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University of the Witwatersrand

Wits School of Arts

Sustainable heritage management and tourism development: A case study from Elmina, Ghana

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by coursework and research report

Date: February 2014

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Arts, Culture and Heritage Management, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.



David Honka

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ABSTRACT

The case of Elmina is one where heritage management, heritage tourism and sustainable development were interlinked through the Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme (ECHMP), an integrated urban management programme. Heritage was to be regarded as a resource for economic empowerment, generating benefits for the local community development through: (1) job creation in heritage management; (2) income generation through local tourism development; and (3) effective involvement of community stakeholders. Despite the successful rehabilitation of heritage properties and other improvements in urban revitalization, sustainability could not be achieved in many of the activities of the ECHMP. This was mainly due to a lack of funding and weak stakeholder collaboration and challenges in the maintenance of achievements. Involvement of the local community in Elmina's tourism market is low and heritage assets do not generate sustainable sources of income.

Keywords

Elmina; Elmina Cultural and Heritage Management Programme (ECHMP); Ghana; Heritage management; Heritage tourism; Sustainable development

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ABBREVIATIONS

ECHMP	Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme
EDF	Elmina Development Fund
GMMB	Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
GTB/GTA	Ghana Tourist Board, now: Ghana Tourist Authority
KEEA	Komenda Edina Eguafo Abrem, District Assembly of Elmina
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, University of Groningen
ILGS	Institute of Local Government Studies, Accra
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MPO	Municipality Planning Office
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Centre

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Heritage Tourism and its implications for Heritage Management

On 13 December 2012[1] the billionth international visitor was recorded arriving, and the trend seems set to continue.[2] In same year, receipts from international tourism increased globally by 4% to US$ 1075 billion.[3] For many national economies, tourism contributes significantly to economic growth. The UNWTO has stated that:

> international tourism (travel and passenger transport) accounts for 30% of the world's exports of services and 6% of overall exports of goods and services. As a worldwide export category, tourism ranks fifth after fuels, chemicals, food and automotive products, while ranking first in many developing countries.[4]

Seen as export product of services, tourism is being recognised as a measurable resource, contributing to the gross domestic product (GDP) of a country. The tourist has a wide range of motivations to travel. One of the most important is to seek out cultural experiences, which accounts for about 40% of global tourism (OECD, 2009).[5]

Heritage tourism, as specific expression of cultural tourism, is presently one of the fastest growing tourist sectors (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). In the case of less-developed countries, the global tourism market plays a significant role. International tourist arrivals in less-developed countries has been seen to have increased by an average of 6.5% each year between 1990-2005, whereas the growth rate in developed countries was not more than 3 percent. An "increase in travel demand is related directly to cultural heritage as a resource for tourism", of which, World

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1 Since 1990 (435 Millions) the international tourists arrivals has been more than doubled. Available from: <http://1billiontourists.unwto.org> (Accessed on 31 May, 2013).

2 "International tourist arrivals worldwide will increase by 3.3% a year from 2010 to 2030 to reach 1.8 billion by 2030 according to UNWTO long term forecast *Tourism Towards 2030*", UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2013, p. 2, Available from: <http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_highlights13_en_hr.pdf> (Accessed on 10 July, 2013).

3 UNWTO, 15 May 2013, "International tourism receipts grew by 4% in 2012". Available from: <http://media.unwto.org/en/press-release/2013-05-15/international-tourism-receipts-grew-4-2012> (Accessed on 31 May, 2013).

4 Ibid.

5 Available from: < http://www.em.gov.lv/images/modules/items/OECD_Tourism_Culture.pdf> (Accessed on 10 June, 2013).

Heritage sites are noted as a country's most important resources (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009: 9)

World Heritage sites (WH sites) enjoy great popularity. Looking at the development of WH tourism, it is noticeable that a huge market has been established, as WH (World Heritage) as a phenomenon has become a catalyst for the global cultural tourism. Well known examples of frequently and much visited WH sites are Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the Taj Mahal in India or the Great Wall of China.

Heritage tourism comprises a complex relationship between the site, its management, the visitors, and the local community living around this site. The growth of tourism globally has obvious implications for the management of heritage sites. The growing interest of the visitors in "collecting" experiences of heritage can have both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, visitors contribute to the conservation of the site by paying an entrance fee (revenue generation), whereas on the other hand, mass tourism can affect the integrity of the historical site. Thus, recently nominated WH sites need to be prepared for the sudden influx of international tourism driven by the WH designation.

To protect heritage, the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has set principles and guidelines for the conservation and preservation of these unique sites. World Heritage Management supports the safeguarding of heritage properties and functions as a global agenda, providing a strong legal framework for the member states (Askew, 2010).

As this is a process, it is important to continuously update these guidelines in order to adapt them to the challenges of the 21st century. The almost 1000 WH sites which have been nominated up to today are challenged in different ways. Apart from mass tourism, further contemporary challenges for safeguarding heritage sites include the environmental (such as the erosion through increasing rainfall at Westminster Abbey in London), resource exploitation near natural sites (e.g. mining at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape), and the impact of war and political crises (e.g. Timbuktu in Mali). Thus, raising awareness plays a crucial role to make heritage conservation and daily practices work together (Di Giovine 2009).

Through constantly updating the *Operational Guidelines* (2012) and a series of recommendations by UNESCO and the WH Committees each year, the WH concept

was amended, in order to respond to these challenges. Since the 1990s the recognition of sustainability in Heritage Management has grown. However, the comprehensive reflection of sustainability in policies and recommendations by UNESCO took even longer, and crucial concrete steps have only been accomplished in the last decade.

Besides the challenges, the focus of research has been placed more on the significance of the local community. 40 years after the launch of the WH Convention in 1972 as global agenda for the protection of heritage with *Outstanding Universal Value*, the role of the local community in the context of sustainability has become a recurring topic in the international discussions that take place at UNESCO conferences and meetings.[6]

By involving the local community in fields around heritage management and tourism, in particular in the context of the globalisation (Labadi and Long, 2010), it raises the question how they are involved and how they benefit from their own heritage. And, if (heritage) tourism is contributing to economic growth does is automatically lead to *development*? It is the basic assumption of the present paper, that heritage has not only a cultural value, but is also a socio-economic resource, which can be used as a catalyst for economic development. Through the growing tourism demand for cultural experiences, heritage has been made applicable as a tool functioning in multiple ways – from a gift of the past to a resource for the future. By analysing connection between site management, the tourist market and the role of the local community in a single case study, I investigate the significance of heritage as socio-economic resource.

[6] One of the global events handled by UNESCO celebrating the 40th anniversary of the WH Convention has taken place in Johannesburg, where I had the opportunity to present my research. Information is generally available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/40years> (Accessed on 11 July, 2013). Details about the conference in Johannesburg from 26–29 September, 2012 can be obtained from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/839> (Accessed on 11 July, 2013).

1.2. Research scope

The focus of this case study is the small town of Elmina, situated on the Ghanaian Central Coast, close to the major city of the region, Cape Coast. In Elmina, there are two WH sites, the Elmina Castle/St. George's Castle (São Jorge da Mina) and the Fort St. Jago (also known as Fort Coenraadsburg), which bear witness to the era of European Colonialism in Africa. The castle was built by the Portuguese in 1482, conquered by the Dutch in 1637, sold to the British in 1872 and handed over to Ghana after independence in 1957. The Fort was built by the Dutch in 1660 for the protection of the Castle. Along with other castles, forts and lodges situated on Ghana's coastline, the Elmina Castle belongs to a group of heritage sites which mainly commemorate the Atlantic Slave Trade. This historical significance results in a high influx of visitors coming to the Elmina Castle, and thus, it is not surprising that it has become a major tourism destination in Ghana. In 2011, slightly more than 80,000 visitors entered the castle, whose motivations for visiting are multi-faceted. In the case of the African Diaspora visitors for example, which come mainly from the United States of America, the motivation to visit the Elmina Castle, and other related sites concerned with the legacy of the slave trade, is driven by the search for their cultural heritage.

Although Elmina is well known for these two WH sites, its historical area has more sites to offer for tourist activities, namely the so-called Asafo Posts (local traditional authority houses), plentiful historic merchant houses and a Dutch cemetery, all created during the Dutch presence from 1637 until 1872.

In a comprehensive approach to WH Management, WH sites are not only considered for their commemorative value, but also as resources for economic valorisation. The benefits created for the development of the local community can be (1) job creation in heritage management; (2) income generation through local tourism development; and (3) effective involvement of community stakeholders. The UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre (WHC) have recognised the importance of the interplay between heritage site management and sustainable development, and this has been brought increasingly onto the agenda of the annual meetings of the World Heritage Committee. The research presented here draws upon these connections.

Given the development paradigm in Elmina, between 2002 and 2006, the *Elmina Cultural Heritage and Management Programme* (ECHMP) was established in order to enhance local development in the town, based on a strategy for integrated urban heritage management. Its goals were to revitalise heritage, stimulate tourism activities in the town, and improve social and economic conditions in Elmina.

1.3. Aims and research questions

In this case study, I examine how Elmina's World Heritage Sites and other heritage resources are used and managed. The aim is to assess how the two interlinked heritage tools, namely heritage conservation and cultural tourism, contribute not only to the preservation of historical values, but also provide socio-economic assets and act as an engine for entrepreneurial opportunities (job-creation and local tourism initiatives) and economic growth (investment and income generation) in order to sustainably benefit the community living around the heritage sites.

The analysis constitutes a follow-up to the ECHMP and is related to selected key issues of its heritage management activities. It aims to critically analyse some of the outcomes of the project, which aimed to utilise heritage resources to stimulate economic development in Elmina.

Finally, the research will measure whether the heritage resources of Elmina, WH sites and others, are managed sustainably according to the principles and guidelines provided by UNESCO for a sustainable heritage management approach.

As the research follows up on the key issues of the ECHMP, the following questions are to be raised: which activities were planed and implemented to revitalize Elmina's urban environment? Did the strategy follow a sustainable approach to provide a long-term perspective for the creation of job opportunities in the conservation, tourism and hospitality sectors? Which stakeholders were involved and how were they working together in order to achieve the programme goals? How did representatives of the local community participate – if at all – in the decision-making process and the implementation of the ECHMP?; and, based on the answers to these questions, which achievements can be stated? This implies a selectively critical evaluation of the programme.

In order to evaluate the ECHMP, it is necessary to measure the various influences of heritage tourism on the economic situation in Elmina. This will be based on the following queries: how does the tourist demand responding to the supply of heritage in the Elmina case? Which different visitor groups access the different heritage sites? Do private initiatives in the tourism sector exist? Are such operations supported by the national government and the local municipality? How does Elmina's community respond to tourism? How is the interaction between the local people and the visitors? Which economic and social impact does tourism have on Elmina's Community? This leads to the key questions: Is heritage tourism a driver for economic development in Elmina? Are the heritage resources in Elmina mainly of historic and touristic value, or are they also of value for economic development to benefit Elmina's local economy? Does sustainable heritage management take place in Elmina?

1.4. Rationale

The research will provide an important case study to the academic research on World Heritage Site management, sustainable community development and the intermediate role that heritage tourism can play. Elmina represents an exemplary case for a number of reasons.

Firstly, although Ghana is a middle-income country, Elmina does not show the same level of economic development and average household income as for example Cape Coast, its bigger neighbour, which also receives more tourist attention. Secondly, due to its castles and to beach and nature tourism, the Cape Coastal region holds a prime position in Ghanaian tourism. Elmina has additional heritage resources, which could be valorised for tourism potential. Finally, no substantial evaluation of the ECHMP, which was specifically designed to foster the relation between heritage management, economic development and cultural tourism, has been conducted yet. Thus, the case study will add to limited secondary literature based on field research and primary sources. Lastly, the case study can contribute to the consideration of heritage resources as economic assets.

1.5. Structure of the Research Report

Chapter 1 introduces the context, setting the scope, outlining the study aims and questions and explaining the rationale.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework for my research. From literature study I derive the working hypothesis, which is addressed by the chosen case study (Chapter 5).

Chapter 3 explains the methodological approach of the study.

Chapter 4, provides background information, reviews important literature with regard to Elmina and aspect of its heritage management (for methodological reason I did not include it in the theoretical framework of Chapter 2, see below), and in the following I present my findings from fieldwork and documentary analysis.

In Chapter 5, I analyse the findings of this study by drawing on the literature mentioned in the theoretical framework to evaluate its claim.

In Chapter 6, I present concisely my study results and reflect on the implications for future research.

This report uses a wide range of figures in form of data presentation and photographic documentation material to accompany the argument presented.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Heritage management means more than the conservation of a property. It contains various elements of tourism and sustainable development, the latter terminology gaining its initial currency in the early 1990s. Sue Millar for example described conservation & tourism as “complementary agents in the management of heritage attractions” (1989: 9). Thus, heritage tourism plays a crucial role in every heritage site management plan. Despite some negative examples, tourism can for instance cause damage at heritage sites (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002), where the widely expressed opinion is that both conservation and tourism can contribute to the socio-economic development of the local community living around heritage sites.

The relationship between Heritage Conservation, Heritage Tourism and Economic Development has become of increasing interest to scholars as, for example the establishment of a new research journal, the *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* (Roders and Van Oers, 2011) illustrates. Though the interconnection of these three subjects is relatively new in the research and not very well covered in the literature available, the literature nonethless provided some important general theoretical foundations for the current study. It will be built upon in the fieldwork in order to address the research questions in the case-study presented here. Moreover, I will derive some assumptions from these theoretical foundations and provide analysis of them.

2.1. Heritage Tourism

As indicated in the introduction, heritage and culture have become the main stimulus for tourism. Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) have stated that interest for (cultural) heritage contributes a growing proportion towards the overall world tourism demand. This might be part of the reason for the increase in attention given to heritage tourism and the development of the scope of this concept in the last two decades. The growing number of academic contributions on the subject of Heritage Tourism and its broad spectrum of subtopics has been noted by Garrod and Fyall (2000) and Timothy and Boyd (2003, 2006). Examples of research foci are Globalization and Heritage

Tourism (Labadi and Long, 2010); Assessing heritage tourism on (1) tourists' motivations and expectations of heritage sites (Poria et al. 2006), in particular of WH sites (Poria et al., 2013); (2) the impact of tourism on the environment (Holden 2008); local community development (Albert et al., 2012) with special consideration of resident attitudes towards tourism (Teye et al., 2002); and studies of all of these in the WH context (Jimura, 2011).

Where does the increased interest for culture and heritage in global tourism originate? To assess the motivations of visitors, some scholars have conducted field surveys at heritage sites (Poria et al., 2006). One recorded phenomenon is interest in sites related to death or disaster in history, which has been named "dark tourism" or "thanatourism". Already Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) included some aspects of tourism in their work about certain types of historical heritage sites such as concentration camps, prisons, battlefields and mass graves. Since the mid-90s, dark tourism or thanatourism has rapidly become an established concept in the field of heritage tourism, as a specific form of travel to memorial sites related to death or disaster (Biran et al., 2011; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Stone, 2006; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2011; White and Frew, 2013). The interest of tourists towards these sites within the framework of dark tourism has been analysed for various cases, such as, for example, in the work of Selmi et al. (2012) on Hiroshima in Japan, and Struthof in France, and has also been studied in relation to the Ghanaian Slave Castles in research by Mowatt and Chancellor (2011).

With regard to these various studies, which investigate the site visitors and their motivation, authors such as Takamitsu Jimura (2011b) have criticised the missing perspective on the communities adjacent to such sites and their perception of the increased number of visitors and their interests. This argument shows that heritage tourism is not only about the sites and their visitors as discrete aspects of heritage, but also necessarily about the community of residents adjacent to the WH site attracting tourists, as the flipside of the coin. Residents' attitudes have become an important tool to assess the impact of heritage tourism. This recognition is reflected in the growing attention on community involvement in the literature on World Heritage Tourism (See for example: Albert et al., 2012; Jimura, 2011b; M. Li et al., 2008).

Within the discourse on Heritage and Tourism Development, micro-level-impact studies are still quite scarce and authors contributing case-studies advocate to others

to compile more (Albert et al., 2012; Jimura, 2011b) (see Jimura 2011, Albert *et. al.* 2012).

It is commonly accepted that the residents' attitudes towards tourism are significant for the development of tourism around the World Heritage sites and the changes it causes in their community environment (Jimura, 2011b). However, attitudes of local communities and their members are not static throughout the different phases of tourism development (Teye et al., 2002), where this remains a consideration in tourism development planning at every stage. It would be beneficial to integrate residents into a monitoring and evaluation system of the respective tourism development project.

In general, the local communities react positively to tourism if it shows progressive economic results and benefits for them, such as job creation, and the improvement of local infrastructure. However, negative reactions can be provoked by socio-cultural changes and destructive environmental influences (Jimura, 2011b).

But Jimura (2011b) for example, captures different opinions he encountered when analysing questionnaire data and engaging in discussions with the inhabitants of the area surrounding Shirakawa-mura in Japan, on their attitudes towards tourism. The author did not find a major trend in either positive or negative attitudes, but rather a broad range of opinion. Interestingly, he observed a relation between the physical distance of community inhabitants to the places tourists mainly frequent and a rather negative attitude towards the influx of tourism. On the other hand, it seemed that the closer local citizens lived to the most-visited places, the more positive their attitude towards tourism. Jimura concluded that "on the whole, the residents who benefit from tourism are more likely to regard tourism impacts as positive changes" (2011b: 291).

In a similar vein, Timothy & Nyaupane (2009) describe three basic elements of the impact of tourism on a heritage site and its community. First, there is the physical impact on the integrity of the site that can be caused through mass tourism and careless visitors. Cases are also being reported where communities were relocated as part of a heritage management plan, which – according to those plans – allows tourists a proper site visit. This can lead to conflicts between heritage, tourism and local communities. Second, socio-cultural impacts can occur in the interaction between visitors and local community members. In a number of cases studied, local

people did not have best attitudes towards tourists for several reasons, one of which was the invasion of tourists into their socio-cultural environment with attitudes and behaviours that differed from their own. A third perspective considers the economic impacts of heritage tourism in the form of employment opportunities and private initiatives to engage with tourists, which contributed to the local economy (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009: 56-69).

Both motivation for increased demand by heritage sites visitors and residents' attitudes towards the influx of tourism and their interaction with the tourists on personal encounters and for economic interaction, were identified as crucial for the investigation of heritage tourism.

2.2. Heritage as an economic driver through tourism development

In research on the impact of tourism on host nations, two important issues are observable. On the one hand, tourism is being examined for its contribution to national identity, as the external perception of a nation can have a decisive impact on its own identity (Hampton, 2005). On the other hand, there is a great deal of literature available on the relevance of tourism for economic prosperity in countries and subnational entities with high influx of tourism, such as Ghana. The second issue of particular relevance to this research is the role of heritage tourism as a catalyst for economic development (Timothy and Boyd, 2003; Jimura, 2011; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009).

How is the relation between Heritage and Development through Tourism expressed in the literature? Within a broader analysis of heritage and development, the concept to use heritage as a resource for economic growth and development is frequent, and tourism plays a crucial role in this regard. According to Timothy and Boyd (2003), the money visitors spend during their stay (such as admission fees, souvenirs, transport, food and accommodation) generates significant revenue amounts and employment opportunities globally. This vital role of tourism is also recognised by Holden and Novelli (2011), who describe a major trend towards tourism, including heritage tourism, and the concomitant rise in efforts towards sustainable development. According to Hampton (2005: 736)**,** the economic impact of international tourism *sui generis* through "wealth creation, investment, and employment" in the host countries.

Furthermore, when considering macroeconomics, tourism has become a central economic pillar of many countries.[7] In line with the increasing role of heritage or cultural tourism by "more sophisticated and high-spending tourists", the recognition of heritage has also been incorporated into the political agenda of many countries in the form of a "national heritage strategy", such as in Laos for example (Labadi and Long, 2010: 7).

It is widely recognised and accepted that WH sites play a central role in the global heritage tourism market (Shakeley, 1998). Surely it can be said that the inscription on the WH list does not directly lead to an increase of visitors (Hall and Piggin, 2003; M. Li et al., 2008). However, depending on the site's popularity, the WH Status may help to generate new revenue, where WH has become a brand (Di Giovine 2009; Ryan and Silvanto, 2009) that has in turn developed a market, which can stimulate economic development in host countries.

Jimura (2011b) and others show in case studies how WH listing has impacted on the reputation of heritage sites, and how it improved the public recognition of these sites. However an enhancement of public recognition of the heritage site through its WH listing does not immediately imply conservation of the site and the growth of tourism to it, neither does it automatically promote socio-economic development of the local community where it is located. WH designation can indeed generate various other effects for the local communities adjacent to the newly designated sites. Jimura (2011b) shows this remarkably in the case of the WH site Ogimachi in Shirakawa-mura, Japan, which was listed in 1995. He outlines major issues which affect the impact of the WH designation on living-conditions of the communities situated around the WH site, both positively and negatively: (1) the rapidly increasing tourism; (2) the countrywide recognition of WH status which attracts domestic tourism; (3) the attitudes by the residents towards the WH status of Ogimachi and its conservation.

[7] My research does not contribute to the debate about the correlation between tourism growth and economic growth. As Samimi et al. (2011, p. 28) have outlined, the "tourism-led growth hypothesis" could be documented, and for some countries, not confirmed. For the present case of Ghana the macro-economic setting cannot be analysed and the current study meets its boundaries here. Although it might be fruitful to do an indepth-analysis of the macro-economic perspective on tourism development in Ghana or to assess the heritage tourism potential by using a market appeal-robusticity matrix (Li and Lap Bong Lo, 2004) which can support an analysis of tourism development on a micro-level in Elmina, this is beyond the scope of the study.

Increased numbers of visitors attracted by the WH designation creates huge challenges for site management, and interaction with local communities can follow. Data on Ogimachi shows that in 1995, the year of designation, 771,000 visitors (a slight increase compared to 1994 with 671,000) came to Shirakawa-mura, the town where Ogimachi is located. In the following year, this number increased to 1,019,000. Until 2008 there has been a further upward trend in visitor numbers (with 1,861,000 in 2008). This means that from the moment of designation in 1995 until 2008 the visitor rate has increased by 141% (Jimura, 2011a: 675). Jimura (2011b) states that this rapid increase in visitors to the site, together with the new tourism-related enterprises established in Shirakawa-mura, combined with the traffic congestion, impacts negatively on the environment.

It has also been emphasised that heritage management faces different challenges in developing countries, including the least developed countries (LDCs), than it does in developed countries, partially due to the existence of tourist infrastructure and different forms of tourism (Sharpley and Telfer, 2008; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009).

A notable topic of discussion in the literature deals with the question as to what kind of role tourism can play in economic and social development of developing countries at sub-national levels. On the one hand, it has been acknowledged that tourism can be considered as an instrument for poverty alleviation and local economic development (Holden et al., 2011; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Tourism management plans are significant, as Hampton argues, along the line of other authors: because of the high significance of tourism in LDCs as a valuable economic incentive, “planning assumes a central role within the local political economy, and highly detailed tourism developments plans are being created, with national, regional, and local masterplans being drawn up” (2005: 736). According to Hampton, these plans ought to address the community involvement in economic development activities related to tourism. Presenting the case study of Borobudur in Java, Indonesia, he illustrates the central and multi-functional role, small-scale local tourism enterprises can take in this regard. According to Hampton, “many LDC attractions have limited linkages to their nearby communities and operate largely as enclaves in the economy” (2005: 752). Consequently, the author advocates for a “radical rethinking of the relationships between such sites and the local host communities” and urges for “a new approach to tourism planning” (ibid.).

In addition, as Jimura pointed out, tourism-growth can change the economic environment such that the tourist market is seen as alternative to traditional economic sectors and industries for communities, especially in rural areas, and particularly after WH designation (Jimura, 2011b: 290).[8]

Other scholars do not evaluate tourism development in developing countries entirely positively. Mowforth and Munt (2003: 211) maintain that "there is a vast body of work that demonstrates that local communities in Third World countries reap few benefits from tourism because they have little control over the ways in which the industry is developed, they cannot match the financial resources available to external visitors, and their views are rarely heard" (cited in Hampton 2005: 740). Hampton adds that heritage site development and visitor increases can cause costs for the community in terms of maintenance and infrastructure that are not able to be borne by local government, which leads to challenging discussions about who is responsible to carry them (Hampton, 2005).

This argument can be related to another issue, namely the question as to whether the private sector can and should take a bigger role in local economic development in conjunction with tourism development, so as to guard against such effects from rapidly increasing tourism through private investment, including efforts in partnership with local municipalities.

Meanwhile, private investments to support the conservation of heritage sites and local infrastructure or economic development might relieve the burden on local municipalities, but this engagement can create new challenges. Starr (2010) critiques the interaction of heritage and business. On the one hand, private enterprises that interact with the heritage sites and use the value of that property in order to generate more business, "may lead to the encroachment of urban development on cultural heritage sites" (Starr, 2010: 148). On the other hand, as Starr noted, food courts and shopping malls (with international brands) in proximity to heritage sites resemble the commercialisation and commodification of heritage which raises ethical questions. Thus, Star points out, "the challenge is in finding a publicly and ethically acceptable balance between profit-making activities and the heritage values of a place" (2010:

[8] In the case of the WH site in Ogimachi near Shirakawa-mura, Japan, Jimura made the observation that the traditional industries such as forestry or agriculture have declined and tourism-development drives part of a replacement strategy.

149). Other examples are food courts at the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, Germany, or the concert of Pink Floyd at the ruins of Pompeii (1972). It remains a question as to how to value the contribution of these commercial enterprises towards conservation funds, when at the same time they raise concerns about the conservation of a site.

Commercial business (tour operators, hotels, restaurants etc.) can attract tourists, but can also destroy an authentic atmosphere (Starr, 2010). In the broader discourse, various concerns are still being discussed with relation to the involvement of the private sector in cultural heritage management. Although such issues arise, there is a trend towards the recognition that, if used in a proper way, tourism can come to benefit all involved, because as Starr notes:

> when companies become associated with heritage, not only do they address the public expectation to be responsible for sustainable development, they create multidirectional benefits. These form a strong business case for cultural heritage managers to present to potential corporate partners, and for CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility] managers to justify support to heritage in the boardroom (2010: 165).

2.3. Sustainable development

The term “sustainability” requires examination with regard to (local economic) development, although I do not aim to discuss different definitions of sustainability nor to create a new one. Rather, this study will be based on the understanding of UNESCO and literature in line with this, as I aim to test the heritage and local development framework provided by the UNESCO as the global safeguard agent for World Heritage.

In the last 25 years, UNESCO has progressively developed the theoretical framework of sustainable development in the context of heritage management. Since 1987, when the so-called Brundtland Report (1987) was published, which first raised the concept of sustainable development in international discussion, there have been ongoing attempts by UNESCO and its partners to further define this expression and link it with the remaining political agenda. A decisive step in this regard was the Budapest Declaration in 2002, accepted in the 26th Session of the World Heritage

Committee. It defines four strategic objectives for sustainable Heritage Management and its relation to development, the so-called 'four Cs', namely: "Credibility", "Conservation", "Capacity-building" and "Communication" (WHC 2002, WHC-02/CONF.202/5). In 2007 a fifth 'C', for 'Community' was added. Its aim was to build a basis for strengthening community involvement in decision making related to heritage resource use in general, as well as its participation the management of WH sites (WHC 2007, 31.COM/13 A and 31.COM/13B).

In the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* from 2012[9] there is no concrete definition of sustainable development promotion in relation to WH Management. It only contains this definition of "sustainable use" as follows:

> World Heritage properties may support a variety of ongoing and proposed uses that are ecologically and culturally sustainable and which may contribute to the quality of life of communities concerned. The State Party and its partners must ensure that such sustainable use or any other change does not impact adversely on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. For some properties, human use would not be appropriate. Legislations, policies and strategies affecting World Heritage properties should ensure the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value, support the wider conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and promote and encourage the active participation of the communities and stakeholders concerned with the property as necessary conditions to its sustainable protection, conservation, management and presentation (UNESCO, 2012: II F. 119).

However, in the 34th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Brasilia (2010, 34.COM/5D), several decisions were formulated with regard to the relations between Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development. Referencing Gilbert et al. (1996), the Committee declaration takes a more comprehensive view on the issues mentioned, and demands a "careful balance of environmental, social and economic dimensions". This includes the stipulation that economic sustainability is expected to be "financially feasible"(34.COM/5D, I.8).

The declaration from Brazil 34.COM/5D also generated important recommendations for the promotion of sustainable development in heritage planning processes (34.COM/5D, Annex I). The most critical recommendations that will be used to develop measurements for the purposes of this research are:

[9] UNESCO Operational Guidelines are periodically revised.

- To “emphasize strategies to enable and empower local communities to manage their heritage while meeting their development goals” (Ibid., Nr. 7);
- To “reconcile conservation goals for natural and cultural heritage with local development goals and tourism development goals with a framework for sustainable development” (Ibid., Nr. 11);
- To “promote local and small business and investment” (Ibid., Nr. 12); and
- To “promote stakeholder participation and community engagement during various stages of decision making” (Ibid., Nr. 15).

For further clarification of the concept, I will now draw on authors that provide more details based on a conception in line with the theoretical framework set out by UNESCO. One example is Landorf (2009), who refers to the same framework of overlapping domains of environmental, social and economic spheres first outlined by Gilbert et al. (1996). According to Landorf (2009), sustainability addresses a long-term strategic orientation, where extensive local community participation in decision making and an active participation of various stakeholders in the planning process are emphasised.

In the same vein, Aas et al. (2005) make the argument that strong stakeholder cooperation is indispensable in order to achieve a sustainable approach to heritage management and tourism development. They claim this to be the most effective way of managing the challenges and threats with which heritage sites are constantly faced, because of the impacts of heritage tourism, environmental disasters or conflict situations. In recurring on Jamaal and Getz (1995: 188), stakeholder collaboration can be defined as:

> a process of joint decisionmaking among autonomous, key stakeholders of in inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/ or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain (Cited in Aas et al., 2005: 30).

Following a suggestion from them, one way of approximating this is to analyse the extent to which the community adjacent to the WH site is represented among these stakeholders. They explain that this is because every person affected positively or negatively by impacts of tourism development can be considered to be a stakeholder and they hold that in theory all these groups are to be represented in the decision-

making process to build ownership for the imminent responsibilities of communities receiving increasing tourism and containing WH site (Aas et al., 2005).

In practice, stakeholder collaboration does not work in the same manner all over the world. Tosun (2000)**,** for example, points out that particularly in developing countries, stakeholder-relations are often not stable in development projects; and these projects show deficits in their structural composition as well as in the organisational constitution of implementing institutions along with a lack of involvement of the broader community.

Tosun (2000) in addition states that financial pledges to tourism development projects are often redirected to other government projects, especially in developing countries. For this reason, alternative sources of income for the engaged community members and groups need to be considered from the non-governmental and private sector, for example.

2.4. Conclusion: Hypotheses

Based on these key concepts and theories described, the critical assumption made here through sustainable heritage management, and especially through WH designation, tourism in Elmina could be considered a driving force for socio-economic development in the form of job creation and income generation.

Additionally, the following hypotheses are derived from the theoretical framework for document analysis and field-testing:

1) Heritage Management goes beyond conservation. It refers to a complex relationship between heritage sites, visitors and residents. It has to consider the contemporary dynamics of the global tourism economy.

2) Conflicts of interest can occur with relation to heritage preservation and heritage tourism, because the mass tourism desired for financial revenues can have a negative impact on the integrity of the heritage site and the living environment of the adjacent community.

3) Heritage tourism is a potential source of financial resources for site conservation and community development.

4) Private sector stakeholders in tourism and hospitality can play an essential role in contributing to the conservation of heritage sites and the development of community infrastructure, as their market relies on the cultural offer of the heritage and the representation of the community to external visitors. However, conflicts can appear in the case of an unethical use of the heritage value by stakeholders to promote business revenues.

5) Tourism Development projects show different characteristics, particularly between developing and developed countries.

6) Strong stakeholder collaboration is regarded as a key factor for the achievement of heritage conservation and heritage tourism goals, which implies a need for good communication and coordination. Although the term "sustainability" remains ambiguous, this research develops the hypothesis that strong stakeholder collaboration and the participation of the local community in the decision-making process of managing their own heritage sites are of fundamental importance for the sustainability of the heritage management and tourism development.

7) The role of the local community living around heritage sites is crucial for sustainable heritage management. Heritage can generate job opportunities in the conservation and maintenance of the site, as well as in the tourism market and ownership of the community is key to sustainability of WH presentation and tourism. Thus, development initiatives for WH management and heritage tourism are obliged to consider community stakeholder involvement and their capacity building to enact ownership for sustainable development.

8) The establishment of a dialogue forum and a monitoring and review system between all relevant stakeholders (local communities, national institutions, tourism agencies and site management) is to be promoted by relevant authorities in order to ensure the conservation of the heritage site and its values, as well as benefits for the communities adjacent to it from sustainable heritage management and local tourism development. This can prevent possible conflicts between the sustainable conversation of the heritage site and tourism increase, which can occur after designation of sites as World Heritage.

I will revisit these hypotheses in the analysis in Chapter 5.

3. METHODOLOGY

The case study involved collecting both qualitative and quantitative data. In this chapter the chosen methodologies are discussed. First, I want to explain the Case Study approach, reflect what it can achieve (in particular for my research topic) and which design the case study will have, as there are different forms of case studies. Second, I want to present the data and information compilation methods used for my case study. Third, I will reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the methods I have chosen.

3.1. The Case Study approach

The research design relies on Yin (2009, 2012), and according to his view, a case study encompasses the following elements: (1) to build on question(s); (2) to derive a proposed hypothesis from the theoretical framework (this is additional); (3) to work on the so called “unit of analysis”; and (4) to link the hypotheses with the findings.

The case study provides detailed analysis for comparison with other cases, relating to the same theoretical framework. This can contribute to the validation and/or review of the framework, building on a clear synthesis between similar cases available. But a case study can also contribute by showing how it differs from other cases, where the broader phenomenon is put under review, as cases can reflect unique examples and generate different outcomes. In brief, in adopting a case study approach, my research provides the opportunity to contribute to the bigger picture and to enrich it with new perspectives from an applied case, which will support certain theoretical theses and/or reject commonly held views where they contradict the practical case at hand.

In this study the approach allows me to examine and exemplify heritage conservation and heritage tourism, as interventions of heritage management, in a particular context, which serves to clarify the wider concept. In outlining first a theoretical framework on heritage, conservation and tourism development from which I derive my hypotheses (Chapter 2) I employ my specific case on Elmina (Chapter 4) in order to discuss my findings with regard to the theoretical framework (Chapter 5). Thus, in

this last step, I will be able to ask if my research fits into the theoretical framework of the topic, by linking the hypothesis made and the findings obtained. Furthermore, as I choose to conduct a separate literature review in my case study, dealing with Elmina's heritage and tourism development, in order to separate the case-specific literature from a larger framework, I need to ask: how do the results of the review of literature on Elmina with a specific perspective on heritage conservation, tourism and development contribute to the existing results of secondary literature about Elmina; and furthermore, what does it tell me about the hypotheses derived from the theoretical framework building on generic literature and other practical reviews?

Why Elmina?

Elmina offers itself as an interesting case study for several reasons. First, having two WH sites in a comparatively small town, Elmina can make a particularly unique contribution to the analysis of the impact of World Heritage on community development. Furthermore, it can provide a long-term perspective, since the WH Listing already took place in 1979.

Second, in addition to the two WH sites Elmina has further heritage resources and local development purposes that are the target of the ECHMP. This enables the research to analyse a concrete intervention by an existing development programme.

Third, from a macro-economic perspective on Ghana, tourism has become a strong economic pillar of the country. For this reason the case study can be used to analyse how this reflects on the micro-level such as in Elmina. Moreover, the case study asks explicitly about tourism related to its culture and heritage resources, and wants to assess the contribution it can have for the local development in Elmina.

3.2. Methods

The study involved fieldwork in July 2012 in order to gather more specific and first-hand information about Elmina and its heritage (resources), the conservation of the sites, the impact of tourism and its role for local development. As data-collection methods I used document analysis, in-depth semi structured interviews,

questionnaires, and participatory observation as well as reconnaissance surveys about the heritage resources.

As Koutra points out, there is a “limited research based on qualitative approaches” (Koutra and Diaz, 2013: 25) on Elmina, and I would agree to that. But, some substantive contribution has been made by (I. K. Arthur, 2005; Gbedema, 2010 and Sonne, 2010). The problem I see is that all these authors do not refer to each other.

In the following I want to describe the methods I used in greater detail.

3.2.1. Document analysis

Publications on urban planning from the local District Assembly, documentation and reports from the ECHMP, and third party reports, were analysed.

This was necessary to establish the base for the field research, and was also continued thereafter. First insights about the situation of the conservation praxis and heritage management policy in Ghana could be obtained through a situational analysis by the African World Heritage Fund (2009). Principal information about the ECHMP was acquired from its reports (Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) & University of Groningen 2003; KEEA 2002c, 2002b, 2002a), which provided information about strategic planning and project implementation in Elmina. This allowed for the identification of important follow up points for the field research. It is worth mentioning here that not many reports from the project exist, and that it was challenging to obtain these documents – an observation which corroborates I. K. Arthur (2005: 71). However, though they provided the main basis for the field work, they were not the only source. Literature on heritage conservation and tourism, as much as on local development in Elmina does exist, but only some of these include the ECHMP in their analysis. Also, their conclusions differ, where the literature explicitly created doubts on tourism development as a means for economic stimuli and poverty reduction in Elmina.[10] Additional documentation about tourism and social and economic development in Elmina were collected, partially in the field work, in order to provide more of an evidence base of quantitative data for the research. They were obtained from national and local statistics offices, in addition to some published

[10] See more at Chapter 4.4 reviewing the literature on Elmina’s heritage and development strategies.

inquiries containing statistics by the GMMB and the Ghana Tourist Authority (GTA; formerly Ghana Tourist Board, GTB).

3.2.2. Field Study

Field research has been conducted in Accra, Elmina and Cape Coast for two weeks in July 2012, where I conducted key-respondent interviews with National and District authorities for heritage management, private and public stakeholders for site management, local tourism and development; focus interviews with local authorities and community groups; additional documentation analysis on site; and participatory observation as an ethnographic approach.

Mr. Kofi Amekudi, the acting director of the Ghana Museums and Monument Board (GMMB), the legal custodian for national monuments and, thus, the World Heritage sites in Elmina and Cape Coast, provided me with further contacts in Cape Coast and Elmina, mainly from the site management of the two Castles in Cape Coast、and Elmina.[11] On this basis, I organised further meetings with representatives of relevant institutions, including members of the Task Force of the ECHMP implementation. Due to time constraints no visitors were interviewed but due to their importance, data was provided by the GMMB along with some material about tourist expectations and attitudes by other researchers (Bruner 1996; Gbedema 2010; Sonne 2010). Moreover, the field work showed limitations with regard to the interview processes with local community members. One reason was that there was always translation or very simple communication needed because most community members do not speak sufiicient English. Moreover, many were reluctant to be interviewed. This, as I found out later, is based on disappointments of the residents with regard to the promises by the planners of the Elmina Strategy 2015, and their subsequent suspicion of foreign researchers. The field work however captured different strands from representatives of the community.[12]

[11] The close cooperation of the management at both sites is reflected in the consistent tourist demand to visit both castles on their journey. This constellation will be discussed in the research report as it provides some insights about the dominant role of the bigger city Cape Coast towards the more provincial city Elmina.

[12] Some interview material is included to augment the study. Relevant in particular is Sonne (2010), who conducted indepth analysis of residents' attitudes towards tourists coming to Elmina and the role of tourism as an economic driving force. Furthermore, Gbedema (2010) provides information

A major focus of the fieldwork was the relation between stakeholders, and in particular, with regard to the ECHMP.[13] Based on secondary sources, I realised that since follow-up of the ECHMP was lacking, so I included a follow-up on the selected key issue of local tourism development trough sustainable heritage conservation.[14]

3.2.2.1. In-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups

I consulted representatives from different institutions and agencies currently involved in the management of the sites in Elmina. Furthermore, in order to understand the network of stakeholder relations, I examined communication channels between representatives from government agencies, traditional local authorities, heritage sites and private tourism operators.

Thus, during the field research I interviewed representatives from the Management of World Heritage sites in Elmina (Mr. Frederick Amekudi, Director of the GMMB and Head of the Division for Monuments; Mr. Nicholas Ivor; Head of the GMMB for the Cape Coast Area); Members of the Task Force of the ECHMP (for example Dr. Anthony Annan-Prah, University of Cape Coast); representatives from the Elmina District Assembly KEEA (Mr. Fuseini Labaran, Municipal Planning Officer) and the Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (Mr. Justice Amoah, Planning Officer, former KEEA Planning Officer, who was also a Member of the ECHMP Task force); representatives from the Elmina *Nananum*, a council of traditional local authorities (this was done in a focus group discussion); managers of the Elmina Castle such as the director (Mr. Charles) and security staff (Mr. Isaac), a private tour operator (Mr. Felix Nguah, Ghana Eco Tours), a museums curator and part of the trainings programme by the ECHMP (Mrs. Lucy Obeng), along with community members (Mr. Ebo Dadzie, Committee Member of the St. Joseph Church). One important source had to be included anonymously.

It was further intended to get in contact with involved programme specialists from Urban Solutions, an urban development consultancy based in the Netherlands, which

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on local opinions about the Castle and its role and historical significance for Elmina. Still relevant for the interaction between local people and Diaspora Africans is Brunner (1996).

[13] Stakeholder is defined for my research as anyone who was/is interested and affected by Elmina's heritage site management and the ECHMP. This includes both organisations and individuals.

[14] I do not analyse, for example the components "Health" and "Education", which were other objectives of the ECHMP.

has provided technical assistance for the planning and implementation of the ECHMP. This was not possible, as neither the project leader, Mr. Paul Schuttenbelt, nor other members could be interviewed or reached for information exchange.

Additionally, a small, structured community survey in the Methodist Church at Liverpool Street was conducted. This qualitative information could be used to obtain more statements about the recognition of the castle and the role of tourism in Elmina's development.

3.2.2.2. Participatory observation and reconnaissance surveys

Mack et al. (2005, p. 13-28) emphasise participant observation in their deliberations on fieldwork methodology. This approach has been elementary for my case, where I could gather a wide range of field notes about the site and its interaction with the social environment (community and tourists), which could not be acquired by other sources. This constitutes an ethnographic approach, based on the "thick description" by the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973), which is not only a method to collect data by observation, recording and analysing cultural habits, but also to reflect my own role as an anthropologist in the field and the implications in terms of subjectivity of the findings from this method.

In addition, I undertook a simple reconnaissance survey of the heritage sites in order to analyse in what conditions of conservation they are, how they are integrated in the urban environment and adapted by the local people within the public space, and how are they are presented to the visitors. Very useful for this purpose was the Heritage Walking Tour provided by Felix Nguah, a tour operator from Ghana Eco Tours. It generated a wide range of information and supported the participant observation and site analysis.

Lastly, the report reproduces some of the photographic material, as much by me during the field-work, as from other sources, which contributes to the evidence of the findings.

3.3. Data Analysis

Within the analysis of documents in the desk study, the reports of the ECHMP play a major role. For my understanding of objectivity and to avoid bias, it is important to note, that this does not imply full acceptance of the ECHMP presentation at proposal. I have read these documents aiming to critically analyse them and prepare for a follow-up on site, where by no means were the conditions as stated in the reports taken as granted. Results outlined in the reports were used for hypotheses on the practical case. A follow-up of key achievements of the programme was done in a dialectic analysis of the hypotheses with the data collected in the fieldwork added to the research.

To analyse the socio-economic development at Elmina in recent years along with the way in which the ECHMP has contributed to the development, quantitative and qualitative data was collected. Quantitative data was available regarding national and international visitors of the Elmina castle. To further analyse the extent in which revenue from these tourists reaches Elmina, I use the qualitative information obtained by document analysis and the interviews. Meanwhile, the quantitative data is to be used for in-depth analysis and comparison of trends, while the qualitative data is brought into categories, patterns, or themes. The interpretation is then conducted alongside the theoretical assumptions postulated. The research process was thus a combined one of data collection, data analysis, write-up and conclusion on the assumptions.

3.4. Strengths and weaknesses

I conducted open ended interviews, rather than formulating a questionnaire. One example of this was used in the focus group discussion, with representatives of the local authority sharing their attitudes towards the ECHMP and its outcomes, which would have been much more limited if conducted within the confines of a questionnaire. Focus Groups are useful to cover a wide range of views within the group or the community. However, they also face challenges. For example, it is

difficulty to address sensitive topics that would rather be done in one-on-one interviews (Mack et al., 2005).

The weakness of both approaches lies in the partially subjective insights the respondents give. In addition, the answers of personal interviews from open questions cannot be as systematically analysed as standard questionnaires or quantitative data, but require more interpretation, risking distortion. The interpretation is based on the recorded interviews will be made very explicit so as to minimise this risk. Strengths of interviews and focus group discussions can be summarised as follows:

Table 1. Strengths of interviews and focus groups

	Appropriate for	Strength of method
Focus groups	Identifying group norms Eliciting opinions about group norms Discovering variety within a population	Elicits information on a range of norms and opinions in a short time Group dynamic stimulates conversation, reactions
Interviews	Eliciting individual experiences, opinions, feelings Addressing sensitive topics	Elicits in-depth responses, with nuances and contradictions Gets at interpretive perspective, i.e., the connections and relationships a person sees between particular events, phenomena, and beliefs

Source: Mack et al. (2005: 52)

4. THE CASE STUDY OF ELMINA: HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In the following case study I will show how Heritage Management, Heritage Tourism and sustainable development correlated in Elmina, Ghana, especially since the conduct of the ECHMP (2002-2006). Based on both primary sources and available literature, I provide an assessment of how well Elmina's WH sites are being managed; how tourism has affected the sites and influenced the local community; and the impact that heritage conservation and the attracted tourism have on the local community, especially on its socio-economic development. This will shed light on whether they contain the potential to stimulate economic development and whether it was used in the ways expected by the UNESCO framework and the academic scholars discussed in the literature review.

The case study will be structured as follows:

In an introductory part, I will first provide a concise background about Elmina, including a brief socio-economic outline, information about its history, and the plentiful heritage resources Elmina has to offer.

Secondly, I will describe aspects about the legislative framework for heritage conservation in Ghana. Here, I will especially shed light on the role of the GMMB as the custodian for national monuments. Furthermore, heritage conservation measures in Elmina will be reflected, including measures in the 1990s prior to the ECHMP.

Third, the ECHMP will be introduced by profiling the Elmina 2015 Strategy, on which it is based, outlining the integrated approach of socio-economic development it aims to achieve and summarising the implementation phase of the proposed activities.

Fourth, I review secondary literature dealing with Elmina's heritage management and tourism development. As previously noted, this is not part of the overall theoretical framework outline in Chapter 2, but related to the case study itself.

Finally, I present and discuss my findings from the fieldwork.

4.1. The field area – background information on Elmina

In this introductory chapter, I will expound and analyse information about the geographical, political, socio-economic and cultural environment of Elmina. Furthermore, I explain the historical significance of the heritage sites and Elmina's history and role throughout different colonial periods. Of major importance in this regard is Elmina's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. Other important aspects are its connections to Java as another Dutch colony, which reveals Elmina's globalised history. In addition, I give a short overview of the town's heritage resources.

4.1.1. Geographical, political and socio-economic information

Elmina is situated on the Ghanaian Central Coast, close to the major city of the region, Cape Coast (12 km). It is accessible by road from Accra (160km west), from Takoradi (70 km east) and, a bit further in the north, Kumasi (220 km) (see Appendix 1. Map of Ghana showing Elmina on the coastline). Elmina faces the Gulf of Guinea to the south and the Benya lagoon runs through the town from the southwest, with the harbour creating a central point of activity. The city's landscape is dominated by the Castle and the Fort as well as by three hills: St. Jago (on which the Fort was build), Java and St. Joseph. Both WH sites are strongly integrated in the urban structure of Elmina and well visible in the town (Figures 1-4).

The town is approximately 660 square kilometres in size (Sonne, 2010: 8). Elmina is not only the capital of Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) District, but also of the Edinaman Traditional Area, which has significant implications in terms of governance, as the latter represents the chieftaincy. Joel Sonne describes it as a "dual system of governance", which "implies the co-existence of a political administrative authority, represented by the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE), and the traditional administrative authority, which has the Paramount Chief as the symbol of authority." This has implications for local policy, and the planning and implementation of development strategies as "the existence of political and traditional duality of governance calls for dialogue and consultation between the political and traditional leaderships in terms of decision-making processes" (Sonne, 2010: 7-8).

Data about the population size of Elmina is not very explicit and recent numbers were not found. Sonne (2010: 8) as well as Holden et al. (2011: 320) refer to data from the 2000 Population and Housing Census, according to which the population of Elmina was of 21,103 persons.[15] This shows the population to have almost doubled since 1970 when it was at 11,401 in the year 2000 (ibid.). In 2005, Isaac Kwamena Arthur (2005: 4) published a population of 22,000, which aligns with the Census values from 2000. Stephen Nana Ato Arthur & John Victor Mensah, in contradiction, indicate a population size of 35,000 in 2000. According to these authors, by 2015 it is estimated that the population will be 49,300 (Arthur and Mensah 2006: 302).[16] More plausible seem estimations by the internet platform Gazetteer, which base their calculations on the census from 1984 (17,000 inhabitants). These authors estimate the population to have reached 33,576 persons in 2013.[17]

The gender-disaggregation of the population is as follows: 45,3% male, 54,7% female (Sonne 2010: 8).[18] The community is of multi-ethnic origin. The Fantis are to be considered as the indigenous people of Elmina, however other ethnic groups such as *Ga* and *Ewe* speaking groups have also migrated there (ibid.).

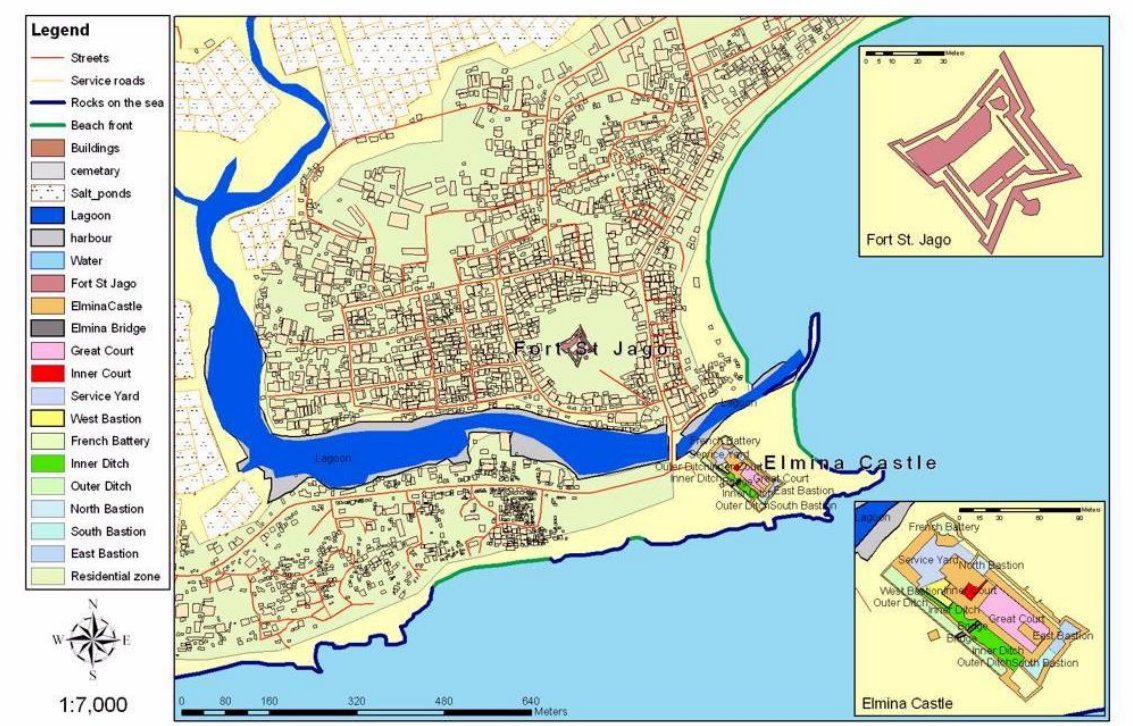
[15] Holden et al. (2011) is mainly based on the research by Sonne (2010). In both, the data is based on the 2000 Housing and Population Census 2002 (GSS 2002, p. 11). See also <http://keea.ghanadistricts.gov.gh/?arrow=atd&_=57&sa=2764> (Accessed on 25 May, 2013).

[16] They do not provide a reference for their estimations. They indicate the geographical size of Elmina as of 64 square kilometres, whereas the other sources mentioned state 660 square kilometres. It is therefore expectable that they either misinterpreted the data or used very different parameters for measuring.

[17] Available from: <http://world-gazetteer.com./wg.php?x=1&men=gcis&lng=en&des=gamelan&col=abcdefghinoq&msz=1500&geo=-85> (Accessed on 8 April, 2013).

[18] There is no reference in Sonne's work of this data, however as indicated above, the whole article is based on Census data from 2000.

Figure 1. Geographic Information System (GIS) of Elmina



Source: Ruther (2006)

Figure 2. Satellite image of Elmina – 3D modelling



Source: Google Earth (Retrieved 2012)

Figure 3. View from St. Jago Hill and Fort to the Castle and the Lagoon



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

Figure 4. View from Castle area to St. Jago Hill and Fort



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

The main economic activities are in fishing and boat-building (Figure 5 and Figure 6). According to Sonne (2010: 11-12) in 2002, “the fishing industry [was] significant because of its potential for employment and income generation in the local economy of Elmina, with 75 percent of the population of Elmina having jobs which [were] directly and indirectly related to fishing” (Cf. KEEA 2002a). Other sectors of smaller relevance are salt production (Figure 7 and Figure 8) and the tourism and hospitality sector. It is noticeable, that the fishing sector is threatened in Elmina because of the competition of the bigger cities nearby, Cape Coast and Takoradi, which has had a detrimental impact on income for the community, where “large foreign trawlers, which leave little fish for local fishermen [also] destroy their equipment” (KEEA 2002b: 10) (referring to offshore fishing).

Figure 5. Fishing boats in the Lagoon



Figure 6. Boat-building behind the Castle



Figure 7. Headquarter of the Central Region Salt Producers Association (CRESPA) & Elmina Salt Producers Association in Elmina



Figure 8. Salt fields around Elmina



Source: all photographs by author (July 2012).

4.1.2. Historical information

Elmina is more than 700 years old, as has been archaeologically analysed and documented by (DeCorse, 2001b). Furthermore, it is referred to in narratives on European colonialism in Africa as the town was colonialized by the Portuguese (1482-1637), the Dutch (1637-1872) and the British (1872-1957). From 1957 it has been incorporated in Ghanaian history since independence from Britain as the first African country (DeCorse, 2001b: 7-43).

Research was conducted on Elmina within the broader context of the Atlantic Slave Trade (DeCorse, 2001b, 2001a; Klein, 2010; St. Clair, 2007), with special attention given to the role of the Dutch (Feinberg, 1989; Postma, 1990; Postma and Enthoven, 2003) and the significance of the Ghanaian Castles in general (Van Dantzig, 1980). [19]

Figure 9. Elmina during the Dutch presence in the 17th century



Source: Retrieved from: <http://www.heritage-activities.nl> (Accessed on 5 October, 2013).

Note the old town of Elmina in front of the Castle, which is now an empty space and has been archaeologically researched to demarcate its original size and structure.

[19] The Castles and Forts are constantly included in historical research on the European imperialism and colonialism in Africa. In a recent conference, this view was put into perspective with transnational historical analysis concepts, referring to colonial buildings as spaces of entanglement of Afro-European colonial interactions (Conference report, The Shadows of Empire – A Study of European Colonial Forts and Castles. 01.08.2012-02.08.2012, Accra, Ghana, in: H-Soz-u-Kult, 08.11.2012, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=4455> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013).

This points to the significant role Elmina has played in the gold and later the slave trade. At least 1.2 million Africans were deported from the Gold Coast to the Americas, which is about 9,6% of the 12.5 million Africans which are documented to have been traded.[20] The castles alongside the Ghanaian coast, particularly the Elmina Castle and the Cape Coast Castle (12 km away from each other), played a major role as logistical centres for the deportation from what at the time was named the Gold Coast, in the 17th and 18th century (Anquandah, 1999; Van Dantzig, 1980).

As an "entrepôt in the portion of West Africa" (DeCorse, 2001b: 7), Elmina bore witness to trade and colonisation between Europeans and Africa. As the slave trade constituted a global network for European colonialism, it is therefore regarded as scientifically promising to consider global historical approaches, such as for example, the notion of Elmina and its castle as a "portal of globalisation" (Middell and Naumann, 2010).[21] In addition, Elmina's global interdependencies are represented in other parts of its history, such as the recruitment of local men as soldiers for the Royal Dutch East Indies Armies (employed in nowadays Indonesia) in the 1830s.[22] Therefore, even though the slave trade is of predominant importance in Elmina's recent history, various elements of a globalised history have to be considered in order to analyse the wide range of heritage resources supplying cultural offers and generating tourist demand in the area.

A major shift in Elmina's history happened when in 1871, the Dutch gave up their occupations along the Gold Coast and, eventually, in 1872 ceded the castle to the British. This led to a crisis in Elmina in the following year. The people of Elmina did not recognise the British authority. A conflict arose between the Asante, who traditionally were allied with the Dutch, and the Fante, who were newly allied to the

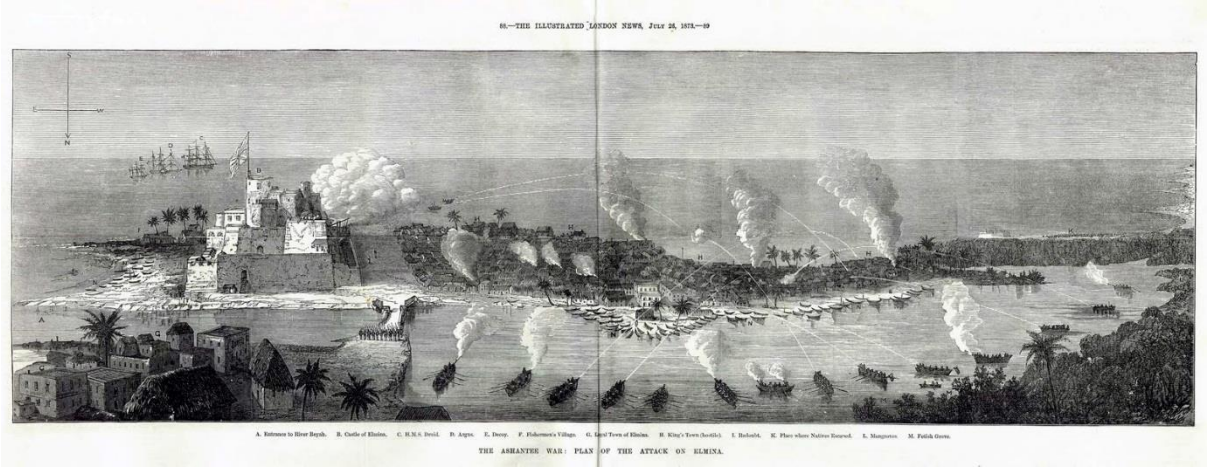
[20] The numbers originate from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database based on documented transports. It is estimated that these numbers represent only four-fifths of the Africans who were deported, as another fifth is expected to have been deported undocumented. Available from: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces> (Accessed on 30 November, 2012).

[21] According to Middell and Naumann (2010), such portals are "those places that have been centres of world trade or global communication, have served as entrance points for cultural transfer, and where institutions and practices for dealing with global connectedness have been developed. Such places have always been known as sites of transcultural encounter and mutual influence. They are not only places through which economic and military dispersion has taken place and global networks have been created, but also where a whole range of social forms and symbolic cultural constructions (of the 'own' and the 'other', of home and locality) challenge national affiliation in communities of migrants, merchants, and travellers from distant places" (Middel and Naumann, 2010: 162).

[22] More information on: <http://elwininternational.com/elmina_java.html> (Access: 15 July, 2013).

British. The British intervened by bombarding Elmina. According to DeCorse (2001b: 31), no one was killed in the bombardment, but prior to this, British intervention a huge part of Elmina's inhabitants left the town. The old town of Elmina was relocated and the area in front of the Castle became empty ground. This decrease in the population of Elmina has been recognised as a "unique aspect of Elmina's history" (DeCorse, 2001b: 44). Prior to the British intervention, during the period of Dutch occupation, in the 17th century, Elmina's population increased significantly from 4,000 to 10,000, and in the 18th century to 15,000, as a consequence of the gold and slave trade (Anquandah, 1999: 59). In the mid-nineteenth century it is estimated that 18,000-20,000 people lived in Elmina (DeCorse, 2001b: 9) – a population number which was then only reached again at the end of the 20th century.

Figure 10. The British bombardment on 13 June, 1873



Source: The Illustrated London News, 26 July 1873, retrieved from: <http://www.gcdb-doortmontweb.blogspot.com> (Accessed on 16 January, 2014).

Note: Besides the Castle, the historical town of Elmina is displayed which was destroyed in 1873 by the British bombardment. The archaeological ground has been investigated in the 1980s and 1990s (De Course 2011) and is now an empty space.

4.1.3. Elmina's built heritage

The two WH sites of Elmina are visible in the urban landscape, and one can see them from most vantage points in Elmina. Fort St. Jago is situated on the St. Jago Hill, the Elmina Castle is at the Coast in front of the lagoon and the fishery port, connected by a busy thoroughfare, running between Elmina's townships.

However, although these two WH sites determine Elmina's international reputation, there are plenty of other cultural heritage resources which could be used for tourism development strategies. Of greater significance for this report are the Asafo posts, the Elmina-Java Museum, the Dutch cemetery and a multitude of historical merchant houses.

Table 2. Selection of heritage resources in Elmina

Name of built heritage	Description
Elmina Castle (St. George's Castle)	Listed as WH site in 1979, built in 1482 by the Portuguese, expanded by the Dutch after 1637
Fort St. Jago (Fort Coenraadsburg)	Listed as WH site in 1979, built in 1666 by the Dutch
Asafo posts/ shrines	These buildings are former local leaders and military authorities' houses. To this day the Asafo companies still have political and social functions.
Elmina-Java Museum	Opened in 2003 by the Ulzen familiy, together with a guest house the museum is featured as Java House; represents the history about 3,080 African soldiers who served for the Dutch in Dutch East Indies, (nowadays mainly Indonesia).
Dutch Cemetery	The Dutch cemetery bears witness to the Dutch era, it was created in 1806. In the 1970s it received national monument status. The responsible authority for its conservation is the GMMB. On its ground, two old silk cotton trees remain, the last ones in the area of Elmina.
Trafalgar Square	Many historical houses are situated along the square in the town-centre.
Bridge House	Built in 1840 by a European-African family of merchants; after it fell into ruins in the 20th century, it was renovated in 1999 and converted into a hotel, and is now managed by the hotel company Coconut Grove.
Tiasma House	Built in 1954 by the Tiasma family with roots to a Dutch merchant family.
Van Dyke and Cornelius Houses	Built in 1897, as one big complex with living and commercial quarters for two families and staff. The biggest house in Elmina, it is open for visitors on demand.
Alfred Mensah House	Build around 1900 by Alfred Mensah, who served for the British administration. It was recently renovated and includes a Tourist Office.
Quayson House	Built in 1855, it burned down in 2001, and now only ruins can be found.

Condua House	Built in 1903 by a Dutch merchant named Condua; of special architectural interest is the Alpine balcony.
Old merchant houses	Additional smaller 19th century merchant houses

Sources: "Elmina Walking Tour" provided by Ghana Eco Tours; Elmina Tourists Map (KEEA 2003); KEEA (2002a); Sonne (2010: 13).[23]

Elmina Castle and Fort St. Jago

St. George's Castle, built by the Portuguese in 1482 (Portuguese: Castelo de São Jorge da Mina), is the oldest European built construction in Africa (Anquandah, 1999: 59). It played a crucial role in the attempt by the Portuguese to monopolise the trade on the Ghanaian coast, then called the Gold Coast (DeCorse, 2001b: 7).

Fort Jago was created in 1666 by the Dutch, shortly after they forced the Portuguese to surrender in 1637. Both historical buildings belong to the around 50 castles, forts and lodges in Ghana, listed as WH sites in 1979, and bear witness to the history of the gold trade and later, by the end of the 17th century, the Atlantic slave trade.

The castle has been modified and extended significantly during the Portuguese period (rebuilding of the northern and western corners, as well as the great courtyard) and the Dutch presence (conversion of the Portuguese church into an auction hall, building of new chapel and further improvements on fortifications) (Anquandah, 1999: 59). Before it was given to the GMMB as the responsible custodian for conservation of national monuments, the castle served as a recruitment and training centre for the Ghanaian Police.

The Castles and Forts of Ghana generally have been recognised for their *Outstanding Universal Value* and were listed as World Heritage under the *Criterion (vi)* in 1979.[24] It is acknowledged that "the Castles and Forts of Ghana shaped not only Ghana's history but that of the world over four centuries as the focus of first the gold trade and then the slave trade. They are a significant and emotive symbol of

[23] Sonne provides another overview of the additional tourism potential in Elmina but with a focus on "tourists' attractions". It has a broader perspective (including the beach and the lagoon area for example), but does not provide much detail about heritage properties.

[24] Criterion (vi) states that the site has "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)". <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013). *Cf.* UNESCO, 2012: 21.

European-African encounters and of the starting point of the African Diaspora."[25] Inside the castle, a historical exhibition presents the history of Elmina and topics around conservation and development projects since the 90s.

Figure 11. The Elmina Castle seen from St. Jago Hill



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

More photographs of the Castle see Appendix 2. The Elmina Castle – additional photographic material

[25] Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/34> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013).

Figure 12. Fort St. Jago



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012).

More photographs of the Fort see Appendix 3. Fort St. Jago – additional photographic material

Besides the WH sites, the following buildings, places or institutions (as listed above) could be of major importance for heritage recognition and tourism in Elmina as well.

The Asafo shrines

These buildings are the houses of former local leaders and military authorities (Fante, traditional soldiers) that are partially well-maintained, including statutory symbols at their facades. There are seven Asafo posts in Elmina, most of which are still inhabited, partially by descendants of the former owners, who played important roles in the local socio-political hierarchy, and in the political and economic arrangements between the colonial powers that were present in Elmina and the local community of the time. Up until today, the Asafo Companies still have a political and social function. This was also explained by Holden et al., where the authors note that

“the seven Asafo groups are a culturally specific feature of Elmina and its local tribes, constituting the family shrines and traditional military units. These groups have a long-standing tradition of representation of their tribe’s interests in negotiations with government officials over development projects” (2011: 324).

Figure 13. Asafo No. 4



Figure 14. Asafo No. 5



Sources: Photographs by author (July 2012)
Note: The front of the buildings show tourist signs made by the ECHMP.

The Dutch cemetery

The Dutch cemetery bore witness to the Dutch era, and was created in 1806. Many important local persons are buried here, including those from families of Dutch and local origin, as well as the former king of Elmina, Kobina Gyan, who opposed the British during their takeover in 1872. The cemetery sheds light on the special relationship between Elmina and the Dutch that lasted 300 years (Van Kessel, 2002). As it has been declared a national monument in the 1970s, the GMMB is responsible for its conservation (I. K. Arthur, 2005: 54). On its ground two old silk cotton trees remain, the last of those in the Elmina area.

Figure 15. Dutch Cemetery



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

The Elmina-Java Museum

The Elmina-Java Museum was opened by the Ulzen family, descendants of Manus Ulzen, who served in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army from 1832-1837. It is a small museum located a bit further from the other heritage assets in the town and it contains a growing collection and research display about the recruitment and shipment of soldiers from Elmina and elsewhere in Ghana and West Africa to colonial war bases in former Dutch-East-Indies, nowadays mainly Indonesia. The globalised history of these soldiers and their descendants in Elmina, Indonesia and the Netherlands spans various centuries and had an effect on all three societies.[26]

[26] Additional information is available on the Museums' website: <http://elwininternational.com/elmina_java.html> (Access: 15 July 2012), and provided by Van Kessel (2011, 2005).

4.2. Heritage Conservation

The attention towards conservation of the forts and castles in Ghana started soon after Ghana's independence. The responsible institution for the conservation of national cultural heritage, including the forts and castles is the GMMB since 1957. However, despite the early recognition of the meaning of the forts and castles for the national past, archaeological research and conservation works only started at small scale until the National Liberation Council Decree (N.L.C.D.) 387 of 1969, and the Executive Instrument (E.I.) 29 of 1973, declared the forts and castles to be national monuments, which provided a legal framework for their protection through the national authorities (Amekudi, 2005).[27]

Ghana was the first African country with a national conservation programme. DeCorse (2001b: 69/243, n. 83) states in this regard:

> The Ghana Museums Board was broadly inclusive in what it was willing to consider designating a historic monument, including nineteenth-century houses in coastal towns, the residences of chiefs, mosques, and shrines. Unfortunately, it has been primarily the major forts and castles that have been studied and afforded protection. This is, however, a result of financial constraints and not a policy decision.

The GMMB, as the legal custodian for safeguarding movable and immovable cultural heritage in Ghana through technical advice and management, experiences the challenge of a lack of research and documentation and a lack of financial and human resources. As a result, DeCorse indicated in 2001 that they "undertake only limited work" (DeCorse, 2001b: 70). The limited budget of the GMMB results in various challenges. Because of the limited coordination by the GMMB and the low wages that their employees earn, heritage properties are constantly challenged by the need for staff trained in conservation who might ensure "boundaries of the sites and establish buffer zones."[28] The Ghanaian forts and castles that benefitted from conservation interventions funded after the WH listing are in need of constant maintenance, particularly due to the climatic conditions at their locations along the coastline. In Elmina and Cape Coast for example, the castle walls have to be frequently re-whitened and covered with corrosion-protection. This creates a small

[27] See also <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/34> (Accessed on: 15 July, 2013).

[28] Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/34> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013).

job market in the towns where the castles are located, however the GMMB is challenged to provide the funds necessary for such conservation (material and labor costs) (Reed, 2011: 988). External funding support would be welcomed, according to the local key-informants, however the African World Heritage Funds cautions that "well-intended donor support has merely increased the GMMB assets in need of maintenance, creating even more pressure on the small budget of the organisation" (AWHF, 2009: 14).

What is more, the support of tourism development programmes involving heritage conservation are scarce in comparison to other tourism initiatives. In this context, the key informants also criticised the GMMB for not having this role either institutionally or legally, which hinders it in fulfilling the heritage management functions expected by UNESCO Operational Guidelines, as it also cannot mobilise tourism promotion and private sector initiatives for sustainable heritage management on its own. The GMMB is responsible for the visitors-management at the sites (tour guides, museum and souvenir-shops) in Elmina and Cape Coast and has documented achievements in this area, however broader more comprehensive Tourism Development Program falls within the responsibility of the Ghana Tourist Authority (GTA, formerly Ghana Tourist Board, GTB). No memorandum of understanding as to who create synergies between the two institutions currently exists (AWHF, 2009: 14, 16).

The GMMB is organized in a centralised manner, where any revenues from the entrance fees and other commercial interaction in Elmina and Cape Coast Castle flow first to a central account in Accra. From here, the overall budget is then distributed among the operational business in all locations (AWHF, 2009: 18).

With the WH listing of the forts and castles, however, further external resource mobilisation became possible, successful in a 5-year-project funded by USAID, UNDP and smaller donors in the 1990s. It was a comprehensive conservation and infrastructure development project, where the Elmina Castle, Fort St. Jago and the Cape Coast Castle were included (DeCorse, 2001b: 70; Hyland, 1995).[29]

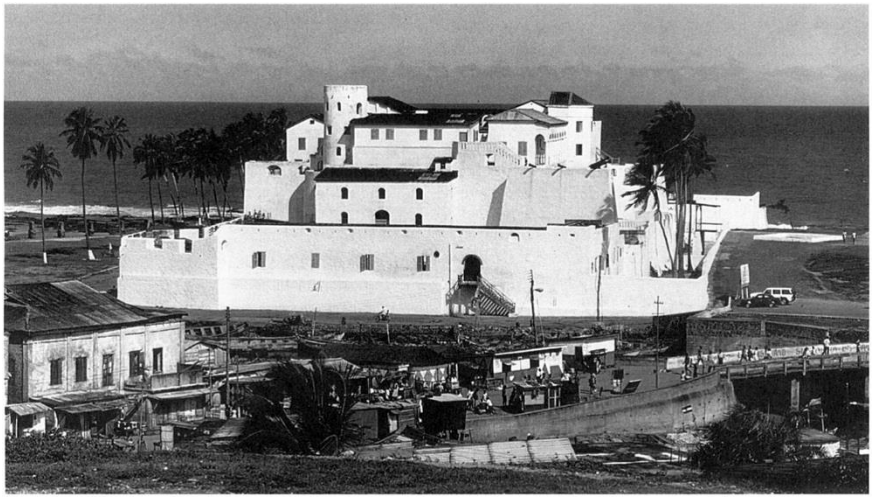
This project received high national recognition, (Bruner, 1996; DeCorse, 2001b). The latter maintains that the project resembled the importance that was attributed to Elmina for Ghanaian tourism, noting that:

[29] Anthony Hyland is an international architect working on restoration and was directly involved in the restoration interventions in 1994 (Bruner, 1996: 296).

> the work undertaken illustrates all the intricacies of balancing historic site management with modern needs. Elmina is seen, at least by some, as the key to Ghana's rapidly expanding tourist industry (DeCorse, 2001b: 70).

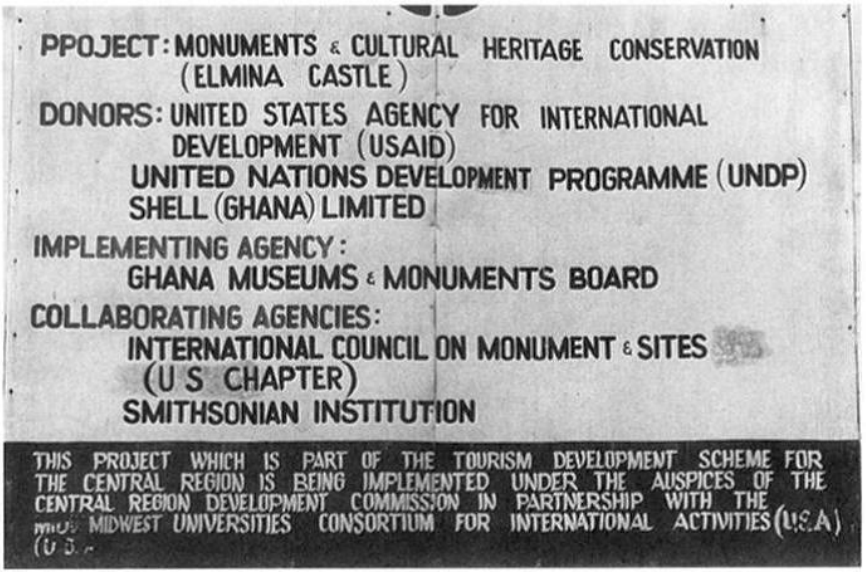
Also, the population in Elmina created high expectations for the project and for the development of tourism (Bruner, 1996).

Figure 16. Freshly painted Elmina Castle 1994



Source: Bruner (1996: 297)

Figure 17. List of Donors, June 1994



Source: Bruner (1996: 298)

This project did not involve any other historical buildings in Elmina (DeCorse, 2001b: 70). This is surprising as the “comprehensive conservation study of Elmina” by Bech and Hyland (1978) expressed the need for a “holistic perspective of the entire settlement and its historic quarters“ (DeCorse, 2001b: 69), which would go beyond the two WH sites. This conclusion was amplified by the findings that showed the physical integrity of other historical buildings in the town to be endangered by the settlement seen to have been increasing again since the 1960s (ibid.).

In contrast, a survey commissioned by the UNESCO in 1998 recommended prioritizing WH conservation, and blocking certain areas in front of the WH sites for local public use (buffer zones), in order to enable sustainable maintenance and to create tourist reception areas. Furthermore, improvement of marketing and promotion was highlighted (Reed, 2011). Already during the USAID/UNDP supported project, local structures were changed certain locations close to the castle were closed to public use (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Sign by the project: Restriction for local people to enter the heritage area, June 1994



Source: Bruner (1996: 298), who commented: “These signs suggest that the people of Elmina are restricted from entering the castle and that the project has been given over to a blue ribbon list of international aid agencies and is controlled by their staff and hired consultants”.

Besides this strong focus on the WH sites for conservation and for tourism, including restricting the local population from accessing the project site, another important factor has to be mentioned for Elmina, namely that different authorities are in charge for the maintenance and preservation of the heritage resources. Apart from the castle and the fort, only the Dutch cemetery falls under the direct responsibility of the GMMB, while all other properties fall under the responsibility of local administrative structures, either the KEEA district assembly, or the traditional administration structures (e.g. for the Asafo houses).

Amekudi (2005) made the proposal to review the legislative framework for conservation in order to declare a historic area of Elmina a conservation area and to manage the heritage assets holistically. Similarly, UNESCO strives for a new legal framework, and expects that it "will enhance the existence of the heritage resources, the socio-economic developments and improve the quality of life of the local inhabitants". [30]

For the later description and analysis of the ECHMP, the different scopes of heritage conservation in Elmina and the different authorities involved without a single holistic conservation policy promoting synergies are to be considered for the analysis of good stakeholder collaboration, and for the promotion of local community development through heritage management and tourism.

[30] Available from: < http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/34> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013).

4.3. The Elmina Cultural and Heritage Management Programme

The Elmina Cultural and Heritage Management Programme, conducted between 2002 and 2006, was a project intended to synthesise heritage conservation and tourism development within an integrated urban planning approach. It is an integrated approach in the sense that it aimed to stimulate economic development as well as to improve social conditions and alleviate poverty through tourism (KEEA 2002a, IHS 2003).

Originally, based on a common initiative between the UNESCO and the GMMB in 1999, the Netherlands Department for Conservation (RMDZ) were asked to identify resources of Dutch-Ghanaian heritage in relation to the Elmina Castle and Fort St. Jago in Elmina. This led to an identification mission in January/February 2000 (Amekudi, 2005: 64; IHS, 2003: 5).

The following ECHMP was structured into two phases. The first project phase from 2002-2003 was dedicated to the elaboration of the Elmina 2015 Strategy. The second phase from March 2004 until December 2006 was meant to initiate implementation of the strategy.

4.3.1. Phase I – Profiling and Strategy design

The first phase lasted ten months. The Elmina 2015 Strategy was elaborated by the KEEA District Assembly in close partnership with the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board (GMMB) and the Institute for Local Government Studies (ILGS) in Accra. Technical support was provided from the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) in Rotterdam; the Department of International Relations and International Organisations, The University of Groningen (RUG) and the heritage management consultancy Urban Solutions, all from the Netherlands (KEEA 2002a; Amekudi 2005: 64).

It envisaged measures to reduce the single focus of tourism on the castle (and the fort in smaller scale) as well as to present other historical artefacts and heritage sources in Elmina to local and international tourists. In order to attract tourism, measures were undertaken in various sectors.

After the setup of a series of community consultations and the discussion of major concerns for urban development, heritage conservation and tourism attraction, five priority areas for the ECHMP were identified to build an integrated approach of urban planning. These sectors were (1) Drainage and Waste Management; (2) Fishing; (3) Tourism and Local Economic Development; (4) Education; and (5) Health. (KEEA, 2002a; KEEA, 2002b; KEEA, 2002c; IHS, 2003; Amekudi, 2005: 64-65).

Based on these core foci, important activities in Phase I were identified to be capacity building programmes (training courses on city revitalization in Accra and Rotterdam); urban improvement (drain covering at the Dutch Cemetery Road, purchase of waste bins and equipment for removal of illegal waste deposits); and the set-up of an Elmina Development Fund to generate revenue from a share of tourism and business to support project activities (IHS, 2003: 5-6).

Heritage and Tourism played a decisive role for the Elmina 2015 Strategy and its integrated development approach:

> It believes that with improved tourist infrastructure, the revitalisation of the existing monuments and the development of other important cultural sites, tourism can become a major economic activity in Elmina and serve to improve the general standard of living in the town. The strategy identifies tourism as an entry point in facilitating sustainable development through an integrated development approach. Thus, mutual cultural heritage and monuments serve as a springboard in working towards improvement of living standards. At the same time, the improvements to the other sectors such as health, education and waste management will enhance the touristic potential of Elmina, thereby allowing for a synergistic development framework (KEEA, 2002a: 10).

In addition the ECHMP planers outlined:

> The combination of renovation of historic buildings and sites and stimulating tourism will result in the creation of employment opportunities, which is one of the most major challenges Elmina is facing. It is, therefore, necessary to stimulate tourists to come into town, stay longer and generate employment for the citizens of Elmina. This means that the town has to be clean and attractive to tourists, but that is not the case at the moment (IHS, 2003: 3).

Based on these principles, Phase I, the outline of the Elmina 2015 Strategy, envisaged an approach that “goes beyond restoring monuments” (KEEA, 2002a: 84). This was expected through an integrated improvement of the socio-economic conditions (for example through putting in place effective waste management,

improvement of water and sanitation supply and strengthening the fishing sector), a platform for enhancing the tourism market, and building an environment for sustainable economic development. Along these lines it was stated that

> in 2015 we envisage Elmina to be a thriving town in which fishing is still the main economic activity, but has significant other sectors of employment in the salt winning, boat building, but most importantly the tourist industry (KEEA, 2002a: 85).

Furthermore, Elmina was supposed to be established as "Ghana's prime tourist destination", allowing visitors to "enjoy shade and sea breeze and Trafalgar square, which has a concentration of shops and bars." Both the heritage resources as well as cultural assets were seen as driving forces for the "tourist boom and consequent economic development" (KEEA, 2002a: 85).

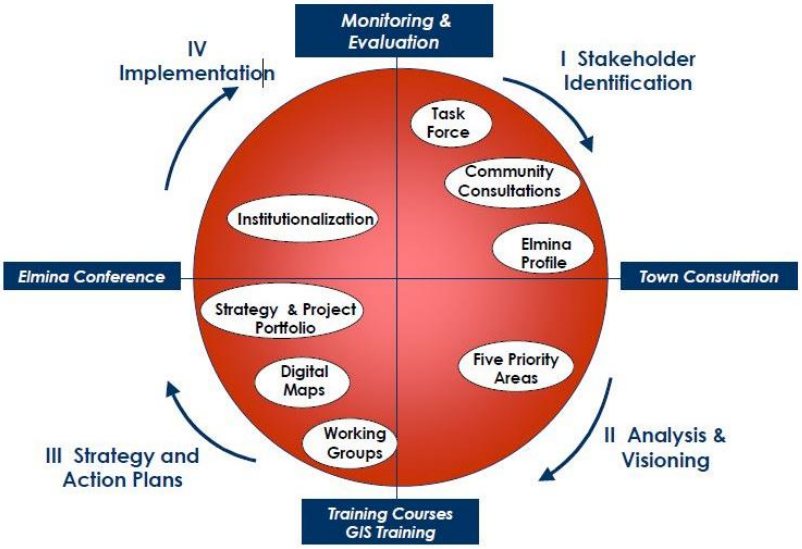
The two WHS were even expected to be transformed by this "boom":

> St. George['s] Castle and Fort St. Jago are frequented not only by visitors but are used for commercial purposes to allow for the maintenance for these UNESCO listed heritage sites. The Castle features an Internet café while the Fort has been transformed into luxurious hotel with conference facilities (KEEA, 2002a: 85).

The Strategy outlined during Phase I was ambitious. The ECHMP started with community consultations to detect priority problems, create a profile for Elmina and establish a task force of community members and representatives from amongst its stakeholders; such as the GMMB, the Ghana Heritage Trust, the GTA/GTB, and KEEA District Assembly, among others. On this basis, a wide range of activities were developed and later for Phase II proposed (KEEA, 2002b). The project team leader was Paul Schuttenbelt from Urban Solutions, the task force coordinator was Dr. Anthony Annan-Prah, Senior Lecturer at the University of Cape Coast, and the national project coordinator was Justice Amoah, District Planning Officer from the KEEA District Assembly.

Funding for ECHMP was for the most part provided by the European Union, the Netherland Culture Fund and the Department for International Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands (IHS, 2003: 5).

Figure 19. The ECHMP process

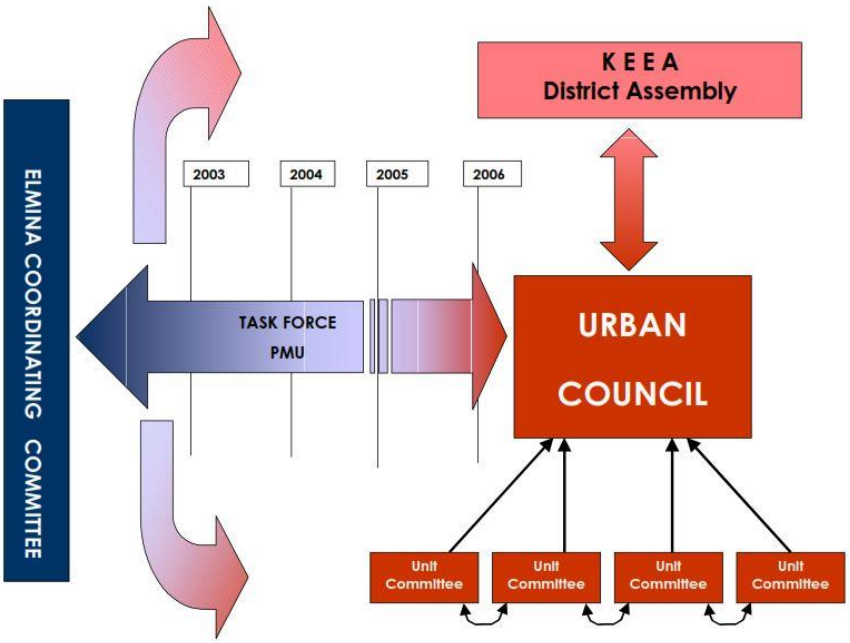


Source: KEEA (2002a:12)

4.3.2. Phase II – Implementation of project aims

The Strategy Report states that both the KEEA District Assembly and the Elmina Urban Council are responsible for the implementation. Furthermore the Assembly has the commitment "to allocate resources […] through their regular and external funding mechanisms" (KEEA, 2002a: 7). The following image (Figure 20) displays the planned anchoring of the project in local structures to ensure broad stakeholder participation and sustainability. The whole process was to be started and accompanied by a local coordinating committee of different stakeholders, and to be gradually handed over during the course of the almost 3 years of project implementation to the District Assembly.

Figure 20. Organisational Structure of Strategy Implementation



Source: KEEA (2002a: 23)

For *Phase II* a wide range of activities was conducted/planned in order to improve the cultural heritage sites and some urban infrastructure. An area of historical importance and conservation zones were declared and secured. Conservation was integrated into community development projects, such as the “home owner’s scheme”, an offer to owners of historical houses for cost-sharing to renovate their houses. Furthermore, tourist facilities were supposed to be improved, including the reinstatement of the tourism office and the creation of an arts and crafts market. Sustainability of the programme was expected to be secured through capacity building for tourist services; improvement of conservation skills; close collaboration among stakeholders; and generation of new funding sources, such as the Elmina Development Fund mentioned above.

Table 3. Selected activities by ECHMP in Phase II

Implemented Activities	Details
Rehabilitation of the Elmina Castle	Restoration of upper terrace and entrance bridge preventing both from collapse.
Rehabilitation of Fort St. Jago	Road rehabilitation, building of terraces to avoid erosion, landscaping at the St. Jago Hill and electrical works.
Renovation of 4 Asafo Posts	Structural improvement of 4 Asafo posts and rehabilitation of statues outside the posts.
Restoration of the Dutch Cemetery and Surroundings	Increase of the land-level to grave level, correction of tomb-stones, and construction of stairways to St. Joseph Hill, among others.
Renovation of 14 historic private houses (Home Owner Scheme)	In the original proposal it was indicated that 40 houses need renovations. Owners were expected to cover 25% of the costs.
Renovation of historic houses	Alfred Mensah House, Van Dyke House, Koomson House among others.
Establishment of a Tourist Information Office	Establishment of a Tourism Information Office in the renovated Alfred Mensah House, at the corner of the central Trafalgar Square, in order to provide information to tourists about the historic sites, accommodation and activities offered in Elmina.
St. Joseph Hill	Refurbishment of the staircase and expansion of the Catholic Museum.
Construction of an arts & crafts market	Planned at the central Trafalgar-Square.
Training of 20 tour guides for tourists	Focus contents were the Castle and the Fort, the Harbour and the history of Elmina.
Training for 20-40 artisans	Intent to train a pool of specialists to renovate buildings and restore historic buildings to preserve their historic identity.
Training in financial management and local development	Technical assistance was provided to the GMMB, KEEA District Assembly, and community-based-organisations in order to identify tourism and economic development potential in Elmina and improve financial management.
Production of promotional materials	Production of a tourist map and other promotional material.

Sources: EC (2010); IHS (2003); KEEA (2006, 2002b)

4.4. Previous research on Elmina's heritage

Here I review literature dealing with heritage management, heritage tourism and tourism development in Elmina.

4.4.1. Heritage Management in Elmina

The body of literature regarding heritage management in Elmina is relatively limited. Frederick Kofi Amekudi (2005) provides an overview on conservation in Ghana, such as the legal framework for the protection of Ghana's cultural heritage, the role of the GMMB as the legal custodian, and includes Elmina and the ECHMP. Amekudi stresses the economic dimension of the conservation of historical towns, such as Elmina, stating that "any effort to conserve a historic city must include the revival of the economic base, an increase in investment and revitalization of the economic and financial structure to both fund and maintain conservation work" (Amekudi, 2005: 63-64). Furthermore, Amekudi points out how heritage management in an integrative approach can contribute to the rejuvenation of Elmina in terms of poverty reduction, attraction of private investment and safeguarding of the environment. For my research it is important to note that Amekudi proposes new legal compliances, a "local government by-law to define the *historic area* and in the process create a 'Historic Area Development Entity', which would provide the framework for a new public-private partnership and generate revenue and return on investment" (Amekudi, 2005: 64). Amekudi strives for an incorporation of the by-law into the mandate of the GMMB, which would declare Elmina as a whole a conservation area. This makes one of the study foci explicit: who cooperates for the maintenance and management of heritage resources in Elmina, if there is no holistic approach to the conservation of Elmina's heritage sites?

4.4.2. Heritage Tourism in Elmina

Previous research about heritage tourism in Elmina has focused mainly on two topics: the experience and satisfaction of the castle visitors (Bruner, 2005) and the narrative commemoration of the Atlantic slave trade at these sites (Essah, 2001 and

Richards, 2002). It is important to note that these perspectives are based on Edwards Bruner's earlier influential study that recognised the growing importance of tourism to the castles since the beginning of the 1990s, partially through an increased number of visitors from the USA, who form part of the African Diaspora seeking to understand their cultural heritage (Bruner, 1996). Bruner's analysis focuses on the Black Diaspora, brought into the debate by Paul Gilroy (1993). According to Gilroy, the black diaspora played an outstanding role for the heritage value of the castles, as it formed a growing tourist group in the 1990s. Consequently, the castles became an important case study for the theory that African Americans have become the primary market for Africa's expanding heritage tourism sector (Teye & Timothy, 2004). As Bruner (1996: 291) points out, the members of the African Diaspora come to Ghana "in a quest for their roots, to experience one of the sites from which their ancestors may have begun the torturous journey to the New World." On the other hand, he states, most Ghanaians, who constitute the biggest group of visitors to the Castle, "are not particularly concerned with slavery" (Bruner, 1996: 292). Meanwhile for the African Americans, the slave trade is predominant in their interest, most Ghanaians consider different parts of a long term history of their country when visiting the castle in Elmina. This has consequences for the presentation of the Castle, where a certain conflict over exhibitions and guided tours on the site has transpired (Bruner, 1996).

Furthermore, Brunner (1996) makes the important observation that Elmina's community has not always been positive towards tourism. Consequently, he argues, the high expectations towards tourism development were not in line with the residents' attitudes towards tourism activities. In a broader analysis of the Ghanaian tourism development sector, negative attitudes towards the tourism sector by Elmina residents are confirmed by Teye et al. (2002). According to Bruner (1996), specific issues under debate were photography and the soliciting of money (negotiating services or begging) from tourists. Certain forms of harassments and disputes have been often reported, which has highlighted facets of interaction between tourists and local inhabitants. It was found that local people are very much offended by tourists taking pictures and Bruner explains the underlying attitudes as follows:

> There are two factors involved in the strong objections to tourists taking photographs without permission. One view expressed is that tourists take photographs of naked children and dirty places, and the tourists return

> home displaying a very negative image of Elmina and Ghana. The issue here is the poor representation of the Elmina people, a derogatory image. The second factor is that the taking of photographs is not reciprocal. Citizens have complained that those taking the photos return home and sell the photographs for a profit, but the people of Elmina get nothing in return (Bruner, 1996: 299).

Secondly, when it comes to local people asking money from tourists, it is argued that, "if in Elmina tourists are constantly asked for money, for everything, including photographs, it re-minds the tourists that they are not guests but are paying customers" [sic]. Bruner recognized this as the commercial aspect of visiting Elmina as a tourist, and stated that for Diaspora Africans in particular, being confronted with this experience might be "disappointing" (Bruner, 1996: 299).

4.4.3. Tourism and Development in Elmina

Koutra and Diaz maintain that the residents in Elmina (and Cape Coast) are "unaware of the nature of tourism development projects" (2013: 25). Unfortunately the authors do not include any reference to the ECHMP in their analysis. They do mention the earlier projects, large donations from USAID etc. (2013: 2), but they do not mention the ECHMP at all. As I can only speculate as to whether they were aware of it and left it out on purpose or did not know about it, the mere fact that she does not mention it at all does not allow for any conclusion.

Tourism and Development in Elmina in general, without a specific focus on heritage resources, have been discussed in the context of poverty alleviation (Sonne 2010, Holden et al., 2011). These authors discovered that tourism initiatives are being conducted as part of macroeconomic strategies for Ghana, which do not immediately benefit the poor people in Elmina. They come to the conclusion that tourism has a high potential for the development of Elmina, but that currently it is too difficult for local people to start entrepreneurships or to get employed in the tourism sector, so as a result, this potential is not realised effectively yet. The main obstacles are "lack of access of credit, exclusion from decision-making, poor skills and excessive bureaucracy" (Holden et al., 2011: 317).

Holden et al. (2011) express that tourism is widely accepted as a means of poverty reduction, however they stress the differences in impact at macro- and micro-level.

In the case of Elmina, they found that a comparative analysis is already being challenged by the limited availability of data about micro-level impact:

> Whilst the measurement of tourism macroeconomic impacts permits a comparative analysis with other economic sectors, there is an absence of empirical data to demonstrate its contribution to poverty at the micro level. (Holden et al. 2011: 317-318).

The authors explain that even though various studies state a majorly positive attitude of the local community towards tourism, none of them analyse the potential of poverty alleviation nor engagement opportunities for especially poor people of Elmina further. They try to capture a more critical perspective, which considers the people's attitudes towards tourist development in Elmina, while reflecting their perceptions of poverty. In the interviews they conducted, they focused on the subsequent subjects:

> Three main areas of enquiry pursued in the interviews were 1) understanding issues of the quality of life and poverty experiences in Elmina; 2) perceptions of the opportunities arising from the development of tourism and its impacts on daily life; and 3) the identification of barriers that prohibit involvement and participation in the industry (Holden et al., 2011: 325).

Their results were as follows:

> Following the principles of good governance, equity and participatory approaches, tourism offers the potential to make a significant contribution to poverty reduction at micro level in Elmina. At present, it fails to achieve this because of the way the tourism industry operates and the way in which government tourism policy falls short of including the poor. Tourism industry practices marginalise Elmina's poor, being predominantly controlled by tour operators from outside Elmina in a business relationship with a few selected local businesses (Holden et al. 2011: 332).

4.4.4. Specific secondary literature analyzing the ECHMP

Not many publications are available about the ECHMP. The only authors who have written about it besides the general description by Amekudi (2005) are Arthur and Mensah (2006), and I. K. Arthur (2005). Both studies inform about the goals and objectives of the ECHMP and achievements reached so far in the town. They do not assess the project effectiveness itself, but rather describe challenges the project is facing at that time. Arthur and Mensah (2006) describe the status as of December 2004, and emphasise the importance of strong stakeholder participation. To establish

Elmina as a tourist destination based on different urban development initiatives, they recommended that the ECHMP should work on the establishment of good governance and strengthened partnerships between national and local government agencies, the private sector and the local community of Elmina.

Although Amekudi (2005) as well as Arthur and Mensah (2006) give substantial details, their analyses do not critically assess the effective implementation of the ECHMP. Therefore, the research ought to conduct fieldwork in order to undertake a critical follow-up of the ECHMP achievements and the status quo in Elmina six years after the project ended, with regard to the research questions developed.

Only a few critical aspects have been studied in conjunction with the ECHMP. To provide my fieldwork with a broader basis of critical perspectives towards the ECHMP, the discussion of my findings integrate explanations of Holden et al. (2011), Sonne (2010), as well as of Koutra (2007) and Koutra and Diaz (2013). These authors did not write about the ECHMP explicitly, but focused on tourism development in Elmina, which was a strategic objective of the ECHMP. I do therefore believe that it is related to the project effectiveness if Holden et al. (2011: 331) declare that tourism "is presently making a very limited contribution to poverty reduction or the creation of alternative livelihood opportunities amongst the poor in Elmina, with the situation being exacerbated by the absence of policies that target the inclusion of the poor in the tourism development processes". This predication is in line with Koutra (2007), who argues that tourism as a means of poverty reduction is not effectively used due to a lack of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) from the government, tourism intermediaries and developmental institutions.

I. K. Arthur (2005) is certainly a valuable secondary source with regard to the ECHMP, but limited in the sense that his study is from 2005, and he could not yet estimate the long-term effect the programme would have. Despite this limitation, the author gives fruitful insights into the ECHMP in its implementation phase.

The described discrepancies on the perspectives about the effectiveness of the project and the use of tourism potential in Elmina show that there is a demand for a deeper debate about the role tourism can play in Elmina as a means of economic valorisation of heritage resources and for income generation and job creation in community development.

4.4.5. Concluding remarks

Which gaps exist in research on the Elmina case, taking into account the general theoretical framework? Despite some important work on themes such as heritage tourism as a means for poverty reduction in Elmina (Holden et al., 2011; Sonne, 2010; Koutra, 2007), the involvement of the community in tourism related activities (Koutra and Diaz, 2013), the role of the ECHMP for socio-economic development (Arthur and Mensah, 2006), on the attitude of the local community towards visitors coming to Elmina and on the effects of tourism (Gbedema 2010), scholars have not yet comprehensively explored how heritage management and economic development affect one another through the bridge of heritage tourism in Elmina, particularly since the implementation of the ECHMP from 2002 to 2006.

Furthermore, the ECHMP itself is not well documented in the literature. Some authors raise doubts about the stimulation of the local economy and poverty reduction through the development of tourism, without even mentioning the ECHMP. This case study will remedy this gap in the literature, analysing the causal chain of heritage resource valorisation for local economic development and therein conducting a follow-up analysis of the outcomes of the ECHMP in order to provide new job opportunities in conservation, promotion of heritage resources and tourism based on Public-Private-Partnerships and private initiatives.

With regard to concepts of sustainability and sustainable development mentioned in the theoretical framework, I drew on these in the subsequently described field work findings and asked whether representatives of the local communities are involved in decision making processes about Elmina's heritage management and how the EHCMP included local communities into urban rehabilitation projects in Elmina's historic area. This raises the fundamental question as to how the various stakeholders, such as the local District Assembly, the GMMB and traditional local authorities (*Nanatum*) relate to each other and collaborate in the case of the ECHMP. All scholars in this area highlight the importance of comprehensive stakeholder cooperation for any sustainable development initiative in the fields of heritage management and tourism. Therefore, the assessment of stakeholder collaboration in the ECHMP constitutes an important criterion of examination in the research.

4.5. Findings from fieldwork and documentary analysis

The fieldwork and primary document analysis in Ghana (Accra, Cape Coast and Elmina) have revealed plenty of additional information about heritage tourism development in Elmina which will be presented in two steps or clusters.

First, I outline my findings about the tourism profile of Ghana and Elmina. Furthermore, I examine tourists' attraction to Elmina's heritage resources, and the town residents' attitudes towards tourism, as well as presenting key-respondent opinions and data on tourism as a source of income in Elmina. In a second step, I discuss my findings from the specific follow-up analysis of the ECHMP, on selected activities and challenges faced by the conservation and tourism the project and whether or not it was able to deal with them.

4.5.1. Heritage Tourism and Development

4.5.1.1. Tourism data on Ghana and Elmina

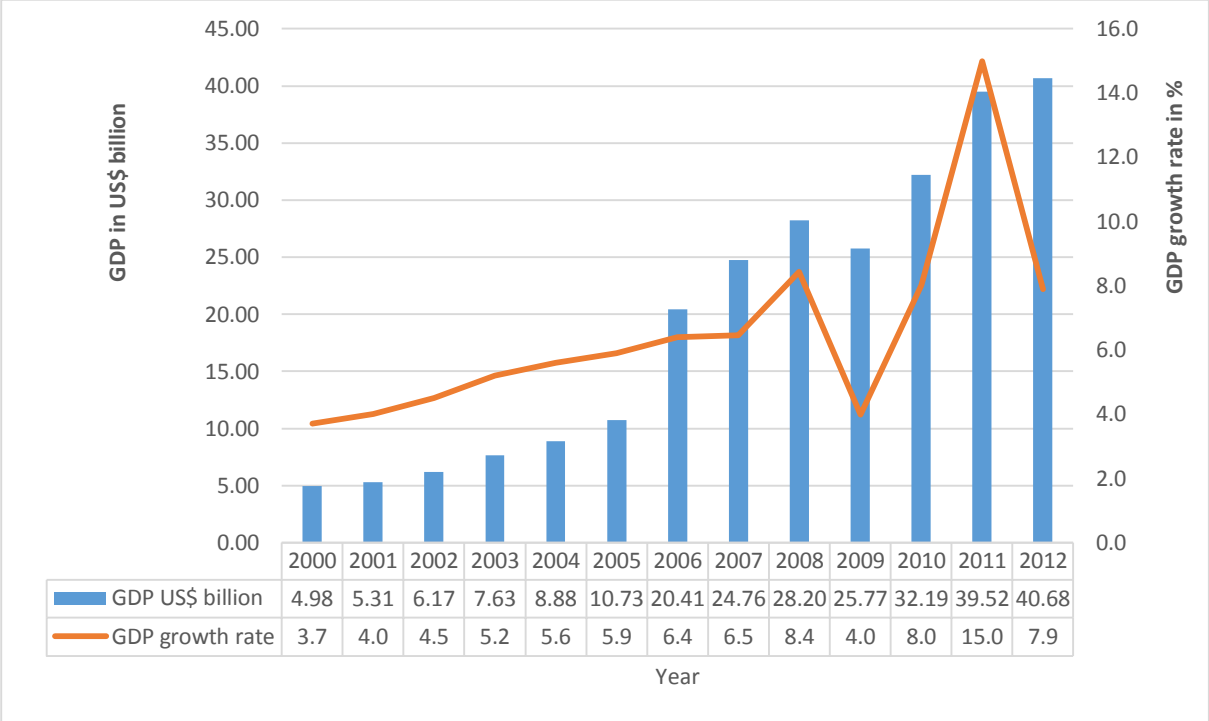
It has been acknowledged that tourism and economic growth in developing countries are correlated to each other by a long-term relationship (Samimi et al., 2011). Thus, tourism is to be seen as an export sector with significant contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As it triggers economic growth, tourism plays a central role in national policy – especially in developing countries that attract many tourists.

Although, as mentioned earlier, no macro-economic analysis about the causality of economic growth and tourism in Ghana can be provided within the scope of this research report, it is worthwhile looking at data about tourism arrivals as well as revenues generated through tourism, and to put this data into relation with economic growth shares in the GDP.

Ghana's GDP has doubled since 2006, and has reached more than US$ 40 billion in 2012. The GDP growth rate was 14.2% in 2011, strongly supported by high oil production. In 2012, the GDP receded to 7 percent.[31]

[31] See: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ghana/overview> and UN (2013: 27), available from: <http://issuu.com/unpublications/docs/13iik1isbn9789210560764> (Accessed on 15 July, 2013).

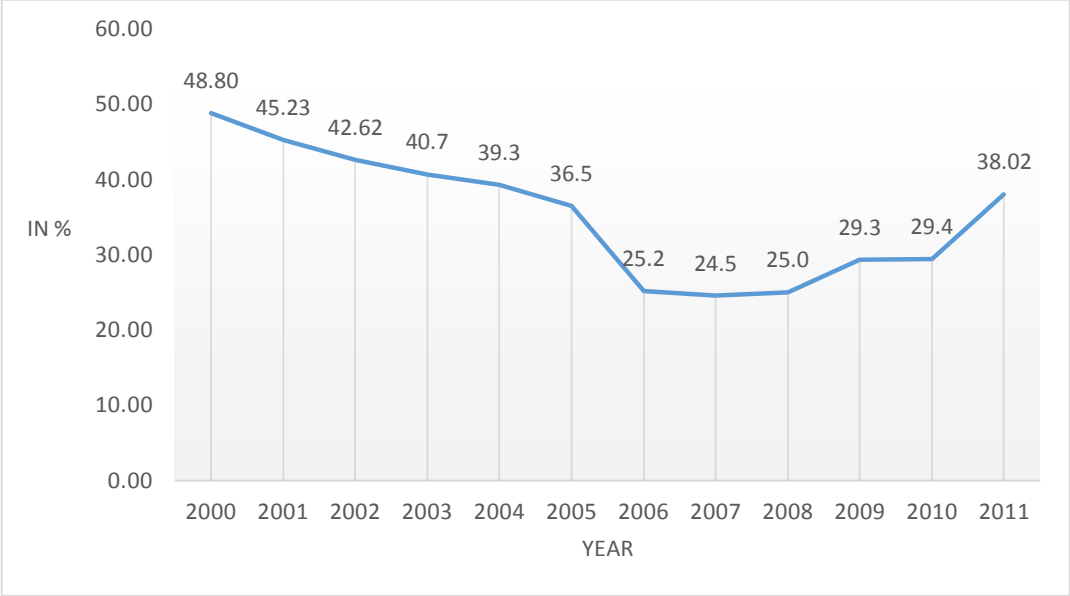
Figure 21. GDP and GDP growth rate in Ghana



Source: Worldbank (2012) and GTB (2013)

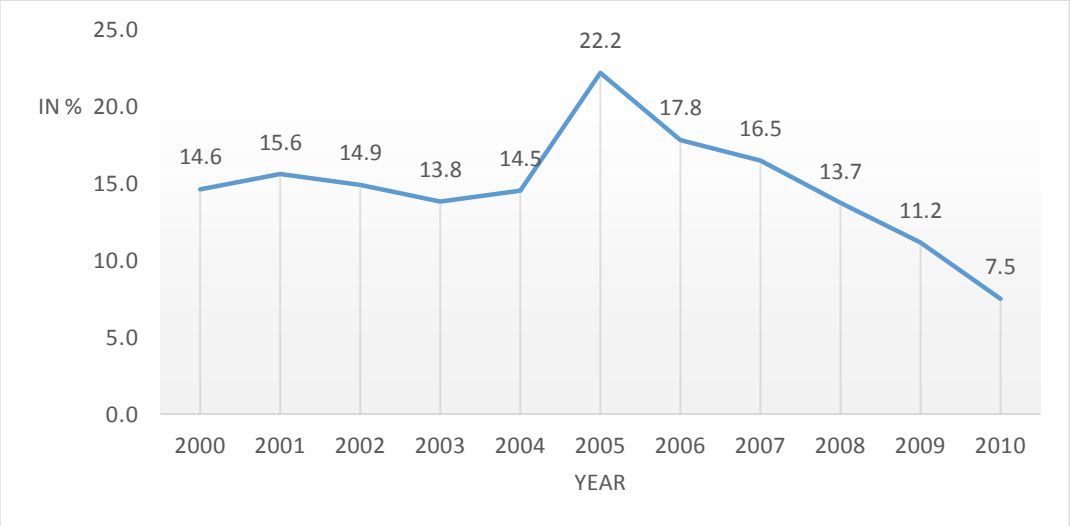
In 2012, tourism contributed 5.9% to the GDP, compared to 14.1% to the global average GDP (WTTC, 2012, 2013). The share of tourism in export of goods and service has grown in recent years, after a slight downward trend between 2000 and 2007 (Figure 22) and constitutes a major pillar of Ghana's economy (Figure 23), being ascribed the role of the "fourth largest foreign exchange earner" (Luckham, 2012).

Figure 22. Export of goods and services (% of GDP) in Ghana



Source: Worldbank (2012)

Figure 23. Receipts of international tourism as share of total export (%) in Ghana

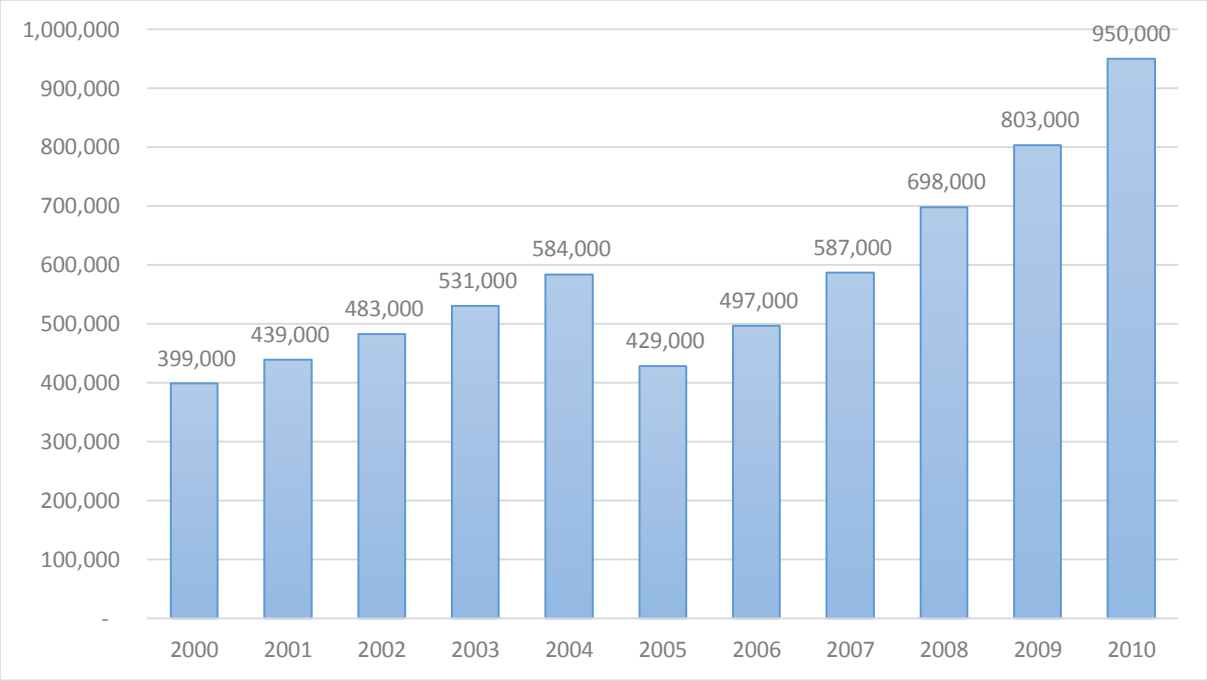


Source: Worldbank (2012)

Figure 23 indicates a downward trend from 2005 to 2008, however this does not mean that the absolute volume of tourism did not rise during the indicated time, but rather that revenues in other sectors such as minerals (gold), cocoa beans and timber products were grew stronger, which made their shares in exports (of goods and services) higher.

Indeed, tourism has increased continuously in both number of international visitors and revenues generated. In 2010, 950,000 people visited Ghana – more than double the number that visited in 2005 (Figure 24), while US $1.8 billion could be generated from tourism, which signified an increase of about 300% since 2001[32] (Figure 25). National tourism is not being analysed within Ghana macro-economic data, and I will include it as much as possible for the micro-level of Elmina and the heritage sites.

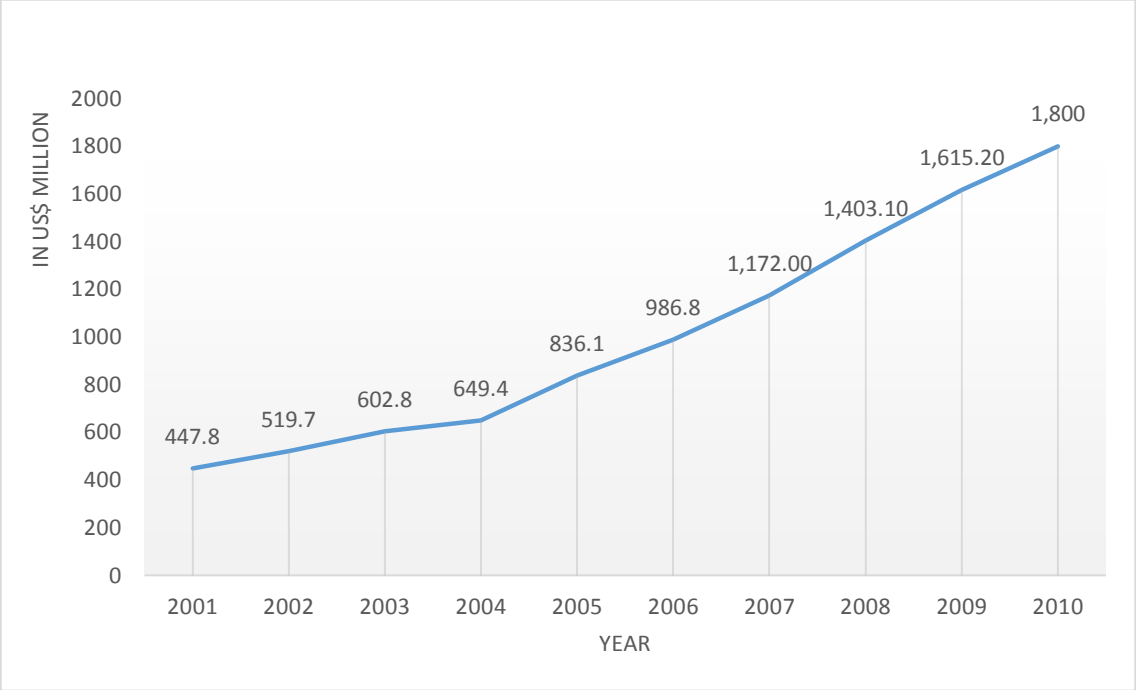
Figure 24. International tourism, number of arrivals in Ghana



Sources: Worldbank (2010), GTB (2011)

[32] This represents an increase of absolute numbers, without any consideration of inflation or deprecation of the national currency against the US$.

Figure 25. Receipts (US$ million)



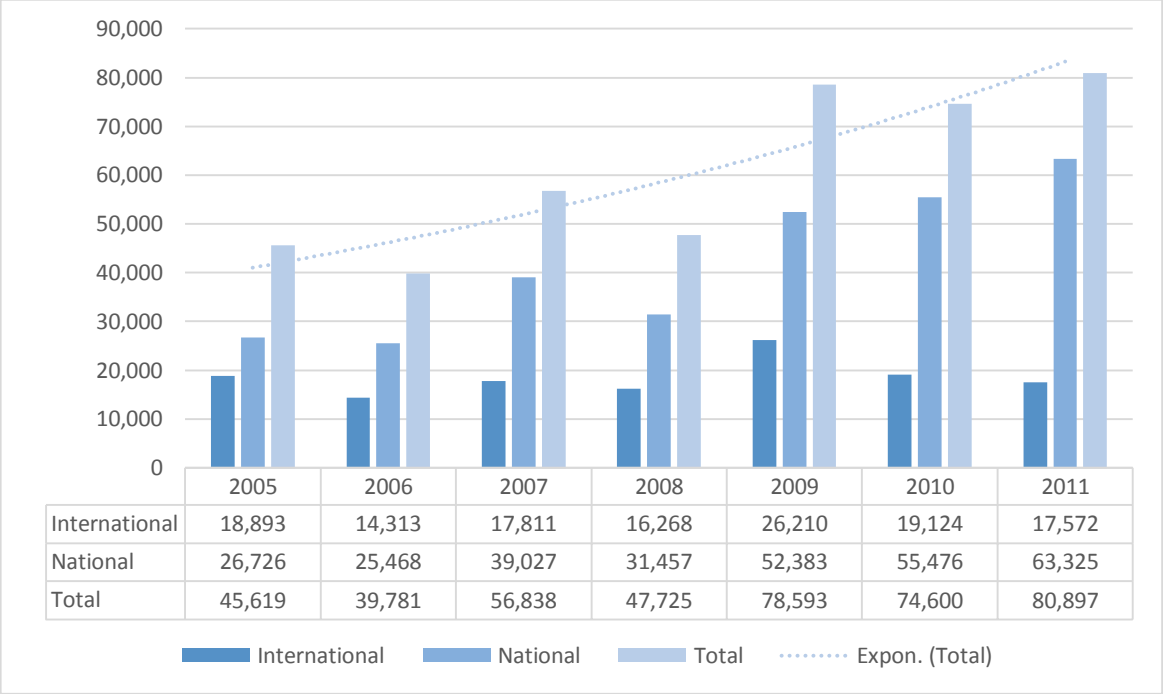
Source: GTB (2011)

Several studies have shown that tourism receipts seen as a share of exports shows its relation to growth (for example Arezki et al., 2009). In an economic sense, there is a difference between growth and development. Tourism receipts can lead to a growth of GDP, but growth does not necessarily lead to development. Thus, it is essential to differentiate macro- from microeconomic performance and to include more criteria of development like sustainability and broad participation.

Considering the tourist market in Elmina, it can be said that tourists there have one primary aim in going there, namely to visit the Elmina Castle and, to a lesser extent, the Fort St. Jago. Other heritage sites are hardly visited.

Thus, the number of annual visitors to Elmina Castle constitute a major indicator for the number of tourists that head to Elmina. In the academic landscape and any research about Elmina tourism, the numbers are not always coherent. In my research, I used the numbers provided by the GMMB, as the Ghanaian authority responsible for the WHS, which stated a total of 80,897 visitors in 2011. This is approximately double the number recorded for 2006 (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Annual Visitors of Elmina Castle

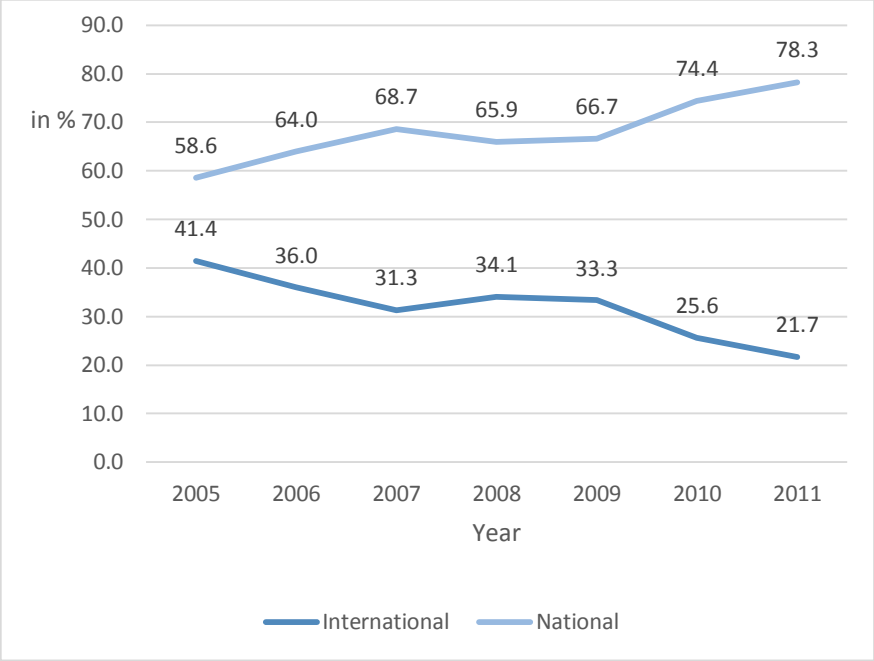


	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
International	18,893	14,313	17,811	16,268	26,210	19,124	17,572
National	26,726	25,468	39,027	31,457	52,383	55,476	63,325
Total	45,619	39,781	56,838	47,725	78,593	74,600	80,897

Source: Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (2012)

There is a big share of national visitors (Figure 27). A primary group contributing to these are the increased numbers of school-children being taken on excursion to the Castle, which has tremendously increased between 2006 (13,714) and 2011 (35,615) (GMMB, 2012). Site visits, to the Elmina or Cape Coast Castle, are integrated in the curriculum, beginning at junior school level. Moreover, the history of Elmina and Cape Coast are significantly reflected in the teaching plan (Interview Gabriel Gademor, Director of Education at KEEA District Assembly).

Figure 27. National and international tourists at Elmina Castle (share of total visitors)



Source: Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (2012)

Analysing only the numbers of international tourists, an unstable downward trend can be observed in comparison to the general number of tourists visiting Ghana. In 2005, more than every 25th person visiting Ghana came to the castle, whereas in 2010, it was only every 50th person, even though in 2010 it had increased again.

Table 4. Share of Elmina Castle Visitors on international visitors to Ghana

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
International visitors Ghana	429,000	497,000	587,000	698,000	803,000	950,000	n/a
International visitors Elmina Castle	18,893	14,313	17,811	16,268	26,210	19,124	17,572
Share Elmina (in %)	4.4	2.9	3.0	2.3	3.3	2.0	n/a

Source: Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, 2012

The share looks especially low, as the 'international visitors' still come with various motivations: in 2009, the GTB states that 23% of international visitors arriving had a business motivation; 9% attended conferences and meetings; 19% came for holiday and 10% were transit passengers (GNA 2010). If these numbers are compared, based on the total numbers of visitors stated by GMMB, even though the two

agencies use different total numbers of visitors, which limits the applicability of the calculation, 17.2% of the international visitors with holiday as a motivation visited the Elmina Castle.

4.5.1.2. Tourists' interests in Elmina: Motivation and Expectations

According to fieldwork with special consideration of key-informant sources, any other heritage sites and activities of Elmina than the castle and to a much lesser extent, Fort St. Jago, are not recognised by most tourists. In particular, they do not know of or consider other sites before coming to Elmina, and they do not plan more time for their stay in the town than to visit the Castle.

So in summary, it could be said that heritage tourism in Elmina involves a de facto visit to Elmina Castle, and to a lesser degree, to Fort St. Jago. The fieldwork confirmed that the Castle is dominant within the public commemoration of Elmina's history, within the time of the fieldwork the other heritage resources received no attention, except from a group of students who were required to do a presentation on Elmina. What is more, the tour guides at the Elmina Castle (and the Cape Coast Castle, respectively) emphasize the castle's relation to the Slave Trade. From that point of view, it can be said that the history of slavery takes precedence over other historical themes in Elmina, and most visitors connect Elmina with this part of history. However, in the castle's exhibition, other historical houses and sites of Elmina are presented.

Moreover, it could be found through observation and key-informant interviews, that the tourism influx to the Castle is organised mainly as a closed process by provincial and national tour operators, without much interaction with the adjacent residents. In terms of economic development, this would mean the tourism to the Castle forms part of more indirect macro-economic strategies to stimulate growth through tourism in Ghana. Most visitors are brought to the castle by tour-operators from Accra and Cape Coast and conduct the visit to the Elmina Castle from a basis in Cape Coast or on a round-tour with various tourism activities in Ghana (Figure 28). Some visits last little more than two hours; others last half a day and include souvenir shopping and lunch in the Castle. Even the above-mentioned school groups are focused only on

the castle, as its appearance in the narrative of the Atlantic slave trade forms part of the school curriculum (Figure 29).

Figure 28. Tour operator from outside leading the visitors directly to the Castle.



Figure 29. Tour buses parking in front of the Castle.



Sources: Photograph by author (July 2012).

The following statements from residents working on other tourism-related offers of Elmina reveal the trends in tourist visits most aptly, however.

Mr. Felix Nguah, private tour operator from Ghana Eco Tours explained that when he offers the Elmina Walking Tour or other additional Elmina tourism activities, most tourists have never heard of them and their scheduled tours do not allow for more time in Elmina (Interview with Felix Nguah, 7 July, 2012).

Mrs. Lucy Obeng, managing the Elmina-Java Museum, explained that the museum's flyers and address cards hardly ever reach the Castle or Fort Jago visitors and that Castle guides are not able or willing to explain what and where the Java museum is to be found. One of the largest visitor groups the museum had in the last month before my visit was from Indonesia. According to Mrs. Obeng, they explained that they had heard of the museum and the history of African colonial soldiers in Indonesia before coming to Ghana. Therefore, they explicitly requested from their guide to be taken to the museum, who then had to first find out where the museum was located, although Mrs. Obeng recorded contacting his company with information about the museum (Interview with Lucy Obeng, 9 July, 2012).

Mr. Victor Onusu Nyambpong, Hotel Manager of the Bridge House Hotel, stated that most guests the hotel receives are either sleeping over on longer travel, visiting relatives, or looking for a cheaper alternative to the beach hotels. From amongst the Castle tourists they have very few guests, as most of them do not stay overnight in Elmina (Interview with Victor Onusu Nyambpong, 9 & 10 July, 2012).

4.5.1.3. Recognition: Resident Attitudes towards tourism and the Elmina Castle

In terms of national and international recognition, Elmina has improved since the WHS designation of the Ghanaian Castles and Forts in 1979. As indicated above, local tourists outnumber international tourists to the Castle, including pupils and students, as school-curricula deal with national history and heritage more openly, and excursions are being conducted to the sites. Through the field-research it was also found that tourism is a common field of interest for Ghanaian youth and students, and that heritage tourism to the Castles plays an equally important role for them as tourism does to Ghana's beaches or natural parks.

In a small survey conducted with members in the Methodist Church at Liverpool Street,[33] the castle was recognised by all respondents as a significant place for tourism or, as for example one recipient answered, as a "tourist centre". Another one wrote: "It reminds us of our history as far as slave trade is concerned." Furthermore, the role of tourism for generating revenue and developing the community was acknowledged. One participant wrote that "tourism is good for Elmina because during their visits the Assembly generates some revenue for renovations in the community [and] also sale of some items increase[s]." Other participants wrote: "Tourism provides employment"; "tourism is good for Elmina because it always attract investors into the town and Ghana as [a] whole"; or: "through their [the tourists] visit … economical sale of goods and services increases" and it brings a "boost in production" (Survey Methodists Church, 8 July, 2012).

[33] The survey was conducted after a church service, by the priest and church facilitators who had been instructed beforehand and equipped with a limited number of questionnaires. They discussed the questions after the service and gave the questionnaires to literate church goers, who discussed the questions with their neighbours. Nine filled questionnaires were thereafter returned and analysed.

However, expressions about tourism development were not entirely positive. On a critical note, one participant expressed mixed feelings about the driving role of tourism for the local community as he said:

> The castle generates income for the District Assembly to build and rehabilitate nearby villages around Elmina, but the community gains very little income from the tourist[s] who visit the castle because the town is not much included in the history, and also the tourist[s] leave immediately after their tour to the castle but they could have had a walk through the town to shop, interact or see a situation to sponsor or generate daily income to members and to improve living conditions in the town (Survey Methodists Church, 8 July, 2012).

Interestingly, most of the participants shed light on the important role of the KEEA District Assembly in order to generate revenue from tourism and bring it back into community development projects, such as renovations in the area. Despite the positive recognition of the castle and tourism, they highlight that tourists do not enter the town of Elmina very often. Furthermore, some of them note that the castle is very dominant in the presentation of the history of Elmina.

It can be said that the local community appreciates tourism more now than they did at the time of Bruner's (1996) research. The acknowledgment of cultural diversity and exchange is greater at present, as the answers from the community surveys have shown, also the awareness for the economic potential of tourism and for community development has grown. One participant for example stated that, "we sometimes meet our sisters and brothers from the diaspora and we share out views. […] They make friends and at times give support to some of them." Another one wrote: "It makes the tourists know something about Elmina. People also make friends with them. Some tourist also help those in need in the community upon hearing their stories" (Survey Methodists Church, 8 July, 2012).

However, the relationship between local people and visitors is still ambiguous. With regard to photography in Elmina, the fieldwork for this study could confirm observations by Bruner (1996: 299) that local people in Elmina are very much offended by photographs taken by tourists, which was still the case in 2012. Without first requesting the consent of each person potentially captured, taking photographs in the city of Elmina remains difficult. For an ethnographic researcher, this proves challenging. When I went on the Walking Tour through the city provided by Mr. Felix Nguah from Ghana Eco Tours, the atmosphere only slightly improved. He could

advise me as to where pictures would be appropriate, and helped in engaging for approval, however it was still a delicate situation, which would not be inviting for a common tourist, I presume.

Also, the soliciting of money and forms of harassments Bruner and others mentioned still exist. During my fieldwork I recognised that tourists, or *obruni,*[34] are often asked for money, notably by children. Furthermore, some people have developed aggressive begging towards tourists arriving at the castle; obtrusive hawking was observed towards tourists going straight from the Castle into their tour bus.

Lucy Obeng pointed out that these forms of harassment already noted by Bruner (1996) increased during the ECHMP. She said after the trainings of tour guides (as part of the ECHMP activities, see below) local people began to ask for money in order to guide tourists, approaching them aggressively in front of the castle. Nowadays, she maintains, it "is under control" (Interview with Lucy Obeng, 9 July, 2012). These forms of harassment were also confirmed by security personnel of the Elmina Castle (Interview with Mr. Isaac, 9 July, 2012).

4.5.1.4. Tourism as a source of income?

It has been mentioned that most visitors come on tours organised by well-connected companies from outside Elmina, which do not include any other heritage resources in Elmina than the Castle. This leads to:

a) local private tour companies facing challenges in show-case the sites to tourists (e.g. Ghana Eco Tours) in the limited time of the Castle visit;

b) a limited number of interactions between local people and the visitors, except the Castle guides, catering staff and souvenir-shop employees. A number of the Castle staff are not from Elmina originally, and don't interact with many tourists, due to the fact that tours are often being conducted by the external guides, who bring the tourist groups in by bus and depart immediately after they have gone through the Castle;

[34] Obruni is the expression for white man. But as Bruner (1996: 295) points out, this expression is also used for visiting Diaspora Africans and covers all Europeans, Americans, Asians. So it became an expression referring to all foreigners.

c) Elmina inhabitants and their businesses with no access to the castle have no interaction with the tourists at all, except for a few persons who try to catch the attention of the tourists directly in front of the Castle. Their often invasive behaviour does however make tourists refrain even more from exploring Elmina outside the Castle, as mentioned in the report of the ECHMP, and by various interviewees.

These tourism tours do not generate any economic benefit for the local community except for the few local employees in the Castle. For Elmina residents, tourism is not the major source of income, despite the two WH sites and additional heritage resources in their area, where most residents work in fishery or salt production. The residents of Elmina do not consider heritage tourism as beneficial for their socio-economic development, and they disregard the tourists entirely as they have not developed the necessary skills and initiatives to make use of the growing number of visitors to the Castle.

There are two private tourism initiatives based in Elmina. One is the tour operator Ghana Eco Tours directed by Mr. Felix Nguah, a tour operator covering the whole of Ghana, but situated in the Elmina Castle, providing among other offers the “Elmina Walkway”. On that tour the visitor is able to see additional heritage resources. The Walkway was not part of the integration management plan by the ECHMP, although it already existed at the time of the project. Originally, it was conducted by an Elmina citizen, who conceived it. With that person’s death, the project was handed over to KEEA District Assembly, but no follow-up was done by this local government institution. Ultimately, it was adapted by Felix Nguah from Ghana Eco Tours without support by the KEEA. Until today, this tour service is a private initiative (Interview with Felix Nguah, 7 July, 2012). The Walkway uses plenty of other heritage sites besides that of the Castle, and tries to market heritage recognition and tourism. Furthermore, it could generate (economic) interaction with the local community, through bringing the tourists near to local food markets, arts and crafts products and other trade products. Ghana Eco Tours could become a form of Public-Private Partnership (PPP) or kind of a joint venture as the office is situated at the Castle (as governmental institution) and operated privately.

The other private initiative dealing with heritage interpretation and tourism is the Elmina-Java Museum. It displays the 19th century history of soldiers from Elmina and

other parts of Ghana as well as its surrounding states, which were recruited for the wars of the Netherlands in Dutch East India, which is today mainly Indonesia. The recruitments were not forced in most cases, however many of the soldiers were freed as slaves, bought off from their masters with money that was credited to them from their salaries as soldiers. Therefore, they were bound to serve for a very long time. In the course of the colonial wars and occupation processes, these men settled in Indonesia. Some raised families there, others migrated to the Netherlands, but some also came back to Elmina, where they lived on Java Hill, after which the museum is named. Based on input by researchers and descendants of these globalised soldiers, the museum was installed in the house of a former community member.

However, the Elmina-Java Museum lacks publicity and visitors. About 100 visitors per month enter the Java Museum. Mrs. Obeng, the major guide in the Java museum and one of the guides trained on Elmina town tours in the ECHMP, believes the main problem to inform the tourists about the Java Museum is the lack of marketing by the tour operators. She maintains most of them do not consider the Java Museum in their tour plan, they do not want to include any small-scale initiatives on their routes between Accra, Cape Coast and Elmina. Lucy Obeng referred to the tourism market as an interplay of “politics” and “competition”. She explained that she has not been successful to find an agreement on cooperation and marketing with political decision makers in Accra, or bigger tour operators in Accra or Cape Coast (Interview with Lucy Obeng, 9 July, 2012).

4.5.2. Follow-up on the ECHMP

The ECHMP was designed to develop further tourism in Elmina by exploiting the potential of the additional heritage resources. The idea was to bring the tourists more into the city of Elmina and to improve the town’s capacities in tourism-service provision.

Initial funding of at least US$ 100,000 came from the Royal Dutch Embassy and the Dutch Culture Fund (KEEA, 2002c). After a detailed activity-proposal was developed, additional funding could be mobilised from the European Commission (Interview with Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012). More precisely, Funds of about 1,985,000 Euro could be mobilized through the 9th European Development Fund (EDF), of which about

one quarter (449,559 Euro) was paid to Urban Solutions for its technical assistance. This amount however was a combined fund for activities in Elmina (as part of to the ECHMP) and Accra. The EU called this project *Rehabilitation of the Cultural Heritage in Elmina and Old Accra* under the project number 9 ACP GH 05 (EC 2006, 2007, 2010). It is difficult to say how big the Elmina share was exactly, but analysing the activities described in EU information (EC 2010), it seems Elmina has received the bigger part of the whole fund for 9 ACP GH 05. Minor contributions were also made by the private sector, for example by the Golden Beach Resort and the Coconut Groove Hotel in Elmina.

Only two documents provide final statements about the implementation of the ECHMP and both were published by the European Commission: the Joint Annual Report EU-Ghana 2006 (EC, 2006) and an evaluation report by the European Commission (EC, 2010).

In the Joint Annual Report EU-Ghana 2006, it is stated that "both components, Elmina and Old Accra, could be brought to a satisfactory level by the end of 2006 when the Financing Agreement expired" (EC, 2006: 26). Furthermore, a monitoring mission from September 2007 stated:

> the increased tourism will have substantial long term positive impact and will improve income earning opportunities of the local people. The volume of tourists is expected to increase and the length of stay [made] longer as a result of improved facilities and better information provided by the new Tourist Office. More local people are generating incomes through tour guiding and selling of souvenirs. The project has also created community awareness of the value of cultural heritage and its economic potential. Overall, the town has experienced a boost in the economy and improvement in living conditions of the people (EC, 2010: 3, n. 1).

With regard to the sustainable anchoring of the activities, the European Commission revised and updated its impact assessment in approximately 2010. Though it was still acknowledging, that "all the planned activities were successfully implemented and the project's impact has been felt" (EC, 2010: 2) and despite improvements in conservation (Castle, Fort, historic houses), landscaping (erosion protection on St. Jago Hill), "the benefits for the community in terms of economic opportunities were not always as initially defined (see also impact) (EC, 2010: 3).

My field-work findings go in line with these statements, as most interview partners indicated, that there has not been much success by the ECHMP to bring visitors into Elmina and the tourism market is still directed by the Castle. And this alone is not enough to drive a tourism market which leads to more employment opportunities in related fields.

In addition, they are consistent with the results of a situational analysis of the forts and castle in Ghana undertaken by the African World Heritage Fund in 2009 (AWHF, 2009: 9) where it was diagnosed that “there is very little economic spill-off” from the visits to the castles and forts in Ghana, not even from those highly frequented in the Central Region (Elmina and Cape Coast).

Subsequently, this study examines some of the activities and assess the outcomes based on the fieldwork undertaken in July 2012. Overall, the fieldwork found the stated aims in the Elmina 2015 strategy document to have seen mixed success.

Various achievements could be identified in the area of conservation. Many improvements and renovations of historical houses and infrastructural measures (such as pavements, erosion protection and signage) could be implemented and were mostly still recognisable and traceable in July 2012. However with respect to the development of tourism, improvement was not readily visible. Consequently, the field-work results raised doubt as to whether there had been follow-up of the Elmina 2015 Strategy, and as to whether there was any sustainability to the project achievements. I want to draw on this later in the analysis. In the following, I want to look at some examples of conservation activities, the establishment of tourist facilities, and capacity building, conducted under the auspices of the ECHMP.

4.5.2.1. Restoration of historical buildings

By a variety of interview-partners it was stated that conservation measures took place during the ECHMP in Elmina, but that they were challenged by a lack of funding.

A fundamental part of the project was the rehabilitation of historic houses. In the first ECHMP-proposal, it was planned to rehabilitate 40 historic houses “that have been earmarked by the GMMB and the Dutch Monuments board as historic and in a poor or moderate state” (IHS, 2003: 18). Within the implementation phase not more than

14 or 15 historic houses benefitted from the conservation measures (KEEA, 2006; EuropeAid, 2007; EC, 2010),[35] for various reasons. First, a major problem occurred with regard to the funding of the renovation, as the project expected the owners to contribute between 20% and 25%.[36] For many people this amount was not affordable (Interview with Mr. Charles, site manager at Elmina castle, 6 July, 2012; Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012; among others). Furthermore, in some cases, it was difficult to identify the house owners. Many of the owners no longer live in Elmina and have rented their houses to relatives. Renovations for them are "often too expensive", as recognised before (IHS, 2003).

A second obstacle was the project proposal to expand the use of the houses from residence to commercial use in the form of guestrooms for tourists. According to the project proposal, "this will increase the economic value of the selected houses and generate revenue that can be used for the maintenance for the houses" (IHS, 2003), and at the same time, the possibility to stay in the houses was expected to bring the visitors closer to the community (Interview with Mr. Ebo Dadzie, Committee Member St. Joseph Church, 8 July, 2012). However, the conversion of the old houses into guesthouses proved challenging, as basic standards for tourists such as water and sanitation provision were not always up to the necessary level in the community (Interview with Mr. Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012).

A third issue was the financial management. It was not clear who will keep the revenues from the accommodated visitors, the local community and the KEEA District Assembly in order to generate revenue and bring it back in the form of community investments (Interview with Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012). These mechanisms have never been installed.

These various challenges led to only 14 or 15 houses to be renovated out of 40, while the plans for guestrooms failed entirely, so no economic spill-over from a community based tourism approach could be established.

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[35] The numbers varies in the documents.

[36] The interviewees indicated that the owners were required to contribute 20 percent. The ECHMP Phase II Proposal states 25 percent (IHS, 2003). This could not be finally clarified, it is possible that the shares differed from case to case. It was calculated in the Phase II Proposal that the renovation cost for each house would be 12,000 Euro and that "the house owners will be requested to contribute between 1,000 and 5,000 Euro (average of 3,000) to the renovation of the house. The total amount contributed by the owners will therefore be 120,000 Euro" (for 40 houses, DH) (IHS, 2003).

With regard to conservation measures at the Elmina Castle, the Programme aimed to restore the upper terrace, as well as the entrance bridge. A previous examination had found that “the structural condition of the terraces of the castle of St. George d’Elmina was […] in an alarming state and needing urgent repair. The concrete entrance bridge to the castle situated over the inner moat is in a state of collapse” (KEEA, 2002b: 4). It was confirmed by representatives of the GMMB that these restorations have been successfully implemented (Interview with Mr. Kofi Amekudi, Director of the GMMB, 16 July, 2012; Interview with Mr. Charles, 6 July, 2012).

However, the additional activity of painting of the Castle did take much more time than the program funding period lasted (until end of December 2006). Nevertheless it could be finished adequately by the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade by the act of the British Parliament, on 25 March, 2007 (EC, 2007: 10).

Figure 30. Entrance bridge to the Elmina Castle, repaired by the ECHMP



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

Two central activities with regard to Fort St. Jago have been the building of terraces on St. Jago hill to avoid continuous erosion (Figure 31) and the restoration of the pavements leading up the hill (Figure 32, Figure 33, Figure 34). Though these restorations and landscaping procedures have been completed, the sustainability is challenged by lack of maintenance and waste disposal.

Figure 31. Building of terraces on St. Jago Hill against erosion



Figure 32. Pavement up the hill, stones were taken out



Figure 33. Pavement behind the Fort with unofficial waste disposal



Figure 34. Pavement besides the Fort



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

Another project plan was to convert the Fort into a hotel, with conference facilities (KEEA, 2002b: 4). This was never realised, despite some negotiations with potential investors taking place.[37]

The ECHMP aimed to renovate four of the Asafo posts, encompassing rehabilitation of the statues, renovation and repainting of the statues and houses, and the installation of a permanent exhibition "showing the Asafo Companies' history as an example of the strong Dutch-Elmina historical relationship and the social coherence within Elmina." (IHS, 2003: 17). The plans for this activity also contained a

[37] It was stated, that "although Syrian investors have projected to invest US$ 10 M to turn the Fort St. Jago into a five-star hotel, the GMMB has recommended a less ambitious project in the form of an Inn with less than 10 rooms so it would not be necessary to modify the surroundings of the Fort" (EC, 2010: 3).

sustainability element, same as in the renovation of historical houses mentioned above, and it was stated that “maintenance and management will be carried out by the Asafo companies themselves who will run the posts as museums and therefore generate revenue to maintain the buildings and create employment” (IHS, 2003: 18).

Funding was provided by the Netherlands and according to EC (2010), the renovation activity was entirely finished. However, the field work revealed that the renovation of the Asafo posts was not finished completely. What is more, no productive cooperation with the GMMB was established. The GMMB has expertise in conservation – not by law, but through their legal mandate as the conservation authority for national monument and as an experienced institution with strong connections to professional conservators and artisans. The interviewees at the GMMB claimed that the plans of the restoration of the Asafo posts were not conform to the original designs of the sites, and that too much of them was to be changed, but that when they communicated these concerns to the implementing agency, it was rejected and pushed aside. Today, the Asafo posts lack maintenance (Figure 35). No exhibition has ever been installed in any of the posts.

Figure 35. Asafo post No. 1: Ankobea



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

The fieldwork could discover further infrastructure and renovation improvements realised by the ECHMP. The Dutch cemetery for example, which falls under the responsibility of the GMMB, has benefited from the ECHMP renovation measures. A new gate has been installed (Figure 36), pavements were erected, the landscaping of the surroundings improved and the balance of stone and land level was corrected. These improvements were also challenged by a lack of maintenance at the time of the field-work. A major concern is the preservation of the last two old silk cotton trees left on the cemetery (Figure 15).

Furthermore, several other historical houses benefitted from the project in terms of renovation, beyond the home-owners scheme described above. However, it remains a question as to the degree to which these renovations were completed. The Tiasma House, which has residential function, for example received just a “facelift” after it burned down in 2001. Here the ECHMP did not take the initiative to rebuild it at whole. Other examples are the Rita Komsoon House (Figure 37) and the Alfred Mensah House, which also benefited from the project (Elmina Walking Tour).

Figure 36. Dutch Cemetery with the new gate installed by the ECHMP



Figure 37. Rita Komsoon House



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

4.5.2.2. Establishments of tourist facilities

In sum, as outlined in the previous chapter, there are still not many tourism offers in Elmina, despite the WHS and the ECHMP efforts. The training activities by the ECHMP did not manage to establish a local tourist market as was expected. Tourism related employment did not significantly increase. Furthermore, shops and kiosks in the town centre, located far from the castle, did not expand their offer to attract tourists more and no additional ones could be established. Furthermore, the home owner's scheme did not adequately create guest facilities (as outlined above) and existing hotels hardly improved. It was not possible to observe tourists entering the city and taking advantage of Elmina's rich heritage assets. This is due to a lack of awareness by the visitors and their focus on the castle and partially on the fort. However, the tourism infrastructure the ECHMP wanted to establish to attract more tourists to Elmina town has also not been created.

The tourism office at the renovated Alfred Mensah House (Figure 38) "was supposed to play a coordinating role in the Elmina Town pilot for a new approach to tourism development outside the actual district assembly structure". Yet in 2009 it has been found, that "there is little evidence that this has been successful" (AWHF, 2009: 21).

Indeed, the fieldwork could confirm that the tourism office does not play a key role in visitor's service. A major problem is that it is not well promoted and connected to the tourist infrastructure lead by tour operators from the bigger cities in Accra of Cape Coast.

Figure 38. Elmina's Tourism Office in the renovated Alfred Mensah House



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

Figure 39. Sign in the Castle leading to the Office of Ghana Eco Tours: the option for first insights on Elmina town



Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

A further problem is that the tourism office closes on weekends. Several interviewees acknowledged that a tourist office had to be open on weekends in order to accommodate the likely increase in tourists over these times. Responsibilities for the tourist office are not clear. One community-respondent stated that the KEEA District Assembly is responsible for the maintenance of the office, but does not undertake any further steps in this regard (Interview with Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012). A respondent from the KEEA District Assembly sees the GTB/GTA as responsible (Interview with Mr. Fuseini Labaran, Planning Officer, 9 July, 2012). It shows that maintenance and development responsibilities for the initiatives of the ECHMP have not been adequately established and clarified.

In the same vein, the project produced a tourist map of the whole of Elmina. They are no longer being reproduced, and I could obtain one of the last exemplars at the tourist office (Appendix 4. Elmina Tourist Map). Tourist signs were erected, too, but all are in a bad condition now and were partially removed after falling down accidentally.

The project also established a one-way circle in the inner city (see Appendix 4. Elmina Tourist Map) together with street improvements. The intention behind this was that tourists would be enabled to walk barrier-free through the town, passing kiosks, restaurants, and bars and buying local arts and crafts, interactions which would generate employment opportunities for local people. In going around and shopping for local and basic consumption products, tourists would find their way easily to the arts and crafts market (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012). At the end of the project, the one-way traffic circle was finalised, but hardly any tourists shops established.

The fieldwork generated a similar conclusion for the development of an arts and crafts market, also intended by the ECHMP. Six years after the project ended, no market existed. The original idea was to put this market in the centre of the Elmina-town (Figure 40), near Trafalgar Square, so that tourists who would come (ideally from the one-way-circle) to visit the town and the other heritage objects would pass the market. This was supposed to create a business opportunity for the local people. The market has however never been realised, as all key-informants confirmed. A lot of investment was foreseen for this activity, but it was completely undeveloped (Elmina Walkway). During my fieldwork, I could not find out whether this resulted

from a lack of funding, or whether it was given up because of no demand by tourists, as nobody passes by the area.

Although the above-mentioned Elmina Walkway was integrated in the Tourism Map, there was no institutional support by the ECHMP to facilitate marketing and to strengthen the walkway.

Figure 40. The proposed area for the arts and crafts market (initial constructions which were erected before the activity was stopped)



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

4.5.2.3. Public spaces and environmental concerns

In my opinion, an observant visitor to Elmina might get the impression that the members of the local community are not very concerned about environmental affairs. Not more than 6 years after the end of the EHCMP project, which included waste management and cleaning of the canal lines in Elmina, waste could be seen in most areas and the canals were highly polluted. The litter bins provided by the Elmina's Sister City Gouda in the Netherlands through the project had partially fallen over but still in place (Figure 41 and Figure 42), however empty. Only initial progress was reported by interviewees with regard to this aspect (Interview with Mr. Charles, 6

July, 2012). For example, with the ECHMP tractor, trailers were purchased in order to remove waste and beach areas were cleaned (IHS, 2003: 5). However, these beach areas remained a problem for the castle representation, and especially for visitors to explore the area beyond the castle, as they are both unsafe and unhygienic, many having been used for ablutions.

Figure 41. Bins for waste disposal in front of the Castle



Figure 42. Bins for waste disposal at Lagoon Bridge

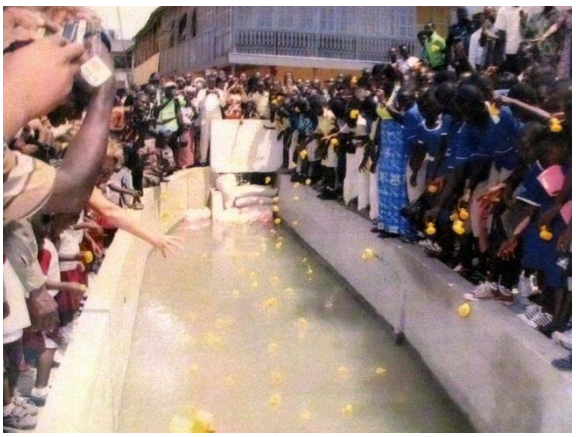


Source: Photographs by author (July 2012)

Moreover, although a public cleaning service is in place, established by local government and not by the ECHMP (Interview with Mr. Felix Nguah, 7 July, 2012), the waste collection is not well-established (Interview with Mr. Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012; participant observation). The collection service appeared to be slow and not able to change much in waste management. Waste dumping on the hills is still a significant problem. One reason for this is that it is difficult for waste collecting vehicles to climb the three hills, St. Jago, Java and St. Josephs. Another problem are the constant waste-flow into the drains through erosion, particularly during rainfall. Although a part of the Java Hill was covered by an erosion protection as part of the ECHMP activities (Figure 31) in order to avoid erosion of the soil, it does not really protect against the erosion of waste dumped upfront the hill (Interview with Mr. Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012; Focus Group Chief's House, 9 July, 2012). In 2012, a new drain was opened in cooperation with the Gouda Municipality in the Netherlands

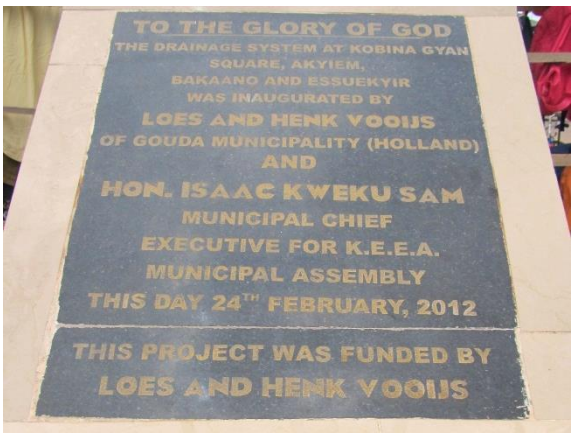
(Sister City Relation) and with financial support from the Dutch philanthropist Henk Vooijs (Focus Group Chief's House, 9 July 2012) (Figure 43 and Figure 44).[38]

Figure 43. Opening of a new drainage system in February 2012



Source: KEEA District Assembly (2012)

Figure 44. Information stone plate at the new drainage system



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

However, after 6 months, at the time of the field-work, this drainage was already polluted by waste again (Figure 45). One reason might be that the new drain was not covered, and has open drainage, which makes it easy for waste and soil to accumulate. But in order to achieve a closed drainage, more funding would be needed, according to Ebo Dadzie (Interview 8 July, 2012). It looks like the project by the Philanthropist from the Netherlands was not sustainably thought through for the Elmina environment.

[38] See David Allan Paintsil, 1 March 2012, Philanthropist constructs GH¢560,000 drain for Elmina in: Ghanaian Chronicle. Available from: <http://thechronicle.com.gh/?p=42607> (Accessed on 30 March 2013).

Figure 45. The new established drainage system in July 2012



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

With regard to public places, one area has to be mentioned besides the above discussed market and shopping areas in the city centre, is the large open area in front of the Castle, which is of great historical importance. It was inhabited by the Asante until the unrests after the British takeover of Elmina 1872 and ruins can still be found.[39] This information is displayed in the castle, but there is no guidance in the area. At the same place, in front of the Castle, music festivals are being held every year, that normally attract a lot of visitors as well. However once again, the link with the castle tourism system for these events is not established. This space could see better utilisation. However, the GMMB as the authority in charge for this area does not have enough financial resources (Interview with Mr. Kofi Amekudi, 16 July, 2012) to invest in projects here.

4.5.2.4. Capacity building

Within activities for capacity building by the ECHMP, a 10 month training for about 20 tour guides took place. Lucy Obeng, Curator from the Java Museum, was one of the trainees, however she already worked in the museum before she was trained, so she expressed that the training only helped her in terms of some general knowledge

[39] In Chapter 4.1.2, Historical information, I indicated that old Elmina was situated in front of the castle. This archaeological ground has been analysed (DeCorse, 2001) but the findings are not documented at the site or in the castle.

about tour guiding. She explained that the activity did not include components of business and marketing, which would have been necessary for sustainability in terms of the trained guides marketing their tours to castle-tourists (Interview with Mrs. Lucy Obeng, 9 July, 2012). With the end of the project implementation by end of 2006, no more training was offered. There are still trained tour guides in Elmina, but they do not use their skills, others who benefitted from the project have left Elmina and started business activities somewhere else, so they might benefit from the training personally, however it cannot be proven and does not definitively generate development for Elmina (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012; Interview with Mrs. Lucy Obeng, 9 July, 2012).

At the time of fieldwork, the site management of Elmina Castle offered workshops for the staff members of the castle from time to time, but comprehensive trainings is no longer offered (Interview with Mr. Charles, 6 July, 2012). Generating structures for continuous staff development was not part of the ECHMP initiatives. This finding goes in the line with the statement by Gabrial Gademor, Director of Education at KEEA District Assembly, who explained that learning about tourism development starts at university level. He continued emphasising that most of the qualified students in that field enter the hospitality sector or leave the Cape Coast area, preferably for Accra (Interview with Gabriel Gademor, 9 July, 2012).

4.5.2.5. Challenges and limitations of the project - a cause analysis

The field-work findings generated evidence that the ECHMP has not been a catalyst for tourism development to the extent it was expected, according to the Elmina 2015 Strategy. Thus, I want to in the following sum up the challenges for sustainable project implementation, and to try to identify the main limits to a successful implementation of the ECHMP.

The majority of the interviewees expressed the opinion that there has been some improvement through the ECHMP, but that it has never been completed appropriately. The responses of the interviewees also showed an overall pessimistic attitude of residents and stakeholders towards the achievements of the ECHMP in relation to the aims outlined in the Elmina Strategy 2015. In all, five intertwined or entangled areas of challenges could be identified, namely: 1) funding; 2) staff

discontinuity and political direction change at local government level; 3) maintenance of project achievements; 4) partner cooperation and share of responsibilities; and 5) coordination and monitoring of project achievements.

Challenge 1: Lack of funding

The project experienced a lack of funds at two stages. First, it was not funded well enough for the implementation phase and, second, no funding and measures were provisioned for a follow-up of project activities so as to guarantee sustainability in local hands.

Specific activities that could not be completed entirely because of a lack of funds were mentioned above, e.g. renovation of the Asafo posts and the reduced number of historical houses benefiting from conservation measures (from 40 down to 14).

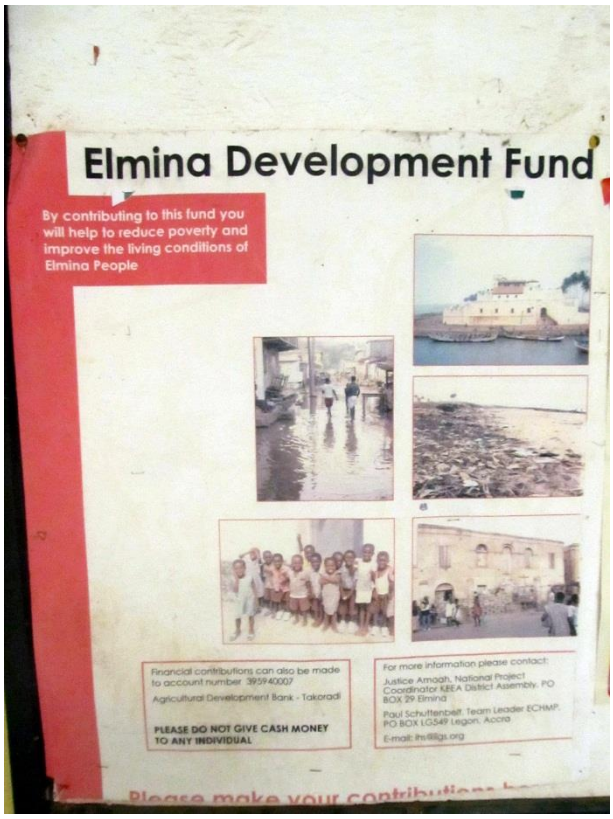
Funding was a problem throughout the ECHMP, but particularly so after the implementation phase, where almost all interviewees firstly related implementation and maintenance challenges to a lack of funding, and many went into detail and expressed their views as to why and in which areas the funds were not enough to keep the heritage management plan sustainable.

In particular, the KEEA District Assembly was criticised for not investing more of its own funds after the donor-funded implementation (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012). In terms of generating funding, despite the proposal of the Elmina Development Fund (EDF) as part of the ECHMP, no such sustainable fund was established in order to maintain its efforts. The proposal was that the EDF would be generated through a US$ 1 addition to the every hotel bill, and further donations in donation boxes “that have been placed at hotels and the major touristic sites in Elmina” (KEEA, 2002a: 15). The EDF (Figure 46) and any other local resource mobilisation have never become functional, as Justice Amoah (Interview 9 July, 2012) confirmed. The main problem for its realisation was the difficulty in introducing an accountancy system in cooperation with the hotels. Despite some discussion with the hotels, no solution could be found. Most of the hotels in Elmina are branches with headquarters in Accra. This issue generates difficulties across legislative boarders, and the KEEA District Assembly had to create a cooperation with national governance structures. Another obstacle was that it was not clear how to deduct the

amount, whether in a half year or monthly manner, and how to follow up with an accounting system (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012).

This confirms the recognition by Mr. Fuseini Labaran, Municipality Planning Officer at the KEEA District Assembly, that no money from the tourism sector comes directly to the Assembly. That means that no revenue generated from tourism in Elmina is flowing back into development projects implemented by the KEEA District Assembly (Interview with Fuseini Labaran, 9 July, 2012).

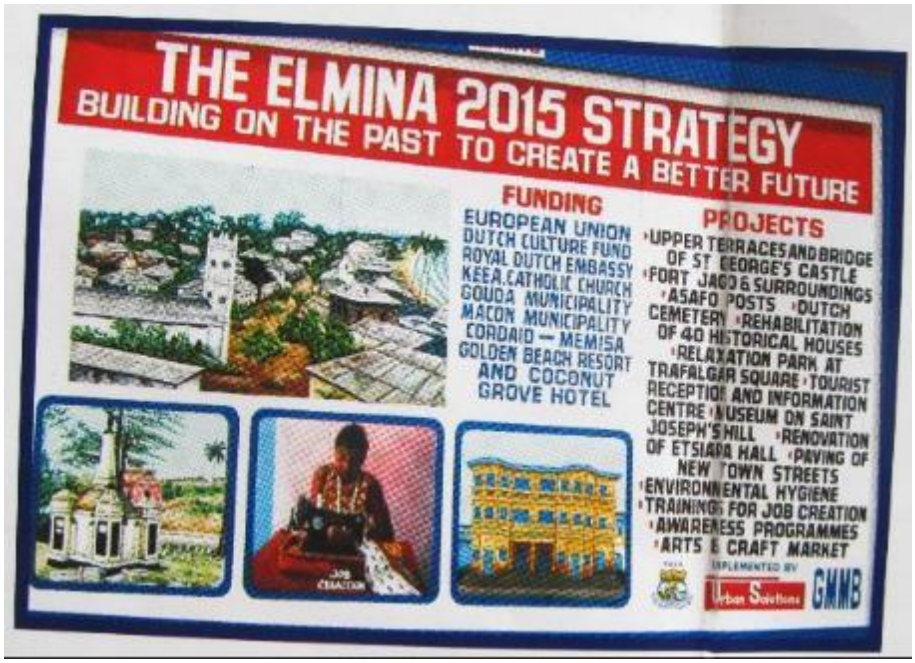
Figure 46. Elmina Development Fund promoted at the KEEA District Assembly



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

With regard to funding by the ECHMP, it was further criticised that a lot of money was spent on tourist signs and ECHMP-promotional signs (Figure 47). Two big promotion signs were placed at strategic places, one in front of the Castle (Figure 48) and another one near the Methodist Church at the corner Liverpool Street/Dutch Cemetery Road, where the one-way circle was established, for tourists entering the heritage area of Elmina. They are no longer there, because they fell down and their traces were lost (Interview with Anonymous, 9 July, 2012).

Figure 47. Promotion sign by the ECHMP



Source: KEEA (2003)

Figure 48. Signs promoting the Elmina Strategy 2015 (2007)



Source: The promotion sign for the web-based heritage documentation project "Zamani" in front of the Castle in the year 2007.[40]

[40] The Zamani Project documents heritage sites. In 2007 they undertook 2007 various panorama photos and GIS analyses of Elmina. This present picture was retrieved by one of the panorama photos which can be seen here: <http://zamaniproject.org/tl_files/data/panotours/Elmina/TourWeaver_Elmina_Panotour.html> (Accessed on 19 July, 2013).

The remaining tourist signs which were put in place (Figure 49) at strategic places in the town are heavily affected by corrosion (Figure 50 and Figure 51). This is not necessarily due to a lack of maintenance but depends mostly on lack of funding for maintenance. Similar processes can be observed with street signs falling down (Figure 52).

Figure 49. Freshly erected signs by the ECHMP informing about Elmina's heritage and tourism offers (2006)



Source: KEEA (2006: 1).

Figure 50. Signs in corroded condition (2012)



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

Figure 51. Signs in very bad condition were stored besides the tourist office



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

Figure 52. Street sign fallen down



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

Challenge 2: Political discontinuity at the District Assembly

The activities of the project were negatively influenced by changes in the local government, the KEEA District Assembly (Figure 53) and most importantly its Municipality Planning Office (MPO).

Mr. Fuseini Labaran from the MPO stated that in the period after the end of the ECHMP implementation by the end of 2006, in particular from 2009 to mid-2011, follow-up activities for tourism development and the achievements of the ECHMP stopped completely. When Mr. Labaran arrived in the office, he did not find any remaining follow-up activities underway in the development programme of the KEEA District Assembly. He claimed further that partnership with other stakeholders had become weaker due to lack of cooperation during this period (Interview with Mr. Fuseini Labaran, 9 July, 2012).

Figure 53. KEEA District Assembly



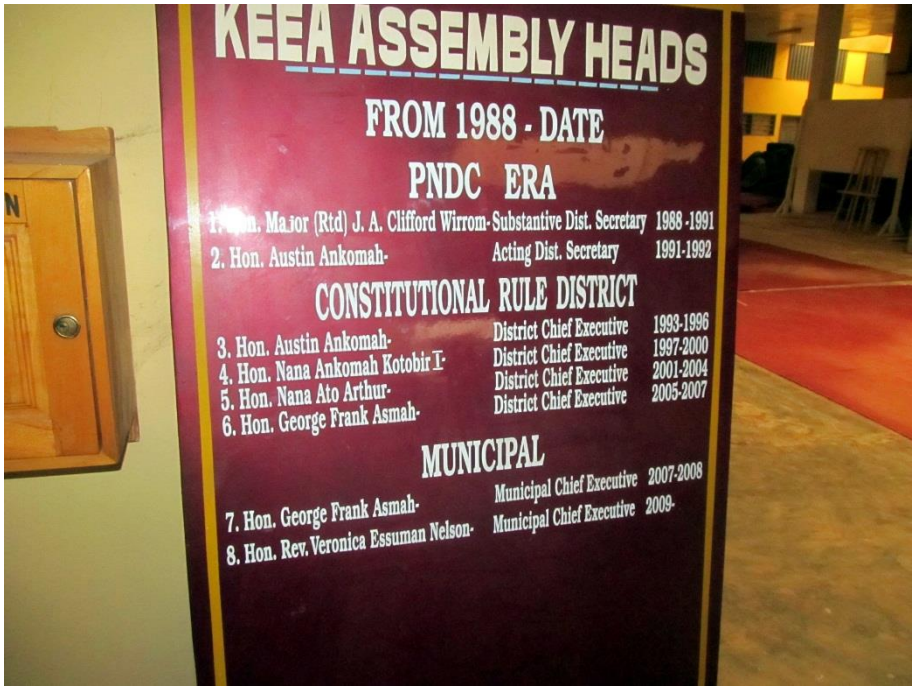
Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

In addition, staff rotation in the whole KEEA after the ECHMP led to the transfer of people who were involved in the ECHMP, such as Justice Amoah, who played a crucial role as national coordinator at the planning office of the KEEA District Assembly. He transferred to the Cape Coast Municipality in 2006, where he was detached from ECHMP related activities and planning. This procedure of rotation in

government bodies, Mr. Amoah explained, is of “usual routine”, in order to experience and serve a different workplace after a certain time (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012).

According to Mr. Amoah, the political change at the KEEA District Assembly happened when another party came to power which held different views. Mr. Amoah argued that after Mr. Nana Ato Arthur, who was District Chief Executive of the KEEA District Assembly between 2001 and 2004 (Figure 54) and in his impression managed the ECHMP well, new leaders came who were not very enthusiastic and the project slowed down. Since the ECHMP was handed over to the KEEA District Assembly by the end of 2006, no follow-up has been undertaken (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July 2012). Representatives from the Chief’s Council did confirm this discontinuity. They expressed the opinion that after 2008, no physical infrastructure development in Elmina has been done. Most improvements would have been completed before 2008 (Focus Group Chief’s House, 9 July, 2012).

Figure 54. KEEA Assembly Heads from 1988 to 2011



Source: Photograph by author (July 2012)

Challenge 3: Lack of maintenance of project achievements

The achievements of the project were challenged by a lack of maintenance within a short time-frame.

The example of the new drain from 2012 shows how fast deterioration after project implementation can be (roughly only half a year). One reason for this maintenance challenges, as outlined above, is the problem of sustainable funding from the local authorities as much as through private funds by the house-owners or entrepreneurs in hostelry or other sectors. Another issue is the lack of a maintenance culture, which can be observed perhaps most significantly in the area of waste management. No waste management could be kept in place effectively after the project and additional initiatives had finished. This is a side-element to the main questions, however, inappropriate waste management has an influence on heritage representation and certainly on tourism. During fieldwork I often had the impression that there is little responsibility taken for sanitation and waste in the community. Local people do not respect the maintenance of the Asafo houses. Some parts of the pavements besides the Fort St. Jago area constructed by the project are severely eroded, and waste is deposited up the Java Hill at the behind the Fort (Figure 33) (Elmina Heritage Walkway).

With regard to the home owner's scheme, interviewees expressed the concern that those houses restored within the ECHMP would need constant maintenance, but they were degenerating. They would need to be renovated again, which questions the duration of the improvements in terms of conservation through the ECHMP. Those things were done with financial incentives for the owners, who did not have the money to renovate themselves. To a certain degree, the benefits for the community are acknowledged, said Mr. Nicholas Ivor from the GMMB in Cape Coast. However, the "facelift" which was done to the houses did not create enough stimuli and knowledge for a continuous maintenance of the houses by the owners (Interview with Mr. Nicholas Ivor, 6 July, 2012).

Challenge 4: Partner cooperation and share of responsibilities

With regard to stakeholder collaboration within the ECHMP and its sustainability, no clear picture emerges, as respondents from all parties were involved and highlighted achievements, but significant challenges can definitively be identified. The project design and multi-sectoral approach targeting political decision making, heritage management and urban development, including tourism resulted in a complex relation-system between the local political authority (KEEA District Assembly), the traditional local authority (*Nananum*, the Chiefs Council), as well as national Government bodies such as the GMMB and the GTB/GTA.

Some of the interviewees explained that the partnership between KEEA, GMMB and the Chief Council were free from tensions. Justice Amoah, for example, saw no obstacle in cooperation between these groups during the project time (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012).

Also, Mr. Kofi Amekudi claimed that besides insufficient funding, the modus operandi and not the stakeholder relations itself to be the source of the problem, although he did mention obstacles in cooperation for the conservation of the Asafos (Interview with Mr. Kofi Amekudi, 16 July, 2012).

But these interviewees as well as many others, expressed challenges in stakeholder cooperation, too. One source of conflict was the rehabilitation of the historical houses which turned into a political issue, as it had to be approved by both local governments, the KEEA District Assembly (political authority) and the Chief's Council (traditional authority) (Interview with Dr. Anthony Annan-Prah, 6 July, 2012). Another issue already outlined has been the different opinions of the GMMB and the KEEA District Assembly about the conservation of the Asafo posts. Ultimately, the GMMB was side-lined, despite their expertise and constant argumentation for an original conservation.

Furthermore, no mechanisms were introduced during the project implementation to enable follow-up of the activities and maintenance of the renovated buildings and improved facilities nor to capacitate a strong stakeholder network, as responsibilities were unclear and partially conflict-laden. As Mr. Fuseini Labaran has stated, the partnership which led to the Strategy 2015 seems to have degenerated somehow (Interview with Mr. Fuseini Labaran, 9 July, 2012).

Through fieldwork, the additional problem of a lack of shared responsibilities was noted (Focus Group Chief's House, 9 July 2012). No holistic heritage management plan addressing conservation and tourism development as a historic city exists for Elmina, which would be embedded in a legal framework by one authority. The GMMB is responsible for the Castle, the Fort and the Dutch Cemetery, whereas other heritage resources fall under the responsibility of the KEEA District Assembly. In addition, the Chiefs Council is to be consulted in all community concerns and urban development questions. The implications can be highlighted with the following example: the road up to the hill to the Fort is part of the Fort property, thus the GMMB would be responsible for it. However, if its restoration or alteration becomes an issue where the local community is involved – stones of the pavement are taken off, waste deposit upfront the hill affecting a tourist's impression (see Figure 32) – by national law the KEEA District Assembly is in charge. As the division of responsibilities between the GMMB and the KEEA are not defined exactly, none of them addressed the issue and the pavement deteriorates further (Interview with Anonymous, 9 July, 2012).

Other examples are the public toilet facilities behind the Castle, which were removed during the project. An anonymous source explained that this was done under pressure of the owner of the Bridge Hotel, which is close by, and the hotel was affected by the smell coming from the informal ablution area. The owner of the Bridge Hotel was at the same time part of the local government and according to my source, used his political power to pursue this issue (Interview with Anonymous, 9 July, 2012). I could observe that the public spaces behind the Castle are used for ablutions several times during the course of my stay for fieldwork, which means the problem has just been shifted slightly in location, closer to the Castle. The spaces behind the Castle are not the responsibility of the GMMB but of the KEEA District Assembly (personal communication with Mr. Kofi Amekudi, 27 September, 2012). This example indicates the interplays of conflicts between community life and conservation measures, but also the political challenges in the way that different tasks require cooperation between various stakeholders (GMMB, KEEA, Hospitality and local community).

Similarly, the cooperation between the GMMB and the GTB/GTA has been insufficient. As the evaluation report by the European Commission points out,

“communication within the project and with other stakeholders such as Ministry of Tourism […] did not improve during the project’s lifetime or beyond.” (EC, 2010: 2). Additionally, communication between the GMMB and the Chief’s Council is on a very low level (Focus Group Chief’s House, 9 July 2012).

However, while the Report by the European Commission stated, that the GMMB “as principal caretaker of all monuments in Ghana, should have played an important advisory role and have acted as project supervisor for all of the listed monuments’ restoration” (EC, 2010: 2), it became obvious in the key-respondent interviews that the GMMB experienced limitations in terms of funding and political authority when aiming to fulfil this function. This is at issue in the way the ECHMP has been implemented by Urban Solutions, (Interview with Mr. Kofi Amekudi, 16 July, 2016) where no sustainable solution could be achieved with regard to the responsibilities of different authorities for heritage sites, urban structures and community-concerns (Interview with Mr. Ebo Dadzie, 8 July, 2012).

Challenge 5: Coordination and monitoring of project’s achievements

As already noted, no continuous follow-up to the ECHMP and the Elmina 2015 Strategy was conducted by the KEEA District Assembly. Furthermore, no efficient and sustainable structures have been built in order to integrate all stakeholders in maintaining the achievements. Almost all interviewees acknowledge that no follow-up of the programme took place and they relate this to the way the implementation was led by Urban Solutions. At the beginning, a committee was put in place to manage the project and an office was set up to monitor the activities and to track progress for the objectives of the project (Interview with Mr. Nicholas Ivor, 6 July, 2012; KEEA, 2002a: 23-24). However, Mr. Nicholas Ivor from the GMMB Cape Coast department stated that Urban Solutions was leading the implementation of the programme according to strict directions, and he expressed dissatisfaction with the “management of the entire process” (Interview with Mr. Nicholas Ivor, 6 July, 2012).

Likewise, Dr. Anthony Annan-Prah, the task force coordinator of the ECHMP, indicated some communication problems that affected the project from the outset, when the researchers contracted from the partners in the Netherlands (IHS and Urban Solutions) came to Elmina and expressed their views on the conditions in

Elmina in a very negative way. He said this is a behaviour which is not accepted in the local culture. He did not see himself able to communicate with the people in that tone, therefore, in his role as a project facilitator, he had to “translate” it into a more polite way for the local stakeholders. He said that Elmina’s people considered it a “stupid demand” to ask Europeans to help in their local situation (Interview Dr. Anthony Annan-Prah, 6 July, 2012).

With regard to the handover of the project activities to the KEEA District Assembly by the end of 2006, interviewees claimed that it was not properly done (Interview with Mr. Justice Amoah, 9 July, 2012; Interview with Mr. Nicholas Ivor, 6 July, 2012). Nicholas Ivor in particular mentioned that there was no established institution, in the sense of a project coordination unit, to monitor the continuation of processes started in the project. Therefore, he said, nobody felt in charge to follow up (Interview with Mr. Nicholas Ivor, 6 July, 2012).

5. ANALYSIS

One of the main insights from the case study was with regard the follow-up on selected key issues conservation and tourism development planned by the ECHMP and its Elmina 2015 Strategy. As most scholars who have conducted research on Elmina refer to these topics without acknowledging the ECHMP (see Chapter 4.4.), my findings expand the existing body of literature through the analysis of the ECHMP as a project that tried to combine heritage conservation and tourism for community development, thereby expanding the theoretical state of knowledge on the interdependence and possible synergies of these three areas.

5.1. Heritage Tourism in Elmina

The present case study could confirm the predominant image in the literature that Elmina is receiving a constant high tourism influx, mainly because of the significance of the St. George's Castle. Macroeconomic tourism data has shown that international tourist arrivals have increased ever since the WH listing of the Elmina and other Castles in Ghana in 1979. Out of the group of international tourists arriving per year, 2% on average have visited the Elmina Castle. Because of limitations in data availability, numbers of local visitors, which constitute the higher proportion of visitors to the castle than international ones, according to GMMB data (in 2011 almost 80 %), could not be analysed further. In line with Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), it can therefore be argued that Elmina reflects the global trend of increased tourism with a cultural motivation.

A promising concept to explain the strong interest of visitors for the Ghanaian Castles, in particular Elmina and the Cape Coast Castle, is offered in the concept of "Dark Tourism" or "Thanatourism" (Biran et al., 2011; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Stone, 2006, 2011; Stone and Sharpley, 2008).

Within boundaries, this case study has reflected the role of the Diaspora Africans in the context of visitors' motivation. This was however limited, and my research did not contribute to the discussion about the tensions between different groups, such as the Diaspora Africans and Ghanaian visitors, concerning the interpretation and

presentation of heritage in and around the Castle (Bruner 1996, 2005; Teye et al. 2002; Gbedema 2010). Nevertheless, based on the data on visitor groups, it must be stressed here that since Bruner's study (1996), in which the strong role of the Diaspora African tourists has been outlined and the "struggle over presentation and interpretation" (1996: 294)"[41] discussed, the origin of Castle visitors has significantly shifted towards local visitors (in 2011 this amounted to 78,8). From this group, it was found that 82,3% are schoolchildren or students. Therefore, this case study strives for a rethinking of the roles of different visitors groups and their relation to the Elmina Castle. That is not meant to indicate that the Atlantic slave trade shifts out of focus or that the role of the Diaspora Africans as an important visitor group is to be depreciated. It rather tries to also increase attention to the less known local market and the heritage reception by schoolchildren and students visiting the Castle as part of their curriculum. Reference has been made to the implied development of the heritage recognition of the caste, which Bruner (1996) and later also several other authors (Essah 2001, Teye 2004, Gbedema 2010) discussed. Thus, the analysis and discussion about this topic will be on-going, while the Castle will stay a *lieu de mémoire* (Pierre Nora); which is constantly in development, and embeds the Castle along with Elmina in historical narratives of national and transnational heritage and its interpretation.

Related to the dominance of the castle for Elmina visitors, findings from the present case study reveal that hardly anything has changed since the implementation of the ECHMP, even though this challenge was recognised prior to the project (KEEA, 2002a: 7) and it intended to open the market towards other heritage sites, too. Still, most of the tourists visiting Elmina are not aware of heritage resources other than the

[41] Bruner writes, "Which period [of the 500 years history] will be presented in any given section in the restored castle? […] Which story shall be told? Vested interests and strong feelings are involved. Dutch tourists are interested in the two centuries of Dutch rule in Elmina Castle, the Dutch cemetery in the town, and the old Dutch colonial buildings. British tourists want to hear about their colonial rule in the Gold Coast. Many Ashanti people have a special interest in the rooms where the Asantehene, their king Prempeh I, was imprisoned in Elmina Castle in 1896, after the defeat of the Ashanti forces by the British army. The king was later exiled to the Seychelles Islands and only returned to Ghana in 1924. He is important to all Ghanaians as a representation of resistance to British colonialism. The government guides at the castle are aware of and sensitive to their varied audiences. They know that all visitors are not alike and that different groups may bring their own constellation of interests. The guides cater to these varied interests by shifting the emphasis of the tour. If a group expresses a special concern with the architecture of the castle, for example, the guides will emphasize that aspect." (1996: 293-294)

castle (and partially the Fort). Hardly any of them spend the night in Elmina,[42] visits to other sites are rare, and few are doing the Walking Tour by Ghana Eco Tours. From interviews and observations, it could be concluded that this one-sidedness is caused by external tour operators from Accra dominating the tourism market in Elmina. Only a few connections to local tourism initiatives exist. School and students classes generally book specific guiding-tours with local Castle guides, which do not include anything outside the Castle. These findings support explanations by Holden et al. (2011: 332), but additionally make the point that the ECHMP did not generate enough awareness for other heritage resources in Elmina and did not manage to facilitate the creation of a local tourism market.[43]

As indicated in the theoretical orientation, the attitudes of residents towards tourists in communities adjacent to heritage sites can be used as another indicator for assessing the potential and state of development of heritage tourism at the respective location (Teye et al., 2002). My findings are in line with Jimura's (2011) thesis, where he states that the recognition of the community of WH and tourism towards sites adjacent to them have been under-analysed when compared to visitor behaviours in the WH context. In the case of Elmina, important studies exist (Bruner, 1996, 2005; and more recently Sonne, 2010; and Gbedema 2010 and Koutra and Diaz, 2013). My research aims to focus on this point, but was limited due to the fact that community members could primarily be approached on a political level, in the working environment of heritage management and through few community representative interviews and a small but valuable community survey in the Methodist Church.[44]

Field-observation, discussion, interviews and the community survey generated some important information on contemporary resident's attitudes towards tourism. Principally, it can be said that community members associated tourism strongly with the castle as a major point of focus. Attitudes towards tourism are positive, but most

[42] This information is not supported by the case study, as the hospitality sector was not deeply researched. However Sonne examined how hotel owners are challenged "to gain a share of the tourist market" (2010: 172).

[43] More on this topic is to follow.

[44] The church has been an ideal place to launch an anonymous survey. However, this was recognised at a very late stage of fieldwork and has been done after consultation with the most important stakeholders, which presumably offered me the most valuable information. Thus, in the light of time limitations, a survey which reaches more people could not executed; as a community space, it can be formulated as ideally place for future investigation reaching community members at grass roots level.

stakeholders remain partly sceptical in terms of its role for community development. On the one hand, the ECHMP raised the awareness as to the issue of tourism development; on the other hand, it raised disappointment, as some activities were not completed or not as effective as expected for community development. Some interviewees saw the main responsibility for this challenges with the KEEA Assembly, who was in charge of further follow-up, but their dissatisfaction was also directly related to the ECHMP. These findings for challenges in stimulation of sustainable community development through WHS conservation and tourism is similar to what Bruner (1996) has discovered earlier with regard to the 4-years conservation plan by USAID and UNDP (1993-1997).

The case of Shirakawa-mura described by Jimura suggests that community members only have positive attitudes towards tourism if they benefit from them by being directly employed in the sector (Jimura 2011: 291). In the case of Elmina, the community survey indicated that even people who were not involved in tourism had a generally positive feedback on tourism. However, the survey cannot be considered as representative for the whole community, as it was too small. Nevertheless, the findings attest to a continuity of ambiguous attitudes amongst residents in Elmina towards tourism development represented by Bruner (1996). Forms of harassment by some residents towards visitors already described by Bruner (1996) could still be observed, however they seemed to have decreased to a certain extent. Project reports and interviewees explained that this phenomenon had been stronger during and directly after the ECHMP, and had affected the tourism development negatively, as visitors would avoid entering the city to explore. It was maintained in interviews, that these forms of harassments became a bigger challenge during the ECHMP, because some community members misunderstood the way in which tourism could bring revenue into Elmina, and asked the tourists very pressingly whether they wanted to do Elmina-tours or give them money. These findings are not in line with those of Teye et al. (2002), who would prefer to generally see a change in the character of local communities when long term projects are being implemented.

The findings of this study can also not confirm the results of Koutra and Diaz, where they claim that residents in Elmina are “unaware of the nature of tourism development projects” (2013: 25). Some local residents very clearly expressed the relations between WH visitors, the role of the Castle as the focus of the tourist

interest and the generation of revenue. However, none of them expressed knowledge that the revenues from the Castle do not go into the local government's budget, and therefore, they did expect more community investment based on Castle visitors revenues from the KEEA District Assembly. Where my findings agree with Koutra and Diaz, I found likewise that local people do not know how to be involved in tourism planning, as the local tourism market is extremely limited and segregated. The ECHMP has failed here to build it up.

Based on these explanations, ***Hypothesis 1*** can be approved, recognising the significant role that tourism can play for a kind of heritage management which *goes beyond conservation.* Furthermore, the described interrelations and expectations imply *a complex relationship between heritage sites, visitors and residents.* Within a bigger framework, *the contemporary dynamics of the global tourism economy* need to be considered. For Elmina these dynamics are however less directly observable, in particular when it comes to the expected 'spill-off' from macroeconomic turnover on local levels. With regard to visitor groups forming the market in Elmina, the international visitors seeking their roots are still a relevant tourism customer group. But at the same time, the number of schoolchildren and students from Ghana visiting the Elmina Castle as part of their curriculum is rising significantly. Further research would have to be done in order to analyse the implications this has for the future of heritage preservation in Elmina and other similar cases. How do different visitor groups at a national and international level conduct heritage tourism?

Indubitably, the big tourism flow to the Elmina Castle is caused by the high recognition of its sites and their World Heritage status. Through the revenues from castle visitors, conversation can be supported. Thus, conservation and heritage tourism can be interpreted as interlocked tools for Heritage Management, or as Sue Millar once formulated it, as "complementary agents" (1989:9). With regard to ***Hypothesis 2***, Elmina might not be the best case to prove a *negative impact on the integrity of the heritage site and the living environment of the adjacent community* caused by *mass tourism*. Major concerns for the integrity of the heritage sites are rather environmental and maintenance issues, as findings might reveal. As of now, a further increase of visitor numbers would therefore be welcomed by local stakeholders, especially as discussed above, if it would enable more integration of other heritage resources in Elmina into the Heritage Tourism market, and therefore

not only generate funds for conservation of the sites, but also for community development.

5.2. Heritage as an economic driver for development?

It can be said that the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles are well visited World Heritage sites and contribute to the global tourism market around these sites identified, amongst others, by Shakeley (2009). However, the influence of the 'brand WH', which is expected to also have a positive impact on the local economy (Di Giovani, 2009), only impacts on a low level. Rather, Elmina can be seen as a case where WH does lead to an increase of visitors and thus, to a share in increase of macro-economic revenues, but not necessarily to a substantial impact on the local economy directly adjacent to the WHS.

This case study reinforced the need for a deeper analysis of heritage and tourism development on a micro-level, as formulated also by Jimura (2011) and Albert et al. (2011). Findings from fieldwork in Elmina revealed that there is no direct return of revenues from tourism into the budget of the KEEA District Assembly in order to fund development projects. Elmina contributes on a macro-level to the tourism industry through the Castle as an aspect of its cultural heritage, but the reinvestment at the local level is bound to a multi-level redistribution and political process. Little to no additional economic benefit from tourism visitors is generated in the local economy despite a continuous strong interest in the Elmina Castle and the Fort and a growing tourism industry in Ghana in general, which constitutes a strong economic pillar contributing to the national GDP. The revenue generated through WH sites visitors' expenses for accommodation, souvenirs, food or transport (highlighted by Timothy and Boyd 2003) in Elmina is ultimately very low. Only the admission fee at the Castle generates any kind of substantive revenue. As has been noted, this revenue goes first to a major account of the GMMB in Accra, from there it will be spend according to the needs for conservation of national monuments. This also has been recognised,

when authorities in Elmina, like the Chiefs Council, put forward a claim for a higher share of revenues.[45]

The availability of data on revenue generation in Elmina and their feedback into national, provincial or local programmes enhancing socio-economic development has been limited. Thus, the case study could, besides limited data, primarily base this result only on findings from interviews and observations.

The ECHMP was designed to stimulate the local tourism market and to develop further heritage tourism products in Elmina within an integrated urban improvement approach. In developing a tourism market with heritage as the central resource, it aimed to contribute sustainably to the local development of the economy and the living conditions of Elmina's people. Findings revealed that there have been some achievements, however, due mainly to a lack of maintenance and lack of funding, a significant improvement could not be found. Restored houses and heritage sites, as well as urban infrastructure, are challenged by corrosion again. Tourist infrastructure, such as the tourism office could not be developed further. The tourism office is closing down and does not offer substantial touristic information anymore, resulting from a lack of support by the GTB/GTA. Other facilities such as the arts and crafts market were not finalised and sustainably not developed. Interestingly, as Bruner (1996) outlined, an original market "with small stands and food stalls [existed closer to the castle, but] all of these sellers and market people have been relocated away from the castle grounds" (Bruner, 1996: 297). After the USAID/UNDP conservation programme in the 1990s, intended to keep the local community away from public use of the area directly around the castle, the attempt by the ECHMP was to reinstall a local market in the town-centre, so it would be passed by visitors on their way discovering Elmina's other heritage sites. But as hardly any visitor enters the town, the market had few chances for development from the start and it was not sustainably established during the project, the instalment was not even finalised.

As elaborated in the Elmina-focused literature review, several authors (Sonne, 2010; Holden et al., 2011; Koutra, 2007; Koutra and Diaz, 2013) found various obstacles for the development of a tourism market in Elmina. These authors did not include an

[45] This view by the Chiefs Council has been reported at GNA (Ghana News Agency), 9 July 2005, Multi-million dollar development package for Elmina, available from: <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=85447> (Accessed on 13 July 2013).

analysis of the role of the ECHMP. My findings can contribute to these reviews and provide more evidence in that regard. They confirmed the importance and interplay of several factors mentioned by these authors where administrative barriers exist; while another obstacle is the lack of access to credit facilities and the high taxes for tourists.

Tourism provides a source of income for very few people from Elmina. Thus, Tourism as an instrument for poverty alleviation (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009) is not given, as also acknowledged in recent studies by Sonne (2011), Holden et al. (2011). As a significant activity of the ECHMP, the home owners' scheme tried to establish a source of income based on tourism for home owners. The same idea of use of residential houses has been described by Jimura (2011: 290), in which traditional houses at the WH site Ogimachi in Shirakawa-mura, were opened to the public in order to generate additional revenue for their maintenance. While in Jimura's case it has been prosperous, in Elmina only 14 houses could be restored. Fieldwork could not reveal how many owners of these houses had the infrastructure for a potential guesthouse function, or whether any of the owners tried to start business in this direction. However, information was obtained from interviews and primary documents, that financial constraints and challenges in accommodation standards hindered the start of business. Furthermore, as mentioned by Sonne (2010: 172) with regard to the hospitality sector in Elmina, hotel entrepreneurs are not supported and struggle furthermore with the external control of the tourism sector by tour operators. A cooperation between the home owners and the tour operators seems unlikely.

The ECHMP approach contained several elements important for the develoment of tourism towards economic development in Elmina. Thus, my findings confirm those of Holden et al., showing that tourism "offers the potential to make a significant contribution to poverty reduction at micro level in Elmina" (Holden et al. 2011: 332). The challenges are therefore not merely conceptual, but are sustainable and inclusive operationalisation is still highly challenged. This has several reasons. Some were already stated by Holden et al. who have written that

> at present, it [tourism] fails to achieve this because of the way the tourism industry operates and the way in which government tourism policy falls short of including the poor. Tourism industry practices marginalise Elmina's poor, being predominantly controlled by tour operators from outside Elmina in a business relationship with a few selected local businesses (2011: 332).

In the case of Elmina, the local community is, with a few exceptions, relatively uninvolved in tourism activities. WH tourism remains dependent on nation-wide tourism operators and private tourism initiatives such as the walkway by Ghana Eco Tours and the Java Museum still operate on at small scale. Marketing, lack of support by the local government and the GTB as well as competition with tour operators from Accra and Cape Coast are their major obstacles, even though their managements have a highly professional background in terms of tour guiding, historical representation and curating. Interestingly, both initiatives were not built upon by the ECHMP, even though the curator of the Java museum did benefit from capacity building programmes by the ECHMP, which however focused on tour-guiding.

In contrast to Jimura's case of Shirakawa-mura (2011), tourism in Elmina did not become an alternative to traditional economic sectors. Fishing, boat-building and salt production remain the major sources of income, also after implementation of the ECHMP, tourism did not develop to a state in which it stimulated economic growth for the community. Potential reasons were stated by Timothy and Nyaupane:

> tourism activities in and around heritage sites stimulate the economies of neighbouring communities through employment and private business. For developing countries, tourism is an especially important source of foreign currency. However, local residents often lack the skills and investment abilities needed to establish tourism-business and often end up with low investment business and low-paying jobs. Therefore, […] the public earnings associated with tourism in the developing world are still in short supply, as they are diverted to other priorities (2009: 64).

The findings of this study confirm these views.

Heritage Tourism has not developed as a catalyst for development in Elmina. Generally, the integrated ECHMP approach comprising tourist infrastructure, comprehensive preservations and conservation measures, the connection to other sectors (health, urban regeneration) was initially promising and reflected many needs expressed by local stakeholders as detailed in this research report. Elements can be used to contribute to the conceptual development of heritage and tourism, as economic drivers in communities adjacent to WH sites. However, a sustainable establishment of the ideas and build-up of the existing local economic profile and private initiatives in the tourism sector were not achieved. Thus, ***the third hypothesis*** that sought to confirm whether or not *heritage tourism is a source of*

financial resources for site conservation and community development could not be confirmed and remains a theoretical consideration for Elmina. Similarly, an adoption of ***the fourth hypothesis,*** outlining that *private sector stakeholders in tourism and hospitality play an essential role in contributing to the conservation of heritage sites and the development of community infrastructure, as their market relies on the cultural offers of the heritage and the representation of the community to external visitors* remains undetermined in Elmina. The additional assumption that *conflicts can appear in case of an unethical use of the heritage value by stakeholders to promote business revenues,* could not be examined satisfactorily, but might create some new questions for the Elmina case, for example: how important is the Elmina castle to the memory of the Atlantic slave trade, in terms of ethical and historical dimensions, but also with regard to whether or not it overshadows additional historical narratives important for locals, which together with other heritage resources, are not promoted by the bigger tour-operators based in Accra? A commodification of the heritage in Elmina through new investments in other themes, e.g. the former settlement in front of the castle, local kings, the Asafo posts and the Dutch-Ghanaian merchant houses, the globalized soldiers history of the Java museum; could destroy the authenticity (Starr 2010) of the historical nature of the castle, and with it, the preservation of the Castle in terms of the time in which it was founded. This would mean that meanwhile, other themes and heritage resources might have made a positive contribution to conservation and the safeguarding of heritage properties, and may be a potential source of tourist income for the community. It also runs the risk of not serving the expectations of the most desired international tourists, including Diaspora Africans.

The same is imaginable for more modern types of increased tourism business: Who could imagine to have food courts of international labels inside the Castle? To drink a coffee at Starbucks in the community after the castle tour? Or with regard to festivals: Is it imaginable to have a local music festival taking place in the Castle, not merley in front of it. These questions are suggested for further research and consideration.

5.3. The key to sustainability: Stakeholder cooperation and community involvement

According to Aas et al. (2005), a key element of the relationship between heritage management and tourism development to generate sustainability rests upon strong stakeholder collaboration, which includes an active, meaningful role of the local community in projects. The Elmina Strategy 2015 aimed to develop these sustainable structures. However, as findings from the follow-up of the ECHMP reveal, these structures could not be established. As the main reason for this, most interviewees strongly emphasised a lack of partnership among the stakeholders involved in the project at local and national level. This had an enormous impact on the achievements of the project. What is more, findings could reveal, that the coordination of the entire process by the partners form the Netherlands (IHS and Urban Solution) was not conducted well enough to create ownership of local stakeholders for the whole process, to solve conflicts, and to put the right measures in place for sustainability of the project measures. It might be possible, that through the strong leadership by the consultancy Urban Solutions, a deep gap emerged after they finished the implementation. This would imply that the ECHMP was not successful enough in strengthening stakeholder collaboration during the project implementation, and failed to create sustainable mechanisms, which would have led to a successful takeover of the project achievements and their maintenance and monitoring.

In the areas related to urban environment (restoration and maintenance of buildings and infrastructure, the use of public spaces for the community and usability for tourism offers), no agreements or mechanisms of shared roles and responsibilities between the District Assembly, the GMMB, the Chief's Council and the local community were to be found. With regard to the preservation of heritage resources, a joint heritage management plan exists only for the two WH sites, the Castle and the Fort, not for the other heritage resources in Elmina; not even those that were renovated during the project. The KEEA district assembly, who is generally in charge of all resources not under the GMMB authority, does not provide substantial support in terms of maintenance and raising awareness to address issues of heritage tourism. The GTA is not – as it could be seen in the case of the Elmina tourism Office – fulfilling its role as promoter of tourism on the local level, such as in Elmina. Thus,

the research report found heritage preservation, urban development and tourism in Elmina disaggregated through different responsibilities by the three stakeholders, and there is a lack of cooperation for the valorisation of heritage tourism for sustainable local development.

The ECHMP did work with all the mentioned stakeholders and tried to combine the areas in an integrated approach, but no sustainable cooperation mechanisms in ownership of the local stakeholders were successfully established, and for this reason, the project achievements were not preserved and further developed. This conclusion opens up a new perspective, namely that it might be worthwhile to consider a joint policy framework and action plan for Elmina as a historic city, to be conserved both integratively and holistically. Amekudi (2005) suggested in this regard to strengthen the GMMB contribution through a local government by-law. Though Elmina's heritage resources would be conserved in the same way as national monuments, it remains questionable as to whether or not that alone would generate more investments from public-private partnerships for public use and their valorisation for tourism, as Amekudi expects. Furthermore, an extension of the GMMB mandate over Elmina's other resources would create more costs, which generates a challenge for the GMMB in the light of their small budget. Nevertheless this approach is worth considering, as different authorities in Elmina sharing heritage create obstacles for conservation and their valorisation for local development through heritage tourism. Particularly when it comes to the cooperation between the GMMB and the GTA, which is low, it is surprising considering the high value of the all Ghanaian castles for tourism, and the necessary interaction between measures for ensuring heritage preservation and promotion of heritage for tourism.

With regard to stakeholder cooperation for tourism development in developing countries, Tosun (2000) has argued that there is no standard structure that can be relied upon to be successful. Elmina offers a specific case for a complex relationship of various institutional bodies including a "dual system of governance" (Sonne, 2010: 7). Despite this, the different stakeholders in Elmina were analysed and consulted in the planning phase, and they participated in the Elmina 2015 strategy. However, the ECHMP did not manage to develop operational mechanisms for their long-term cooperation required to realise the strategy, especially after the end of the implementation phase, mainly led by Urban Solutions. The project was handed over

to the KEEA District Assembly, but not all stakeholders knew how to cooperate under their guidance. It seems reasonable to argue that the designer and leader of the ECHMP, Urban Solutions, modelled the stakeholder collaboration rather theoretically; whilst meanwhile, the establishment of strong practical cooperation measures for their joint operationalisation of the project activities and sustainability, was not achieved. Instead, they took over a main coordination role for the implementation phase. Nevertheless, my findings did not produce enough evidence to finally assess ***the fifth hypothesis,*** namely that without substantial comparison to other cases, no final evaluation can be derived as to whether the Elmina case confirms that *Tourism Development projects show different characteristics, particularly between developing and developed countries.* However, the challenges my findings revealed, especially in partnerships and the implementation of the ECHMP, make this hypothesis likely.

Although the Elmina Strategy 2015 formulated a long-term orientation, it was not anchored in the ECHMP implementation phase. The criteria for sustainability based on a successful long-term orientation are, according to Landorf (2009), “extensive local community participation in decision making and an active participation of various stakeholders in the planning process”. Indeed, the ECHMP aimed to improve the involvement of the community in decision making on heritage conservation, urban development and tourism and the operationalisation of respective initiatives. It was outlined in the Elmina 2015 strategy that a new approach to tourism will be followed, which would increase participation of the local community, open access to capital, and strengthen small-scale business. The effectiveness of such approaches has been described, for example, by Hampton (2005).

Furthermore, the ECHMP implemented training activities in tourism, including tour guiding and business skills, as part of a capacity building programme. However, results have shown that these did not have a long-term effect on the community as most trainees left Elmina or did not use their skills. Due to lack of financial means, the local stakeholders did not repeat this activity after the demise of the ECHMP or built upon the potential before the trained staff left, so it did not show sustainable impact. Those people who benefitted also faced challenges in using their skills in the tourism market, which came mainly under external control, as indicated earlier. Meanwhile, a partnership such as that between the Java Museum and the GTB/GTA did not occur due to political and administrative barriers (*Cf.* Holden et al., 2011).

Though the community is aware of the Castle and its role for tourism, the recognition of WH and its potential as an economic driver is lower. A lack of involvement and interest in the tourism sector by the local community could be detected.

According to UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines* (2012), sustainable heritage management seeks to "promote and encourage the active participation of the communities and stakeholders concerned with the property" (2012, II F. 119). Moreover, none of the points from the recommendations of the 34th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Brasilia (2010, 34.COM/5D) regarding sustainable development[46] selected as important for this research, were found to have improved in Elmina with the ECHMP. Therefore, the case study of Elmina confirms Hampton's insights that "many LDC attractions have limited linkages to their nearby communities, and operate largely as enclaves in the economy" (2005: 752). Elmina's community is hardly engaged at all in the management of WH sites and other heritage resources. Its influence on decision-making processes is low, and can only be enabled via the Chief's Council. The case of Elmina therefore contributes to the "vast body of work that demonstrates that local communities in less developed countries reap few benefits from tourism, because they have little control over the ways in which the industry is developed, they cannot match the financial resources available to external visitors, and their views are rarely heard" (Mowforth and Munt 2003, cited in Hampton, 2005: 740). In accordance with these points it can be stated that Elmina is far away from having a sustainable heritage management plan for its heritage resources and meaningful involvement of the local community in the valorisation of the heritage resources for tourism and local economic development. My results confirm both, ***the sixth hypothesis*** which states that *strong stakeholder collaboration is regarded as a key factor for the achievement of heritage conservation and heritage tourism goals, which implies a need for good communication and coordination;* and ***the seventh hypothesis***, that *the role of the local community living around heritage sites is crucial for sustainable heritage management. Heritage can*

[46] These were: to "emphasize strategies to enable and empower local communities to manage their heritage while meeting their development goals" (Ibid., Nr. 7); to "reconcile conservation goals for natural and cultural heritage with local development goals and tourism development goals with a framework for sustainable development" (Ibid., Nr. 11); to "promote local and small business and investment" (Ibid., Nr. 12); and to "promote stakeholder participation and community engagement during various stages of decision making" (Ibid., Nr. 15).

generate job opportunities in the conservation and maintenance of the site, as well as in the tourism market and ownership of the community is key to sustainability of WH presentation and tourism. Thus, development initiatives for WH management and heritage tourism have to consider community stakeholder involvement and their capacity building to enact ownership for sustainable development.

5.4. Further Challenges

A fundamental challenge for the ECHMP in future, as fieldwork and documentary analyses could reveal, have been financial constraints (*Cf.* Arthur and Mensah, 2006). Through initial funding by external donors (the major contributions came from the European Development Fund and Dutch Culture Fund), activities around conservation, tourism facilities and capacity building could be kick-started, but the establishment of funding mechanisms (for example through the Elmina Development Fund) and the follow-up of achievements did not happen, which brings further evidence to the findings on the under-developed sustainability of the ECHMP.

Although the challenges in the cooperation of local and national level institutions with regard to the evaluation and monitoring of development activities were known (KEEA, 2000c: 99-100) and it is an acknowledged principle in development cooperation that a project is not finalised after the implementation of activities, Urban Solutions did not conduct a handover that would have enabled the KEEA District Assembly to continue the activities alone, and the other stakeholders to deliver their continuous contribution. Soon after funding came to an end, the withdrawal of the technical advisors from Urban Solutions and the handover to the KEEA District Assembly, several activities stopped. Through political discontinuity at the KEEA District Assembly and a lack of funding, the achievements of the ECHMP were immediately threatened by maintenance challenges and gaps in further development of those not finalised. Findings from interviewees revealed that no further funding for the development project in Elmina had been provided by the KEEA District Assembly in the years after 2006/2007, when the project and additional drainage activities ended. Tosun (2000) states that financial pledges to tourism development projects are often redirected to other government projects, especially in developing countries. This could be a possible explanation.

Based on these results, ***the eighth hypothesis*** outlining that *the establishment of a dialogue forum and a monitoring and review system between all relevant stakeholders (local communities, national institutions, tourism agencies and site management) is to be promoted by relevant authorities to ensure the conservation of the heritage site and its values, as well as benefits for the communities adjacent to it from sustainable heritage management and local tourism development* can be confirmed. In the case of Elmina, it could have prevented conflicts between the sustainable conservation of the heritage site and tourist interests during the first project in the 1990s, and then strengthened integrated heritage and tourism management in order to stimulate sustainable local development in the ECHMP and beyond.

6. SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The case study regarding Elmina opened the perspective on the recent development in heritage conservation and cultural tourism in follow-up to the Elmina Cultural Heritage Management Programme (ECHMP), putting in questioning the integration of sustainable practices/instruments for heritage management and local development, particularly through tourism. This was meant to give specific insight into the potential of economic valorisation of heritage resources for sustainable community development, including through heritage tourism, as proposed in the UNESCO guidelines.

This study closed a gap in the existing literature on heritage management, tourism and sustainable local development by generating new insights through the follow-up of the ECHMP, a project which tried to integrate the three elements.

Next I present the study results in a concise summary, after which I reflect on the relevance of my research data, and thereafter provide a perspective for future research on this theme.

6.1. Study results

Valorisation of Elmina's Heritage Resources

One key question of the research report pertained to whether or not heritage resources in Elmina are used as economic assets. All heritage resources in Elmina have been found to be of historic and tourist value, but only the Castle and the Fort can be considered as macro-economic assets. Other heritage resources (the Asafo posts, the Dutch cemetery, the Java museum and the historical houses) have very little connection to the tourism sector and thus, do not sustain economic development that benefits Elmina's local economy.

Tourists' interests

The interest of tourists visiting Elmina is predominantly focused on the Castle. They lack information and show limited interest in the additional heritage sites available. They are mainly brought in by tour operators or study tours, they hardly circulate in Elmina outside of the Castle or are aware and consider additional local tourism and hospitality offers. Many visitors have a strong motivation to visit the Castle due to its relevance to the Atlantic slave trade: the African Diaspora visitors (a major proportion of the international visitors) and Ghanaian schoolchildren and students (as the biggest part of national visitors). For other international visitors, the Castle has as strong recognition because of its WH status.

Resident's attitudes and perception of tourism development

The local population is aware of the castle as a historic site, but does not fully acknowledge its potential for tourism and local development. Because hardly any local or international castle visitors stay in Elmina longer than their Castle tour, the local community relation to the Castle's tourism is low, and the potentially beneficial maintenance of community development initiatives stimulated by the ECHMP is not undertaken, as most of the local population works in different sectors, particularly fishery and salt production. The interaction between the local people and the visitors has been noted as a challenge. Attempts to promote local tourism lead to harassment of tourists in front of the Castle at the beginning of the programme. This challenge could be contained during the programme, but still exist on a smaller scale until today. Elmina's residents are aware of tourism development projects that have taken place in Elmina, but they are disappointed from the ECHMP and older projects in the fields of conservation, tourism and urban development, as none of these succeeded in poverty alleviation and sustainability.

Local heritage tourism economy

The economic growth in Ghana and the significant contribution of the tourism industry has been evident for some years, but it is not reflected on the local level in Elmina. The case study of Elmina shows, thus, that the economic use of heritage resources (with special reference to WH as status) does not lead directly to

development of the adjacent community. The contribution of heritage tourism to Elmina's economy and development is in fact very low.

The private sector offer comprises a hotel, which does not get to accommodate castle visitors as described above, and two locally based private initiatives (a tour operator offering an Elmina Walkway and the Java Museum). Both offer tourist products related to Elmina's furthering of its heritage. These initiatives were not part of the ECHMP and are not supported by national government bodies (i.e. GMMB and/or GTB/GTA) or the local municipality (KEEA District Assembly).

The Castle provides some job opportunities in site management and guide-work, where a few people originating from Elmina are employed. The castle visitors are the main source of revenue generation through tourism in Elmina, but revenues go into a national account by the GMMB and distributed nationally from there.

Follow-up of the ECHMP

The follow-up on the ECHMP revealed fundamental insights into how heritage management and tourism development can be brought together in an integrated urban development plan. The ECHMP implemented a wide range of activities in order to revitalise historical buildings and rehabilitate urban structures, to establish new tourist facilities and to conduct capacity-building programmes. However, the case study sheds light on problems surrounding the implementation and particularly the sustainability of these initiatives. Achievements were generated in conservation, but through lack of maintenance most of the preserved buildings and sites in the town are facing decay once again. A tourism office was set up (in the restored Alfred Mensah House) in the town center, but tourism services are not adequately provided, which is partially due to lack of support by the GTB/GTA and no relation to the KEEA District Assembly. The installation of an arts and crafts market failed, which was meant to create income opportunities for the local community in relation to heritage tourism in the whole of Elmina.

Within the Capacity Building Programme by the ECHMP, local people were trained in tour-guiding, restoration and business skills. However, they have mostly taken over different jobs or migrated to bigger towns, particularly Cape Coast.

Furthermore, in the case of the home owner's scheme, the provision of guest room facilities in renovated historical houses as an additional source of income failed, because accommodation standards could not be realised. Other challenges were the funding for the implementation of the renovations and later the maintenance. In addition, the dominance of external tour operators in tourism, linked also to the low numbers of overnight visitors, makes it difficult for Elmina residents, in this case the home-owners, to compete in the hospitality sector.

Lack of sustainability in heritage management and tourism development

Heritage tourism is not a driver for (sustainable) economic development in Elmina due to two major obstacles, which ECHMP could not overcome, namely: weak stakeholder collaboration and non-involvement of the local community in tourism and heritage management.

The ECHMP involved a wide range of stakeholders (KEEA District Assembly, GMMB, Chief's Council, and other groups). The research revealed that the programme experienced a lack of efficient stakeholder cooperation. The impact of this challenge became most obvious after the handover to the KEEA District Assembly. Sustainability of the project activities and achievements was not found, and a lack of maintenance could clearly be identified. Moreover, insufficient partnership between the local and national stakeholders was concluded as a main impediment, together with financial constraints. The cooperation between public and private stakeholders is hindered by communication gaps and lack of a clear agreement on responsibilities and focal personnel to coordinate the interests and inputs from policy-makers, district planning, site management and local tourism and development initiatives. This leads to non-realisation of project outcomes, and misses further potential for local growth through the input of various stakeholders. Various stakeholders claim a lack of funds to have impeded sustainable improvement. A partially tourism-financed local economic development fund (Elmina Development Fund) could not be operationalised.

Finally, this results in a gap to make use of the tourism and public awareness potential of the WH sites for local development, and hinders the embedding of further heritage resources within a town of venerable historical heritage.

Though the ECHMP started community consultation from the beginning of the project, the influence of the community on heritage management and tourism initiatives remains very low. The community in Elmina are mainly governed by a “dual system of governance” – the Chief’s council (traditional) and the KEEA District Assembly (political). Meanwhile, the Chief’s Council is stated not to be significantly involved in heritage tourism and the ECHMP implementation, the KEEA District Assembly recurred the gaps in follow-up of the programme interventions mainly to staff turnover in the assembly and, thus, directed a political change.

In sum, the ECHMP could not sustainably realise its integrated approach to strengthen the tourism sector in Elmina and provide new job opportunities and income generation for the local people. Main challenges outlined in documents and interviews were: a lack of funding; political discontinuity; lack of maintenance; stakeholder collaboration; as well as coordination and monitoring. The Elmina 2015 Strategy is currently far away from its 2015 targets as a long-term perspective for the creation of job opportunities in heritage management, tourism- and hospitality sector.

6.2. Implications of future research

Literature and documentation on Elmina’s heritage resources and tourism development are not well integrated. Future research needs to focus more on possible synergies and holistic concepts such as the ‘Elmina as one historic town heritage package. One aim of this research was to embed the practical example of the integrated ECHMP in the discussion, where I believe the underlying multi-sectoral concept discussed in the Elmina 2015 strategy can provide points of thought for more research and conceptual exploration with regard to implementation and sustainability.

For further research on Elmina, it might be valuable to look for more data on revenues from different sectors and the division of shares in tourism between sectors (e.g. heritage tourism and beach tourism) and stakeholders. Data compilation and consolidation in Ghana remains a challenge, in particular tracking revenues and re-investment in national and local programmes. As a result, data regarding employment in Elmina could benefit from further investigation. Quantitative data needs to be actualised and trends analysis conducted. Qualitative information needs

to be adjusted with existing research, so as not to repeat research. The establishment of a web-based database with constant input from surveys done by researchers on visitor's perceptions and resident's attitudes would be one way to secure up to date information in one place and allow for integrated analysis.

It is also desiderate to discuss the case of Elmina in comparison to other cases. My research could only achieve this in a limited way and found a promising comparative case study with Shikawara-mura in Japan, researched by Jimura (2011). Comparing only these two cases has already shown differences, commonalities and similarities. Such kind of case analysis is done based on the guidelines on sustainable heritage management drawn up by UNESCO and its advisory bodies (ICOMOS, IUCN, and ICCROM) as the representative institutions of a global agenda for heritage conservation and management. This research has contributed to the aspects of heritage tourism and heritage in relation to sustainable community development with which these guidelines are concerned.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Map of Ghana showing Elmina on the coastline



Source: United Nations, Availabale from: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/ghana.pdf> (Accessed on 31 May, 2013)

Appendix 2. The Elmina Castle – additional photographic material









Source: all photographs by author (July 2012)

Appendix 3. Fort St. Jago – additional photographic material



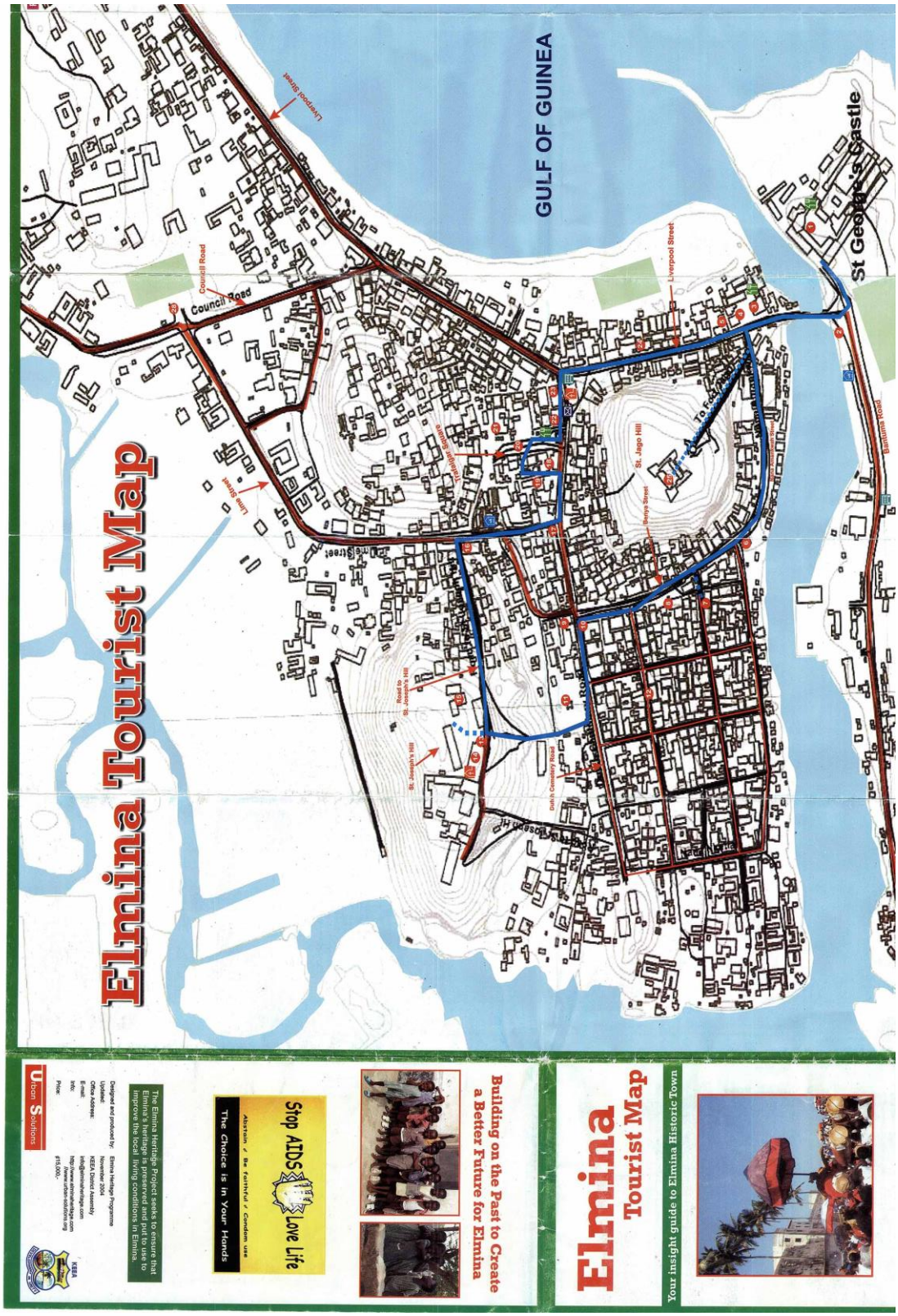






Source: all photographs by author (July 2012)

Appendix 4. Elmina Tourist Map



Source: KEEA (2003)