Don't know  
Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
30. Could you please narrate your favourite story to tell others about the TAST? \_\_\_\_\_
31. In your opinion, what memories of TAST should be remembered? \_\_\_\_\_
32. In your opinion, what memories of the TAST should be forgotten? \_\_\_\_\_
33. To what extent do you think the UNESCO Slave Route Project's portrayal of TAST memories do compare to yours? Is it similar or different? \_\_\_\_\_
34. Are you aware of the presence of the following groups of people in this community?

Descendants of 'slaves'  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Descendants of enslavers  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Descendants of mulattos  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

35. If you answered yes, to any of the above, in your opinion how are they identified?  
\_\_\_\_\_

36. Are there abusive words used to describe these groups of people in this community?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Descendants of 'slaves'  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Descendants of enslavers  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Descendants of mulattos  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

37. If 'yes', can you mention some of these words? \_\_\_\_\_

38. If 'no', how are they treated in this community? \_\_\_\_\_

39. Are descendants of "slaves" discriminated against in relation to

Stool/skin/ land acquisition  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Marriage  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Employment  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

Chieftaincy issues  Yes  No  Don't know  Information refused

40. If you answered 'yes' to any of the above issues, can you recount any case and how it was dealt with? \_\_\_\_\_

41. Please, indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing "strongly disagree", 2 "disagree", 3 "somewhat disagree" 4 "neither agree or disagree", 5 "somewhat agree", 6 "agree", 7 "strongly agree" (Please tick only one)

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	DK
TAST sites and relics are reminders of collective memory								
It would be better not to have a TAST relic/site here								
I have no personal emotional attachment to TAST relics in this community								
Descendants of 'slaves' have been								

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	DK
assimilated into society								
Descendants of enslavers are highly respected people in society								
It is important to commemorate the legacies of the TAST								
Descendants of ‘slaves’ should have a role to play in developing the SRP in the community								
Descendants of enslavers should have a role to play in developing the SRP in the community								

42. In general how much influence do you think the following groups or persons actually have in tourism development issues in this community? Please rate on 1-5 scale; 1 representing “No influence”, 2 “A little influence”, 3 “some influence”, 4 “a great deal of influence”, 5 “a very great deal of influence” (Please tick only one).

	No influence	A little influence	Some influence	A great deal of influence	A very great deal of influence	NA
<b>Upon government’s decision to develop tourism in the community</b>						
Traditional authorities						
Local residents						
<b>Upon GMMB or GTA decision to promote TAST sites for cultural tourism</b>						
Traditional authorities						
Local residents						
Descendants of “enslavers”						
Descendants of “slaves”						
Occupiers of heritage houses						
<b>Upon African Diaspora decisions on heritage conservation of TAST relics</b>						
Traditional authorities						
Local residents						
Descendants of enslavers						
Descendants of slaves						
GMMB						
<b>On the commemoration of TAST events and programmes such as Emancipation Day and PANAFEST</b>						
Traditional authorities						
Local residents						

Descendants of “enslavers”							
Descendants of “slaves”							
Ministry of Tourism							
PANAFEST Secretariat							

**SECTION D: SPATIAL CONTESTATIONS**

43. Apart from this community, are you aware of any slavery heritage destination/site in Ghana?  Yes  No  Don’t know
44. Please mention community/town/site? \_\_\_\_\_ Region: \_\_\_\_\_
45. Please, indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing “strongly disagree”, 2 “disagree”, 3 “somewhat disagree” 4 “neither agree or disagree”, 5 “somewhat agree”, 6 “agree”, 7 “strongly agree” (Please tick only one)

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	NA
Gaining recognition as part of Ghana’s Slave Route Project is important to conserving TAST assets								
TAST relics in the north are different from those in the south								
Tourism promotion of the Slave Routes is generating conflicts between northern and southern Slave Route communities								
The TAST assets in the south inform visitors more about the historic TAST than those assets in the north								
The castles and forts on the southern routes represent the history and collective memory of the TAST								
Tourism is generating friction between those listed as WHS and those not listed								
Local residents on the southern routes are able to include their needs in preservation of TAST assets and tourism development than those in the								



Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A	SWA	A	SA	NA
north								
There is a balance between the numbers of tourists to the castles and forts and those to the northern slave markets sites								
Both Slave Route communities in the north and south are able to equally represent their history and collective memory of TAST for tourism promotion								
TAST assets and spaces in both northern and southern Slave Routes communities represent a genuine and authentic idea of collective memory of the TAST in contemporary times								
Current preservation and developmental projects on the Slave Routes balance the contestations to collective memory of the TAST								
Co-operation of all communities on the Slave Routes is critical to delivering a single experience								
Communities on the Slave Routes own most of the tourism related services								
Greater government support is important to tourism promotion on the Slave Routes								
Tourism awareness of residents of former TAST sites is important to conservation and preservation of TAST assets								

**SECTION E: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

46. Gender Male Female

47. Age (in completed years) \_\_\_\_\_

48. Highest level of education  No formal education  Primary  Middle/JHS  
 Secondary school+  Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
49. Are you employed in a tourism or tourism-related job in this community?  
 Yes (*continue*)  No (*go to question 50*)  Information refused
- 49b. If 'yes', is this a tourism or tourism related job?  Full-time  Part-time
50. Is any member of your household, other than yourself employed in a tourism or tourism-related business?  Yes  No  Information refuse
51. Employment status?  Employed  Unemployed  Student  Homemaker  Retired
- 51b. If employed, please state your main occupation \_\_\_\_\_
52. Which category of income is close to your monthly income?  Less than ₡50  ₡50 to ₡99  ₡100 to ₡199  ₡200 to ₡299  ₡300 to ₡399  ₡400 and above
53. Is there anything you would like to share about slavery heritage tourism in your community? \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Your responses will be a valuable contribution to understanding this community's concerns about developing the Slave Route Project for cultural tourism.

## Appendix II: Tourist survey instrument

School of  
Hotel & Tourism Management  
酒店及旅遊業管理學院



THE HONG KONG  
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
香港理工大學

### THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HOTEL & TOURISM MANAGEMENT

#### TOURIST SURVEY ON DEVELOPING GHANA'S SLAVE ROUTE PROJECT FOR CULTURAL TOURISM: PLANNING AND MARKETING IMPLICATIONS

Dear Sir/Madam

This survey is for a dissertation being conducted by the researcher who is a doctoral candidate at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I shall be grateful if you spare about 45 minutes of your valuable time to answer the questions to the best of your ability. Please note that this is a purely academic exercise and your participation is voluntary. Even though your responses are important to the outcome of the study, you are not guaranteed any personal benefits. You are also reminded that some of the questions are sensitive and include your perceptions about issues such as slavery heritage tourism and ethnicity/race.

Finally, the information will be kept confidential and your anonymity is assured. Results will be only shared through presentations and other research outlets. If you agree to participate, please complete the questionnaire and hand it over to the tour guide or escort before leaving this site. If at any time you have questions regarding your participation, do not hesitate to contact me, Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes on +233 544 or aaron.yankholmes@ or Prof. Bob McKercher at bob.mckercher@

Thank you in advance of your time

#### STRUCTURE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

01	SECTION A	TRIP PROFILE
02	SECTION B	POLITICAL CONTESTATIONS
03	SECTION C	SOCIAL CONTESTATIONS
04	SECTION D	SPATIAL CONTESTATIONS
05	SECTION E	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

## SECTION A: TRIP PROFILE

1. Would you describe the main purpose of visiting Ghana as related to slavery heritage tourism or genealogy?  Yes  No
2. If not, what is the main purpose of this visit (**Check one box only**)  
 Vacation/leisure/recreation  Business/meeting/professional  Visiting friends and relatives  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. Are you personally related or connected to anyone affected by Transatlantic Slave Trade?  Yes *continue*  No *if you answered YES to question 1, thank you for your time.*
4. Your country of permanent residence is? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Is this your first visit to Ghana?  Yes  No
6. If not, including this visit, how many visits have you made to Ghana in the past 5 years? \_\_\_\_\_
7. How many nights do you intend to stay in Ghana? \_\_\_\_\_
8. How many nights do you expect to be away from home on this trip? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Is your stay in Ghana a part of  A fully package tour?  A partially packaged tour with transport and accommodation only?  Non-packaged/independent travel?
10. Including yourself, how many people are travelling on this trip in your group? (**Please count the travel companion only, but not the other people in the packaged group**) Total: \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION B: POLITICAL CONTESTATIONS

11. Are you aware of UNESCO's designation of World Heritage Sites?  Yes  No
12. Do you support the World Heritage Programme?  Yes  No  Don't know
13. Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_
14. Please tick from the following list the historic attractions/sites, which you think, are designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Ghana? (**Please tick as many as apply**)  
 Cape Coast Castle  
 Elmina Castle  
 Slave River at Assin Manso

- Fort St. Jago
- Christiansborg/Osu Castle
- Kakum National Park
- Larabanga Mosque
- Ashanti Traditional buildings

15. Did you know prior to this visit that this site/community was related to the historic Transatlantic Slave Trade (TAST)?  Yes  No

16. What is your primary reason for visiting this site? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing “strongly disagree”, 2 “disagree”, 3 “somewhat disagree” 4 “neither agree or disagree”, 5 “somewhat agree”, 6 “agree”, 7 “strongly agree” (Please tick only one)

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
Slave Trade relics/sites are the local community’s pride								
Having the designation of World Heritage status is good for all of humanity								
Slave Trade relics/sites should be protected for future generations								
It would be better <i>not</i> to have Slave Trade relics/sites listed as World Heritage Sites <sup>b</sup>								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage Sites contributes to the image of Ghana as a slavery heritage destination								
Having the designation of World Heritage status conflicts with local meaning of heritage.								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage is acknowledgement of the painful and embarrassing past								

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage will constantly remind descendants of “slaves” of their embarrassing past								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage fosters more conflicts to the collective memory of the TAST								
Designating Slave Trade relics/sites as World Heritage erases the meaning and emotional attachment to the TAST								
Having the designation of World Heritage status commodifies Slave Trade relics/sites for tourist use								
World Heritage Programme is mainly meant to promote tourism								
Being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is important to conserve TAST assets								
Putting in place efficient regulations on conservation is critical for tourism promotion on the Slave Routes								

**SECTION C: SOCIAL CONTESTATIONS**

18. Are you aware of UNESCO’s Slave Route Project?  Yes  No
19. Do you support the UNESCO Slave Route Project?  Yes  No  Don’t know
24. Are you aware of the presence of the following groups of people in this community?
- Descendants of ‘slaves’  Yes  No  Information refused
- Descendants of enslavers  Yes  No  Information refused
- Descendant of mulattos  Yes  No  Information refused
25. If you answered ‘yes’ to any of the above, how did you know? \_\_\_\_\_
26. Did you interact with any of the following during your visit?

Descendant of ‘slaves’  Yes  No  Information refused

Descendant of enslavers  Yes  No  Information refused

Traditional authorities  Yes  No  Information refused

Local residents  Yes  No  Information refused

Other Tourist  Yes  No  Information refused

27. Are you comfortable with tourists of other ethnicity/race visiting Slave Trade sites?  
 Yes  No  Information refused

28. Please rate the importance of the presence of other tourists of different ethnic/race backgrounds in your total experience (1 being “not at all important” and 7 being “extremely important”). **Place a check mark in a place along the line**

**Not at all important** \_\_\_\_: \_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_ **Extremely important**

29. Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_

30. Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing “strongly disagree”, 2 “disagree”, 3 “somewhat disagree” 4 “neither agree or disagree”, 5 “somewhat agree”, 6 “agree”, 7 “strongly agree”

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
I feel I learnt something of historical importance at former TAST communities/sites								
I gained insights into the collective memory and history of the TAST								
I am interested to learn more about my own heritage somehow connected to the collective memory of the TAST								
The visit to TAST relics/sites raised my awareness of my country’s history somehow connected to the collective memory of the TAST								
The sources of information I consulted about the Slave Route								

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
communities/sites before my trip influenced my expectations								
My experiences matched my actual experiences at former TAST communities/sites								
The stories about TAST relics/sites complement each other								
The interactions I had with tourists from different ethnic/racial backgrounds at TAST communities/sites are an important part of my experiences								
The interactions I have with local residents are important part of my experiences as a tourists								
The interactions I had with descendants of 'slaves' or enslavers are an important part of my experience as a tourist								
The interactions I had with traditional authorities are important part of my experience as a tourist								

**SECTION D: SPATIAL CONTESTATIONS**

31. Please tick from the following list; the five former TAST communities, which you think are the most suitable for slavery heritage tourism in Ghana. (Tick as many as apply)  Assin Manso  Cape Coast  Elmina  Salaga  Gwollo  Paga Nania  Anomabu  Abonse  Bono Manso  Osu
32. Have you visited or are planning to visit any of the former Slave Route communities listed above?  Yes  No  Information refused
33. If yes, do you think your experience at any of these former Slave Route communities/sites would be different?  Yes  No  Don't know
34. Please explain your answer \_\_\_\_\_



35. Please, indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements on 1-7 scale; 1 representing “strongly disagree”, 2 “disagree”, 3 “somewhat disagree” 4 “neither agree or disagree”, 5 “somewhat agree”, 6 “agree”, 7 “strongly agree” (Please tick only one).

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
Local residents on the Slave Routes want tourist/tourism								
Slave trade relics/sites in the south are of international significance more than those of the north								
Slave trade relics/sites in the south create an emotional connection more than those in the north								
Slave trade relics/sites in the south are worth conserving as part of the collective memory of TAST more than those in the north								
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana cannot be accessed because of lack of infrastructure								
The forts and castles are more commodified for use than slave markets								
The efforts (time and cost) required to travel to northern Ghana does not make it worthwhile								
Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana are similar but near other attractions								
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana are different but far apart from each other								
There is sufficient information on the forts/castles more than other Slave Trade relics/sites								

Statement	SD	D	SWD	N/A D	SWA	A	SA	DK
The forts and castles have better tourist appeal than slave markets								
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana have a potential to offer interesting experiences if developed								
Slave forts and castles offer better experiences to tourists because they are World Heritage Sites								
Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana provide a more participatory, engaging and entertaining experience than those in the north								
The forts and castles meet different tourists expectations								
Slave Trade relics/sites in northern Ghana are more authentic than those in the south								
The forts and castles are not authentic								
There is better interpretation of the Slave Trade relics/sites in southern Ghana than those in the north								
Interpretation currently available at the forts and castles hurt the sensibilities of some tourists								
Interpretation at <i>Elmina</i> Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Fort St. Jago are the same								

**SECTION E: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

36. Gender?  Male  Female

37. Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

38. What is your age? (in completed years) \_\_\_\_\_

39. Are you?  Single  Married or living with female partner  Married or living with male partner  Widowed  Divorced/separated
40. What is the highest level of education you have attained?  Less than secondary/high school  Completed secondary/high school  Some college or university  Completed college/university diploma/degree  Completed postgraduate
41. How would you describe your ethnic/racial background? \_\_\_\_\_
42. Occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
43. Which category best describes your total annual household income?  
 < US\$ 50,000  US\$ 50,000—100,000  US\$ 100,000—150,000  US\$ 150,000—200,000  US\$ 200,000—250,000  >US\$ 250,000
44. Please share any other comments \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Your responses will be a valuable contribution to understanding concerns about developing the Slave Route Project for cultural tourism in Ghana.

### Appendix III: Interview schedule for traditional authorities and opinion leaders

School of  
Hotel & Tourism Management  
酒店及旅遊業管理學院



THE HONG KONG  
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
香港理工大學

#### THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HOTEL & TOURISM MANAGEMENT

DEVELOPING GHANA'S SLAVE ROUTE PROJECT FOR CULTURAL TOURISM:  
PLANNING AND MARKETING IMPLICATIONS

#### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND OPINION LEADERS

Dear Sir/Madam

You are invited to participate in this study being conducted by the researcher who is a doctoral candidate at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The purpose of the study is to understand how traditional authorities feel about developing Ghana's Slave Routes for tourism. I shall be grateful if you spare approximately 1 hour of your valuable time to share your opinion to the best of your ability. Please note that this is a purely academic exercise and your participation is voluntary. Even though your responses are important to the outcome of the study, you are not guaranteed any personal benefits. You may withdraw from the study any time without penalty. You are also reminded that some of the questions are sensitive and include your perceptions about issues on slave descent and ethnic/racial identity.

Finally, the information will be kept confidential and your anonymity is assured. All identifying characteristics will be removed if direct quotations are used in any report resulting from this study. If at any time you have questions regarding your participation or the procedures do not hesitate to contact Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes at +233 544 "\*\*\*\*\*" or aaron.yankholmes@\*\*\*\*\* or Prof. Bob McKercher at bob.mckercher@\*\*\*\*\* This research project has received ethics clearance from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee (HSESC). The results will be reported in my PhD dissertation and other research outlets.

Thank you in advance of your time

1. Who visits your community? Does any similar characteristics stand out, for example age cohort? Does one gender appear to frequent more than the other does? Does any group composition stand out?
2. Where do you find most of the visitors come from?

3. When do they visit? Are there peak visitation times? Week/month/year/holidays?
4. How long do visitors usually stay?
5. Do you notice if they visit particular attraction(s)?
6. Have visitors, either directly or indirectly spoken to you about reasons why there are visiting this/these attraction(s)?
7. If so, what kind of reasons do they give?
8. How do you feel about the introduction/expansion of tourism in this community?  
Probe for reasons.
9. How does tourism affect: (i) the community; (ii) the environment?
10. What would be your reaction if community members were to be move away or resettled elsewhere because of tourism? Probe for reasons
11. What aspect of community development would you like changed to improve quality of life? Probe for reasons
12. What do you think government can do to help promote tourism in this community?  
Probe issues at least three issues?
13. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to promote tourism in this community? Probe for at least three issues.
14. Could you please describe any examples where tourism has worked out well here or where tourism activities haven't worked out... or have brought or caused some conflicts or problems? Why was this?
15. If so can you please describe who is involved, how decisions are made, and how well it is working?
16. Is any work being done to respond to [or avoid] some of the concerns that local community residents have about tourism activities and growth (e.g. management of TAST sites, # of visitors; equitable distribution of tourism revenue)?
17. In your opinion, who should be part of how tourism decisions and plans are made in the community? Why?
18. Is the residents' input sought in any tourism related development in this community? If 'yes', how is the public input sought? If 'no', how do you think community non-involvement affects tourism development?

19. How are local community residents identified for inclusion in tourism development?
20. If community concerns and needs do not influence tourism, what alternative approaches are used to address their concerns?
21. How are other stakeholders encouraged to collaborate?
22. When I mention the TAST—what do you immediately think of?
23. In your opinion, what were the reasons for TAST?
24. Do you remember the story about the role that this community played in the TAST. What is it? Is this story still important to you?
25. Are there any taboos observed in connection with the TAST? Mention if any.
26. What are the consequences of going contrary to these taboos? Probe for details
27. Are there any commemorative programmes or events related to the TAST? If ‘yes’, probe into reasons for commemoration, organization, financing, # of participants and role of the traditional authorities and community in such events.
28. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the TAST on this community?
29. In your opinion, what are the costs or disadvantages of the TAST?
30. Do you think the benefits of TAST outweigh the costs or vice versa? Probe for reasons
  
31. Tell me how you feel about the image of this community as former slave site/route?
32. Are you comfortable with tourists visiting this community to learn about the TAST or in search of their ancestry? How do you feel about it?
33. Does their visit remind you of the TAST? Why?
34. If the traditional authority is approached to provide information about the TAST will you be willing to do so?
35. What encourages the traditional authority to participate in commemorative ceremonies about the TAST?
36. Do you feel some visitors are drawn to this community because of a personal connection to the TAST? Probe for details
37. Do you feel some people visit out of an interest in this community’s history linked to the TAST? Probe for details

38. Do you believe that some visitors come because of a feeling of guilt? Probe for details
39. Tell me the traditional authority's favourite story to tell tourists about the TAST? Why?
40. Tell me the story of the time when this community started attracting visitor/tourists. What was told of how descendants of 'slaves' and descendants of slaveholders were feeling, what did the traditional do about stigmatization?
41. Are there other stories that are important but I didn't ask about?
42. When you think about the TAST and the memories the community hold, describe that. What kind of memories do you want to remember and kind of memories do you want to forget?
43. How are descendants of "slaves" identified?
44. How are descendants of enslavers identified?
45. Are there any abusive words used to describe descendants "slaves" and enslavers in this community? Probe for instances and reasons
46. Are descendants of "slaves" discriminated against in relation to:
  - Stool/skin land acquisition
  - Marriage
  - Employment
  - Chieftaincy issues? Probe for instances.
47. Tell me the stories that that are told of descendants of "slaves"/enslavers past or history.
48. Do you think descendants of "slaves"/enslavers will someday not be discriminated against? What makes you believe or feel that way?
49. Do you know about the Slave Route Project? What do you about the Slave Route Project?
50. Do you support the Slave Route Project? Why?
51. Are you aware of any community promoting slavery heritage in Ghana? If 'yes', mention community, location, and your impressions.
52. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the promoting TAST relics for tourism?

53. Think about the SRP. Tell me how the SRP's portrayal of TAST memories compares to yours. Is it similar or different?
54. Think about how people in this community (i.e. descendants of 'slaves', descendant of enslavers, local residents) view the SRP in relation to their status in this community. Is it lower or higher than your expectations?
55. What role do you think descendants of 'slaves' should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community?
56. What role you think descendants of enslavers should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community
57. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to help promote slavery heritage tourism community?
58. What role do you think the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board and the Ghana Tourism Authority should play in developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism here?

**Profile**

59. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
60. Gender:    Male    Female
61. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
62. Highest level of education: \_\_\_\_\_
63. How long have you being continuously in this community? \_\_\_\_\_
64. Is any member of your household, other than yourself employed in a tourism or tourism-related business?    Yes            No



**Appendix IV: Interview schedule for descendants of ‘slaves’ and descendants of  
enslavers**

School of  
Hotel & Tourism Management  
酒店及旅遊業管理學院



THE HONG KONG  
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
香港理工大學

**THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF HOTEL & TOURISM MANAGEMENT**

**DEVELOPING GHANA’S SLAVE ROUTE PROJECT FOR CULTURAL TOURISM:  
PLANNING AND MARKETING IMPLICATIONS**

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR DESCENDANTS OF ‘SLAVES’ AND  
DESCENDANTS OF ENSLAVERS**

Dear Sir/Madam

You are invited to participate in this study being conducted by the researcher who is a doctoral candidate at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The purpose of the study is to understand how community members feel about developing Ghana’s Slave Routes for tourism. I shall be grateful if you spare approximately 1 hour of your valuable time to share your opinion to the best of your ability. Please note that this is a purely academic exercise and your participation is voluntary. Even though your responses are important to the outcome of the study, you are not guaranteed any personal benefits. You may withdraw from the study any time without penalty. You are also reminded that some of the questions are sensitive and include your perceptions about issues on slave descent and ethnic/racial identity.

Finally, the information will be kept confidential and your anonymity is assured. All identifying characteristics will be removed if direct quotations are used in any report resulting from this study. If at any time you have questions regarding your participation or the procedures do not hesitate to contact Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes at +233 544 "\*\*\*\*\*"or aaron.yankholmes@\*\*\*\*\*"or Prof. Bob McKercher at bob.mckercher@\*\*\*\*\*"This research project has received ethics clearance from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee (HSESC). The results will be reported in my PhD dissertation and other research outlets.

Thank you in advance of your time

1. Who visits your community? Do any similar characteristics stand out, for example age cohort? Does one gender appear to frequent more than the other does? Does any group composition stand out?
2. Where do you find most of the visitors come from?
3. When do they visit? Are there peak visitation times? Week/month/year/holidays?
4. How long do visitors usually stay?
5. Do you notice if they visit particular attraction(s)?
6. Have visitors, either directly or indirectly spoken to you about reasons why there are visiting this/these attraction(s)?
7. If so, what kind of reasons do they give?
8. How do you feel about being part of this community?
9. How do you feel about the introduction/expansion of tourism in this community? Probe for reasons.
10. How does tourism affect: (i) you and your family life here; (ii) the community? (iii) the environment?
11. What would be your reaction if you were to move away or resettled elsewhere from this community because of tourism? Probe for reasons
12. What aspect of community development would you like changed to improve quality of life? Probe for reasons
13. What do you think government can do to help promote tourism in this community? Probe issues at least three issues
14. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to promote tourism in this community? Probe for at least three issues.
15. Could you please describe any examples where tourism has worked out well here or where tourism activities haven't worked out... or have brought or caused some conflicts or problems? Why was this?
16. If so can you please describe who is involved, how decisions are made, and how well it is working?
17. Is any work being done to respond to [or avoid some of the concerns that local community residents have about tourism activities and growth (e.g. management of TAST sites, # of visitors; equitable distribution of tourism revenue)?

18. Who should be part of how tourism decisions and plans are made in the community? Why?
19. Are your input sought in any tourism related development in this community? If 'yes', how is the input sought? If 'no', how do you think your non-involvement affects tourism development?
20. How are local community residents identified for inclusion in tourism development?
21. If community concerns and needs do not influence tourism, what alternative approaches are used to address their concerns?
22. How are other stakeholders encouraged to collaborate?
23. When I mention the TAST—what do you immediately think of?
24. In your opinion, what were the reasons for TAST?
25. Do you remember the first story you heard about the role of that this community played in the TAST. What is it? Is this story still important to you?
26. Are there any taboos observed in connection with the TAST? Mention if any.
27. What are the consequences of going contrary to these taboos?
28. Are there any commemorative programmes or events related to the TAST? If 'yes', probe into reasons for commemoration, organization, financing, # of participants and role of the traditional authorities, and community in such events.
29. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the TAST on this community?
30. In your opinion, what are the costs or disadvantages of the TAST?
31. Do you think the benefits of TAST outweigh the costs or vice versa? Probe for reasons
32. Tell me how you feel about living in this community its image as former slave site/route?
33. Are you comfortable with tourists visiting this community to learn about the TAST or in search of their ancestry? How do you feel about it?
34. Does their visit remind you of the TAST? Why?
35. If you are approached to provide information about the TAST will you be willing to do so?
36. What encourages you to talk about the TAST?

37. Do you feel some visitors are drawn to this community because of a personal connection to the TAST?
38. Do you feel some people visit out of an interest in this community's history linked to the TAST?
39. Do you believe that some visitors come because of a feeling of guilt? Explain
40. Tell me the story or stories that are most told. Why is this story so important?
41. Tell me your favourite story to tell others about the TAST? Why?
42. Tell me the story of the time when this community started attracting visitor/tourists. Were you here then? What was said of how descendants of slaves/enslavers were feeling, what they were doing?
43. Are there any stories that are important but I didn't ask about?
44. When you think about the TAST and the memories you hold, describe that. What kind of memories does want to remember and kind of memories do you want to forget.
45. In your opinion, do you think other community residents' value you as a member of this community? Probe for nature of relationship with other community residents and involvement in community (involvement traditional festivals, community projects etc.)
46. Are there any abusive words used to describe you? Probe for instances and reasons
47. To what extent do you think you are discriminated against in relation to:
  - Stool/skin land acquisition
  - Marriage
  - Employment
  - Chieftaincy issues? Probe for instances.
48. Tell me the stories that that are told of descendants of 'slaves'/descendants of enslavers past or history.
49. Do you think descendants of "slaves"/enslavers will someday not be discriminated against? What makes you believe or feel that way?
50. Do you know about the Slave Route Project? What do you about the Slave Route Project?
51. Do you support the Slave Route Project? Why?

52. Are you aware of any community promoting slavery heritage in Ghana? If 'yes', mention community, location, and your impressions.
53. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the promoting TAST relics for tourism?
54. Think about the SRP. Tell me how the SRP's portrayal of TAST memories compares to yours. Is it similar or different?
55. Think about how people in this community (descendants of "slaves"/enslavers, local residents, traditional authorities) view the SRP in relation to their status in this community. Is it lower or higher than your expectations?
56. What role do you think descendants of 'slaves/descendants of enslavers should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community?
57. What role you think descendants of enslavers should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community
58. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to help promote slavery heritage tourism community?
59. What role do you think the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board and the Ghana Tourism Authority should play in developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism here?

**Profile**

60. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
61. Gender:    Male    Female
62. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
63. Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_
64. How many people are in your household? \_\_\_\_\_
65. Highest level of education: \_\_\_\_\_
66. How long have you being continuously in this community? \_\_\_\_\_
67. Do you own any property in this community? If yes, mention them
68. Do you benefit from tourism in this community in any way?    Yes    No. How and why?
69. Have you ever worked in the tourism or related tourism job in this community?

70. If yes, is this tourism or tourism related job?    Full-time    Part-time

71. Is any member of your household, other than yourself employed in a tourism or  
tourism-related business?    Yes                    No

## Appendix V: Interview schedule for expatriate diasporan Africans

School of  
Hotel & Tourism Management  
酒店及旅遊業管理學院



THE HONG KONG  
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY  
香港理工大學

### THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF HOTEL & TOURISM MANAGEMENT

#### DEVELOPING GHANA'S SLAVE ROUTE PROJECT FOR CULTURAL TOURISM: PLANNING AND MARKETING IMPLICATIONS

#### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR EXPATRIATE DIASPORAN AFRICANS

Dear Sir/Madam

You are invited to participate in this study being conducted by the researcher who is a doctoral candidate at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The purpose of the study is to understand how community members feel about developing Ghana's Slave Routes for tourism. I shall be grateful if you spare approximately 1 hour of your valuable time to share your opinion to the best of your ability. Please note that this is a purely academic exercise and your participation is voluntary. Even though your responses are important to the outcome of the study, you are not guaranteed any personal benefits. You may withdraw from the study any time without penalty. You are also reminded that some of the questions are sensitive and include your perceptions about issues on slave descent and ethnic/racial identity.

Finally, the information will be kept confidential and your anonymity is assured. All identifying characteristics will be removed if direct quotations are used in any report resulting from this study. If at any time you have questions regarding your participation or the procedures do not hesitate to contact Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes at +233 544 '\*\*\*\*\*' or aaron.yankholmes@\*\*\*\*\* or Prof. Bob McKercher at bob.mckercher@\*\*\*\*\*. This research project has received ethics clearance from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee (HSESC). The results will be reported in my PhD dissertation and other research outlets.

Thank you in advance of your time

1. Can you please tell me about yourself?
2. When did you first visit Ghana? Who did you travel with? What were your reasons for visiting? What were the views of your family and friends regarding your trip?
3. Would you consider that a tourism trip? Why or why not?
4. What are your perceptions of Ghana?
5. Have your opinions about Ghana changed since returning? If your opinions have changed, would please share your experiences of why it has changed?
6. Have you ever looked up your family history? Why?
7. Is this important for other family members? Explain how so or how not?
8. In your opinion is Ghana your homeland? Would you travel to other part of Africa in search of your ancestral roots? Probe for reasons?
9. What has been your experience? Please describe them?
10. When you think about heritage and roots/genealogy, what does it mean to you?
11. What are your feelings of heritage and genealogy? Do you consider yourself to be of African descent? Is African heritage important to you? Why?
12. Considering all things, what would you say is the most important aspect of heritage or ancestry in your life?
13. Do you participate in the activities of diasporan interest groups or associations? If yes please probe for such groups and reasons for participation.
14. Do you attend events or perform rituals related to the Transatlantic Slave Trade? Probe for nature of rituals and participants.
15. Is there anything about heritage of ancestry that we have not talked about but you would like to add?
16. How do you feel about tourism in this community? Who visits your community? Do any similar characteristics stand out, for example country, ethnic/racial backgrounds? Does one ethnic identity or race appear to frequent more than the other does?
17. Have you notice if they visit particular attraction(s) or activities they engage in? If yes, have visitors, either directly or indirectly spoken to you about reasons why there are visiting this/these attraction(s) or engaged in such activities? If so, what kind of reasons do they give?
18. What opinions do you about tourists visiting this community? Does the presence of tourist influence your daily activities or community life?
19. How would you describe your opinions towards tourism impact on this community? Probe for impact on environment and community life.
20. How would you describe the relationship between: (i) local residents and tourists? (ii) tourists and traditional authorities.



21. What aspect of community development would you like changed to improve quality of life? Probe for reasons
22. What do you think government can do to help promote tourism in this community? Probe issues at least three issues
23. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to promote tourism in this community? Probe for at least three issues.
24. Could you please describe any examples where tourism has worked out well here or where tourism activities haven't worked out... or have brought or caused some conflicts or problems? Why was this?
25. If so can you please describe who is involved, how decisions are made, and how well it is working?
26. Is any work being done to respond to [or avoid] some of the concerns that local community residents have about tourism activities and growth (e.g. management of TAST sites, #of visitors; equitable distribution of tourism revenue)
27. Who do think should be part of how tourism decisions and plans are made in the community? Why?
28. Are your input sought in any tourism related development in this community? If 'yes', how is the input sought? If 'no', how do you think your non-involvement affects tourism development?
29. How are local community members identified for inclusion in tourism development?
30. If community concerns and needs do not influence tourism, what alternative approaches are used to address their concerns?
31. When I mention the TAST—what do you immediately think of?
32. In your opinion, what were the reasons for TAST?
33. Do you remember the first story you heard about the role of this community in the TAST. What is it? Is this story still important to you?
34. Are you aware of any local taboos observed in connection with the TAST? Mention if any.
35. What are the consequences of going contrary to these taboos?
36. Are there any commemorative programmes or events related to the TAST that you participate? If 'yes', probe into reasons for commemoration, organization, financing, # of participants and role of the traditional authorities, and community in such events.
37. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the TAST on this community?
38. In your opinion, what are the costs or disadvantages of the TAST?
39. Do you think the benefits of TAST outweigh the costs or vice versa? Probe for reasons

40. Tell me how you feel about living in this community its image as former slave site/route?
41. Are you comfortable with tourists visiting this community to learn about the TAST or in search of their ancestry? How do you feel about it?
42. Does their visit remind you of the TAST? Why?
43. If you are approached to provide information about the TAST will you be willing to do so?
44. What encourages you to talk about the TAST?
45. Do you feel some visitors are drawn to this community because of a personal connection to the TAST?
46. Do you feel some people visit out of an interest in this community's history linked to the TAST?
47. Do you believe that some visitors come because of a feeling of guilt?
48. When you think about the TAST and the memories you hold, describe that. What kind of memories do you want to remember and kind of memories do you want to forget?
49. In your opinion, do you think other community members' value you as a member of this community? Probe for nature of relationship with other community residents and involvement in community (involvement traditional festivals, community projects etc.)
50. Are there any abusive words used to describe you? Probe for instances and reasons
51. To what extent do you think you are discriminated against in relation to: (i) stool/skin land acquisition? (ii) marriage? (iii) business activities? (iv) (v) chieftaincy? Probe for instances.
52. Are you aware of the presence of descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers and descendants of mullatos in this community? If yes, how did you, if no, why?
53. Tell me the stories that that are told of descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers and descendants of mullatos past or history that you have heard.
54. Do you think descendants of 'slaves' will someday not be discriminated against? What makes you believe or feel that way?
55. Do you know about the Slave Route Project? What do you about the Slave Route Project?
56. Do you support the Slave Route Project? Why?
57. Are you aware of any community promoting slavery heritage in Ghana? If 'yes', mention community, location, and your impressions.
58. In your opinion, what are the effects (or impacts) of the promoting TAST relics for tourism?

59. Think about the SRP. Tell me how the SRP's portrayal of TAST memories compares to yours. Is it similar or different?
60. Think about how people in this community (descendants of 'slaves', descendants of enslavers, descendants of mullatos, local residents, traditional authorities) view the SRP in relation to their status in this community. Is it lower or higher than your expectations?
61. What role do you think descendants of African 'slaves' should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community?
62. What role you think descendants of enslavers should play in the developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism in this community
63. What do you think the traditional authorities can do to help promote slavery heritage tourism community?
64. What role do you think the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board and the Ghana Tourism Authority should play in developing and promoting slavery heritage tourism here?

### **Profile**

65. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
66. Gender:    Male                      Female
67. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
68. Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_
69. How many people are in your household? \_\_\_\_\_
70. Highest level of education: \_\_\_\_\_
71. How long have you being continuously in this community? \_\_\_\_\_
72. Do you own any property in this community? If yes, mention them
73. Do you benefit from tourism in this community in any way?    Yes    No. How and why?
74. Have you ever worked in the tourism or related tourism job in this community?
75. If yes, is this tourism or tourism related job?    Full-time    Part-time
76. Is any member of your household, other than yourself employed in a tourism or tourism-related business?    Yes              No

## Appendix VI: Informed consent form



**Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes**

This informed consent form is for participants in *Assin Manso*, Cape Coast, *Elmina Bono Manso* and *Salaga* who we are inviting to participate in a doctoral thesis research, titled “Developing Ghana’s Slave Route Project for Cultural tourism: Planning and marketing implications”.

## **PART I: Introduction**

I am Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes, a doctoral student at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong. I am doing research on the developing the Ghana's Slave Route Project for cultural tourism in this community. I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of this research. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask them of me or of another researcher.

### **Purpose of the research**

Your community has been identified as having played a major role in the Transatlantic Slave Trade (TAST). We want to find ways to developing, promoting and managing relics associated with the TAST for cultural tourism. We believe that you can help us by telling us what you know both about your community involvement in the TAST and current efforts to promote tourism. We want to learn what people who live or work here remember about the TAST and why some people do not. We want to learn about the different ways that people try to commemorate events associated with the TAST, and how people feel about such public commemoration. We also want to know more about local initiative towards promoting TAST heritage sites in this community because this knowledge might help us to learn how to better manage such sites in this community.

### **Type of research intervention**

This research will involve your participation in a survey that will take about one and a half hours, or a one-on-one interview varied in length from 45 minutes to 1 hour.

### **Participant selection**

You are being invited to take part in this research because we feel that your experience as a responsible citizen can contribute much to our understanding and knowledge of TAST commemorative practices and tourism related issues.

### **Voluntary participation**

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. If you choose not to participate please do so without fear or favour and nothing will change.

### **Procedures**

We are asking you to help us learn more about TAST issues and tourism development in your community. We are inviting you to take part in this research project. If you accept, you will be asked to:

#### Interviews

Participate in an interview with myself. During the interview, I will sit down with you in a comfortable place. If it is better for you, the interview can take place in your home or any public place. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question. No one else but me will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else will access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be tape-recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the tape. The tape will be kept [explain how the tape will be stored]. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except [name of person(s)] will have access to the tapes. The tapes will be destroyed after a year.

#### Questionnaire survey

Fill out a survey, which will be provided and collected by a member of the research team. The questionnaire will be read to you and you can say out loud the answer you want the interviewer to write down. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions included in the survey, you may ask the interviewer to skip them and move on to the next question. [Describe how the survey will be distributed and collected]. The information recorded is confidential, your name is not being included on the forms, only a house number will identify you, and no one else will have access to your survey.

**Duration**

The research will be undertaken over one month in total. During this time, we will visit you once (for questionnaire survey) for an interview except in cases where you could not complete earlier interviews a follow-up visit is necessary. The group discussion will be held once and will take about one and a half hours.

**Risks**

We are asking you to share with us very emotional sensitive information, and you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the discussion/interview/survey if you don't wish to do so, and that is fine. You do not have to give us any reason for not responding to any question or for refusing to take part in the interview.

**Benefits**

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to help us find out more about how to develop and promote slavery heritage tourism in your community

Questionnaire survey

The research being done in the community may draw attention and if you participate you may be asked questions by other people in the community. We will not be sharing information about you to anyone outside of the research team. The information that we collect from this research project will be kept private. Any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. Only the researchers will know what your number is and we keep that information safely. It will not be shared with or given to anyone.

Interviews

We will ask you not to talk to people in your household about what was discussed. We will, in other words, ask you to keep what you said in the interview confidential. You should know, however, that we cannot stop or prevent members of the community or household who discuss what was said from sharing things that should be confidential.

### **Sharing the results**

Nothing that you tell us today will be shared with anybody outside the research team, and nothing will be attributed to you by name. The knowledge that we get from this research will be shared with you and your community before it is made widely available to the public. Each participant will receive a summary of the results. There will also be small meetings in the community and these will be announced. Following the meetings, we will publish the results so that other interested people may learn from the research.

### **Right to refuse or withdraw**

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so, and choosing to participate will not affect your job or other commitment in any way. You may stop participating in the [interview/survey] at any time that you wish without any penalty. I will give you an opportunity at the end of the interview/discussion/survey to review your remarks, and you can ask to modify or remove portions of those, if you do not agree with my notes or if I did not understand you correctly.

### **Who to contact**

If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact me, Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes, at +852 9437\*\*\*\*\* or aaron.yankholmes@\*\*\*\*\* or Prof Bob McKercher as bob.mckercher@\*\*\*\*\* This proposal has been reviewed and approved by The Hong Kong Polytechnic University Human Subjects Ethics Sub-committee (HSESC), which is a committee whose task it is to make sure that research participants are protected from harm. If you wish to find about more about the HSESC, contact Ms Kath Lui (rokath@) or visit the their website <http://www.polyu.edu.hk/hsec/index.html>.



PART II: CERTIFICATE OF CONSENT

*I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study*

Print Name of Participant \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Participant \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Day/month/year

**If illiterate<sup>1</sup>**

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

Print name of witness: \_\_\_\_\_ Thumbprint of participant



Signature of witness: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ (D/M/Year)

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands that the following will be done:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the

<sup>1</sup> A literate witness must sign. Participants who are illiterate should include their thumb print as well.

best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher/person taking the consent \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ (D/M/Year)

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