

**MUSEUMS, MONUMENTS
AND
INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IN GHANA**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under supervision, that all sources of information and data have been acknowledged, that the views expressed, the positions adopted and the conclusions drawn are based on my independent analysis and judgement. To the best of my knowledge, no part, or the whole of it has been previously submitted anywhere else for any purpose.

Date February 8, 2001



RODZO GAVUA
(CANDIDATE)

I declare that I have supervised the candidate in undertaking the study submitted herein.

Date February 8, 2001



PROFESSOR C.O. KISIEDU
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This dissertation is a study of the relevance of tours by international visitors of Ghana's museums and monuments over the past decade to the country's relations with other nations, and to world peace in general. The types of museums and monuments found in the country and the programmes and services they offer tourists are discussed.

The study attempts to show that museums and monuments assist in deepening understanding among foreign visitors of the cultural heritage of Ghana and encourage peaceful coexistence between Ghanaians and foreigners. However, they are sources of conflict of different kinds, as observed, for example, by Bruner (1996), that do not serve the cause of world peace. Variables that account for understanding and peace, and for conflict are identified and discussed. Results of the work are expected to assist organisations and agencies associated with Ghana's museums and monuments, tourism, as well as Ghana's foreign affairs experts, in the planning and execution of policies that would minimise conflict at these tourism centres, and foster harmony and peace among the wide range of visitors.

The relevant data derive from observations made at selected museums and monuments across the country and from oral information obtained through interviews of tourists, tour guides, tour promoters, curators and other staff of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. Analysis of the data is done with reference to literature on museums and monuments and their role in tourism and global peace.



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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1: Museums and Monuments as Channels of Education and Peace

Museums and Monuments are media that preserve, express and commemorate the cultural heritage of a people (Plenderlieth 1968). They inform and remind the general public about the foundations of modern lifeways, while warning of the waywardness of history (Boorstin 1987). By promoting inferred understanding of the origins of conflict, and by presenting a heritage of peacemaking, museums and monuments could become important vehicles of peace education and channels for promoting peaceful coexistence among the world's citizenry (Duffy 1993). Museum exhibitions, for example, stimulate intellectual reflection (Cuypers 1976) and change people's attitudes towards foreign cultures, as information obtained by visitors to these centres enables them to become less ethnocentric and more immune to negative information from television, radio, the press and elsewhere (Kal 1976). The exhibitions could also strengthen and increase the feeling of solidarity and sympathy among observers towards foreign cultures and peoples.

A cross-section of tourists is attracted to museums and monuments in different countries because these places are public and perform functions that dramatize our shared global community (Boorstin 1987). Thus, museums and monuments are major tourism centres the world over. Besides contributing to the flow of goods and services across international boundaries, they offer tourists an opportunity to become aware of the importance of indigenous cultural values, and to appreciate differences that are found between different peoples and cultures (Musonda 1992).



University of Ghana <http://ugccampus.org> and world peace has, for

instance, been recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with the initiation of a World Heritage Convention in 1972 (de Cuellar 1987). This convention sought to compile a global inventory of unique natural and man-made sites that celebrate mankind's creative genius or demonstrate the natural diversity of the earth with the recognition that we can learn from past mistakes. In this regard, several monuments, including a few in Ghana, have been designated World Heritage Sites by UNESCO (Lutyk and Ackerman 1987:304). The development, restoration or preservation of some of these sites is often supported by the organization through the sharing of technical expertise among nations and the provision of equipment, money and technical training. The work of UNESCO is supplemented by other international organisations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM).

It appears, therefore, that museums and monuments are potentially alternative media of promoting global peace, harmony and understanding. The processes by which Ghanaian museums and monuments advance world peace through their tour programmes, and services are thus important to this study. This is particularly relevant in view of the increasing failure of militarism as the panacea for conflict resolution among nations and peoples.

1.2: International Tourism and Ghana's Museums and Monuments

According to Ghana's Ministry of Tourism, "Tourism is a broad-scope socio-economic sector that includes all the activities, attractions, facilities and services related to people's travel, either on long day trips or for overnight stays. Travel may be for holiday and recreation, business, meetings, official mission and other purposes and refers to temporary travel seasons, not for long-term or permanent migration."¹ Although domestic tourism is common in Ghana, it has not received much official attention and there is no recorded statistics on it, as the Ministry of Tourism is currently more concerned with international tourism.

During the past decade international tourism became one of the fastest growing sectors of the Ghanaian economy and a major foreign exchange earner for the country. International tourist arrivals in the country, for example, increased steadily from about 146,000 in 1990 to about 350,000 in 1999, and is expected to reach about 400,000, with an income of about US\$386,000 by the end of 2000². This followed the adoption in the 1980s by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government of Ghana of a free-market economic dispensation, the Economic Recovery Programme and the Structural Adjustment Programme of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Appiah 1998, 1999, Gaye 2000). Included in the groups of international tourists who visit Ghana are students, academics, diplomats, business people and vacationists.


¹ This definition is found in the 'Integrated Tourism Development Programme for Ghana', prepared by the Ministry of Tourism, Ghana, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Tourism Organization, 1996.

² 'Tourism Statistical Fact Sheet on Ghana', prepared by the Ghana Tourist Board, 1999.

these centres have become ubiquitous to the itineraries of tour operators. Consequently, some museums have been developed and some monuments have been restored to generate interest among tourists.

1.3: Ghana's Museums and Monuments as Channels of Education and Peace

In addition to their economic value, tours of Ghana's museums and monuments enable peoples of different countries to observe and appreciate the cultural heritage of Ghanaians, while offering Ghanaians the chance to interact with them informally. The tours create forums that could increase dialogue among groups of citizens of foreign nations over past lifeways, and present them with additional insight into their own history vis a vis Ghana's past and present foreign relations. Although knowledge acquired by tourists may enhance mutual understanding and promote friendly relations between them and Ghanaians, it may also lead to subtle kinds of conflict, such as racial tension, as observed by Bruner (1996). These kinds of conflict may impact negatively on Ghana's international relations, and on relations between different groups of foreign visitors to Ghana.

This dissertation is, therefore, a study of the relevance to Ghana of tours of the country's museums and monuments by international visitors over the past decade, to Ghana's relations with other nations, and to world peace in general. The types of museums and monuments found in the country are discussed in relation to programmes and services they offer and how international tourists perceive and relate to them. An  show that programmes and services offered by Ghanaian museums

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and monuments in a bid to promote tourism generate a number of subtle issues that have the potential of affecting Ghana's relations with other nations and world peace negatively. The issues and variables that account for them are identified and discussed. The results of the work are expected to assist the various national and international agencies associated with Ghanaian museums and monuments in the planning and execution of policies that would minimise conflict and foster peace, understanding and harmony among the wide range of tourists and Ghanaians.

1.4: Sources of Data

Data for this work derive from mainly field research, as there is yet only one article (Bruner 1996) that discusses tourism in relation to museums and monuments in Ghana. The field data are supplemented with an assortment of literary information about the nature and function of museums and monuments in Ghana (eg. Duah 2000, Anquandah 1999, 1997, van Dantzig 1980 and Nunoo 1969), West Africa (eg. Ardouin and Arinze 2000, Ardouin 1997) and in other nations (eg. Duffy 1993, Lutyk and Ackerman 1987, Plenderleith 1968). Information about the role of museums and monuments in tourism in some nations (eg. Musonda 1992, Lopez 1992, Amahan 1992, Doway 1992 and Moore 1976) was also studied.

1.4.1: Field Data

Mindful of the time and resources available to me, I have had to limit field research to museums and monuments that are most attractive to tourists in Ghana. Work was undertaken at the National Museum and the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park Museum in

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Accra, the Ghana Armed Forces Museum and the Manhyia Palace Museum in Kumasi, the Cape Coast and the Elmina Castles and the Larabanga Mosque in the Northern Region of Ghana. Besides joining groups of tourists to tour these museums and monuments, I spent one full day at each museum and monument studying their programmes and services, in addition to collecting information on the origins and remarks of tourists from visitors' books. Attendance records and other relevant literature were also studied in libraries of the National Museum and the Cape Coast Castle. After completing work at the museums and monuments, I examined brochures and itineraries of a number of tour operators in Accra and the Ghana Tourist Board.

A fair amount of information was obtained through interviews of 50 foreign tourists and of a number of people associated with the various museums and monuments, as well as tourism, in Ghana. Among those interviewed, besides tourists, were the Director and his deputy, as well as other personnel of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board. The Curator of the Manhyia Palace Museum, tour guides and other staff of the Ghana Armed Forces Museum, Cape Coast Castle and the Larabanga Mosque provided additional information. The interviews were informal and the questions asked (appendix 1) were unstructured, as tourists were transient, and as most informants were more comfortable discussing than writing out their thoughts on the subject matter.

Although I am confident the data obtained are sufficient for my study, I was unable to obtain detailed and accurate information on the total number and background of all tourists that visited the museums and monuments. Figures on the amount of income generated at each centre and the amount of funding received from international donors were also not available to me. Comments and suggestions made in visitor's books at the

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museums and monuments could not be subjected to statistical manipulation although the common ones were identified

1.4.2 Information from Literary Sources

There is paucity of literature that informs directly about relationships that exist between museums, monuments and international tourism in Ghana. To date, a discussion by Bruner (1996) of tours by African Americans to the Elmina Castle, one of Ghana's World Heritage Monuments, remains the only article with a direct bearing on the subject matter of this study. Other works on Ghanaian museums and monuments discuss the history and functioning of museums and monuments (Anquandah 1999, 1997, van Dantzig 1980) and the role museums play in the re-writing of the history of Ghana and Africa (Duah 2000). The rest of the literature provides information that relates to the study topic from a global perspective.

Bruner's discussion suggests that tourism at forts and castles in Ghana is fraught with conflict of different kinds, which could affect relations between Ghana and western nations. One area of conflict pertains to differences in meanings that Ghanaians, diaspora Africans and other international tourists assign to the forts and castles respectively. While Ghanaians regard the forts and castles as a primary route to the development of tourism, and a means of generating income, African Americans see them as sacred places that express the ills of the trade in slaves. To other foreign tourists such as the Dutch and the British, however, the forts and castles express aspects of the prowess of their colonial administrators in the Gold Coast.

The differences in perception of the forts and castles manifest in another form of conflict that relates to the ownership, restoration and refurbishment of these monuments. The World Heritage Sites in Ghana such as the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles and Fort St. Jago, for instance, could be seen as belonging to the world community. But, Ghanaians, including the Fante on whose lands these buildings are found consider them to be their properties. In view of the relationship between the buildings and slavery, some African Americans also lay claim to them (Bruner 1996:291). While the restoration and refurbishment of the three monuments are of much interest to Ghana and to UNESCO and other international agencies associated with them, a number of influential African Americans criticise the restoration efforts as ways of distorting the history of slavery encoded in the monuments.

According to Bruner's article, some programmes organized at the Cape Coast and Elmina castles, including guided tours and drama, "the Door of No Return", that focused on the pains of slavery resulted in physical and verbal expressions of hatred by some Ghanaians and diaspora Africans towards European tourists. The article thus suggests that in spite of the benefits of the association between monuments and tourism to Ghana, the nature of the association foments conflict between Ghanaians and foreign nationals, and between different groups of foreign nationals.

In examining the relationship between heritage sites and tourism, Moore (1976) noted that although tourism can and is able to support museums and cultural centres through entrance fees, for example, it is capable of destroying or seriously eroding ethnic identity and cultural heritage. Programmes and services at the centres could be skewed overtly to satisfy the international tourist and to gloss over core elements of the culture

University of Ghana <http://www.ug.edu.gh> that are encoded in the forts, castles and museum exhibitions. As remarked by Moore, tourism is structurally big business, involving huge companies, usually multi-national, and rarely sensitive to local issues. The business could also result in an expansion of the illicit international trade in antiquities when regulations concerning the export of cultural property are compromised by policies that encourage the export of artifacts by tourists without much scrutiny. Ghana's National Museum Decree 1969, which spells out the country's export control of antiquities is found in the "Handbook of National Regulations Concerning the Export of Cultural Property" (Lyndel and O'Keefe 1988).

Articles discussing the origin and function of museums in Africa (Cuypers 1976 35, Dawodu 1982) indicate that the museum concept in Africa is of Western origin. Thus, existing African museums are ill adapted to the needs of local communities and the appearance of most of them still reflects the considerations of European administrators that created them. They are generally ethnographic or archaeological in content and emphasise ethno-cultural differences exploited by colonialists. To correct this situation, a re-interpretation rather than mere preservation of existing collections was advocated (Dawodu 1982).

One of the approaches by which museums are being steered away from the depiction of ethnic differences and the vagaries of history to the promotion of world peace is the adoption of the 'Peace Museum Concept', as highlighted in an article by Duffy (1993). This concept involves a shared concern with peace education through the arts, and derives from UNESCO's concern in building a "Culture of Peace". To this end, museums could be programmed to preserve a history of peace making, and to serve as

vehicles of peace education, as exemplified by the Hague Peace Museum, the Lindau Peace Museum, the Peace Museum of Chicago and the Peace Museum of Northern Ireland. They could also be humanitarian-oriented and celebrate humanitarian work like the Red Crescent Museum in Geneva and the Florence Nightingale Museum in London.

1.5: Organisation of Work

The rest of the dissertation is divided into three chapters. In chapter two, there is first a classification and description of the various types of museums and monuments found in Ghana, followed by a detailed discussion of the function and history of selected museums and monuments in relation to their role in tourism. Chapter three is an analysis of the effect of programmes and services offered at the museums and monuments on different categories of tourists in relation to world peace at large. The fourth chapter is a summary of results of the analysis, conclusions arrived at from the overall discussion and suggestions that could improve the functioning of Ghanaian museums and monuments towards the promotion of Ghana's foreign relations and global peace.

GHANA'S MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS AS TOUR CENTRES

2.1: Introduction

Museums and monuments found in Ghana include state owned and private ones. State museums and monuments were inherited and established by past governments of Ghana. They are staffed, equipped, maintained and managed by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), which also plans, monitors and evaluates their policies, programmes and activities. The Board was first established under the Ministry of Education in 1957 by an Ordinance of the Gold Coast colonial administration at the dawn of Ghana's independence. The Ordinance was subsequently transformed into a National Liberation Council Decree, NLCD 387, in 1969. After being dissolved in 1992, the Board was re-constituted under the National Commission on Culture and has centralised administrative machinery, based at the National Museum in Accra, that receives subvention from government. It is the sole agency that inspects and grants permit for archaeological excavations and the export of antiquities out of Ghana, as a means of minimising the illicit trade and trafficking of cultural property³. Its performance is, however, limited by the centralisation of administration and by the absence of adequate financial resources, logistics and appropriate staff.

Although there is only one well-established private museum in the country, private monuments abound. The museum and monuments are owned and managed by

³ 'Handbook on National Regulations Concerning the Export of Cultural Property', prepared for UNESCO by Pratt and O'Keefe, 1988.

University of Ghana <http://ug.gh> Occasionally, technical assistance is provided by the GMMB to prominent ones among them

Both state and private museums and monuments have had a relatively long antiquity and have been in the service of the general public. However, their popularity increased since the 1990s when most were rehabilitated or restored and their programmes and services altered to support and complement a fast growing tourist industry. Common to all of them is the charging of differential fees for Ghanaians and foreigners. This has been justified variously by staff of the GMMB and the national parks on the relative low standard of living of Ghanaians and on the need for foreigners to assist with the maintenance of the museums and monuments.

2.2: Museums and Tourism

Ghanaian museums are permanent institutions that acquire, conserve, research, communicate, and exhibit, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of the history and culture of Ghanaians and their environment, and of other peoples of the world. They are non-profit-making, and are in the service of society and of its development. The museum concept was introduced to Ghana by the British colonial administration, which established a Museum of Anthropology at Achimota College in 1948 with a small collection of archaeological finds and ethnographic materials obtained by Thurstan Shaw, the first trained British archaeologist to work in Ghana (Anquandah 1997). This museum was relocated in 1952 to the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ghana, Legon, from where some artifacts were transferred to a newly established National Museum in Accra in 1957. To date, there are

ten state museums and one well-established private museum, the Manhyia Palace Museum in Kumasi (Table 1).

Table 1 Chronology and locations of Ghanaian Museums

Name	Location	Date Established
Dept of Archaeology Museum	Univ of Ghana	1952
Ghana Armed Forces Museum	Kumasi	1952
National Museum	Accra	1957
Museum of Science and Technology	Accra	1963
Cape Coast Castle Museum	Cape Coast	1971
Volta Regional Museum	Ho	1974
Asante Regional Museum	Kumasi	1990
Upper East Regional Museum	Bolgatanga	1991
Dubois Centre Museum	Accra	1992
Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park Museum	Accra	1994
Manhyia Palace Museum	Kumasi	1994
Elmina Castle Museum	Elmina	1997

Among the museums, only the National Museum, the Science Museum and the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park Museum are housed in premises that were purposely constructed to serve as museums. Most of the museums began modestly and performed orthodox museum functions but were rehabilitated and their programmes and services altered to meet the demands of tourism since the beginning of the last decade. A 1996 Integrated Tourism Development Programme prepared by the Ministry of Tourism, the

University of Ghana <http://www.ug.edu.gh> and the World Tourism Organization, for instance, sought to upgrade and transform the museums into tourist centres and provided a framework for their rehabilitation and current programming. A general description of the museums and their relationship with tourism is provided in the sections below.

2.2.1 The National Museum

The National Museum comprises an office complex, a fairly large, two-level exhibition hall, stores, a library, a conference hall, an art and crafts shop and a canteen that serves both Ghanaian and continental dishes. Until the 1990s, it had a permanent exhibition of archaeological and ethnographic materials as well as works of art that reflected different aspects of the culture history of Ghana, while occasionally showcasing the material culture of other peoples of the world.

Efforts to make the museum more attractive to the general public and akin to tourism began in 1986 when a private investor was invited to set up a restaurant. In 1998, a grant of three hundred and eighty million cedis (€380,000,000) provided by the Italian government was used to rehabilitate the museum, while Sony equipped it with modern audio-visual facilities. The Swiss Embassy also assisted with the creation of the art and craft shop. Since then, the range of the museum's exhibits was expanded to include handicrafts, paintings and photographs of renowned Ghanaian and foreign artists and photographers. Some of the new exhibitions provide insights into historical relationships that existed between Ghana and other nations such as the Czech Republic, Italy, Egypt, Norway, Germany and the United States of America. The museum also



University of Ghana <http://ugconference.com/ug>
hosts lectures, seminars and talks, and mounts its annual conference through private ceremonies.

The current emphasis of the museum is, nonetheless, on exhibitions of evidence of the trade in enslaved peoples in Ghana. It has mounted a major exhibition since 1999 of materials recovered from *Fredensberg*, a slave ship that sank off the coast of Norway in the 18th century, and has recently opened a major exhibition on the material evidence of slavery across Ghana with the support of UNESCO.

Due to its national standing and location, the museum normally attracts many heads of state and government, diplomats and private foreigners visiting Ghana. Entries in its visitors' books since 1996 suggest that it is currently a major destination of different categories of international tourists including students, researchers, business people, scholars and other travellers. Many of the foreign visitors use the museum as a convenient recreational ground and rendezvous where they dine, purchase gift items and enjoy museum exhibitions. Unfortunately, however, the museum lacks trained tour guides and most visitors do not have guided tours. As a result, visitors often decode the meanings of exhibited objects superficially, as intimated by a number of foreign tourists interviewed.

2.2.2 Museum of Science and Technology

The Museum of Science and Technology was established in 1973 to acquire, preserve and exhibit past and present achievements of science and technology across the world. It, therefore, acquires scientific objects and mounts permanent and temporary exhibitions, which often pertain to global issues such as the misuse of drugs, cholera, water-related



diseases and HIV/AIDS. It also organises lectures, quizzes and science fairs, but has no tour guides and lacks sufficient office space and storage facilities, as its main building is yet to be completed.

Annual reports of the museum between 1990 and 1999 indicate that although the museum is popular among pupils and students of first and second-cycle schools in Accra, it is patronised by few foreigners. Out of a total of 5291 people who visited the museum in 1999, for example, less than a hundred were foreigners.

2.2.3 Regional Museums

The three regional museums are relatively small and are located in temporary premises. Unlike the National Museum, their staff and programmes are limited. Their exhibitions, for example, consist of mainly ethnographic and few archaeological objects from their respective regions.

The Asante Regional Museum at the Kumasi Cultural Centre, for example, has a permanent exhibition on Asante royal regalia, costume items and other aspects of Asante domestic life. It has well-trained tour guides and a gift shop where post-cards, kente stoles and charts of Adinkra symbols and their meanings can be purchased. As the regional museums at Ho and Bolgatanga were not visited for information, a detailed description of them cannot be provided. Annual reports of the museums suggest, however, that activities of all the museums currently centre on education and tourism. Relatively large numbers of foreign tourists are received each year by the museums, although their main patrons are students of the regions.

2.2.4 Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle Museums

The Cape Coast Castle Museum began as a West African Historical Museum in 1971 (Duah 2000). Its exhibition covered West Africa, North Africa and Europe since 500 BC, the empires of ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Bornu, and the Arab, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and French influences in West Africa. Artifacts and photographs on the prehistory of West Africa, some aspects of the Slave Trade and subsistence activities of West Africans were also exhibited.

Following the launching of the Central Regional Development Programme (CEREDEP) in 1990 with tourism as the lead sector, the museum was rehabilitated with financial and technical support from the government of Ghana, USAID, the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) and the United Nations Development Programme (Duah 2000). The Smithsonian Institution in particular assisted the GMMB in developing the museum, which was renamed the 'Cape Coast Castle Museum' and opened in December 1994. The inaugural exhibition of the new museum, dubbed 'Cross Roads of People, Crossroads of Trade' is still popular. It covers 500 years of Ghana's history and is presented in four sections. There is first an orientation video, then information on the early history of Ghana and on Ghana's history as an important trading centre. Other themes covered include liberation struggles of the African diaspora and Ghana, and finally, the Central Region today. In spite of its broad theme, the bulk of the exhibition dwells on the Slave Trade.

An annex of the Cape Coast Castle Museum presents an exhibition on the architectural history of the Cape Coast Castle based on a Master of Arts Thesis on

Architectural Conservation submitted by Seidu Yakubu Goodman to the University of York in 1993. There is also an exhibition of oil paintings of traditional and modern Cape Coast.

Tours of the Cape Coast Castle museums are tied into tours of the Castle at large. There are both guided and unguided tours. The castle draws a fairly large number of foreign visitors each year, as other attractions in the Central Region and the biannual celebration of the Pan African Historical Festival (PANAFEST) and annual celebrations of Emancipation Day have made Cape Coast and the castle key centres for tourists.

The Elmina Castle Museum was also established in 1997 within the context of the Central Region's tourism agenda. It is relatively smaller than the Cape Coast Castle Museum and comprises displays of mainly photographs and drawings of Fante and Asante Kings and their European counterparts that were associated with the castle. Most of the large numbers of tourists visiting the Elmina Castle are guided through this museum.

2.2.5 The Ghana Armed Forces Museum

The Ghana Armed Forces Museum is housed in the premises of an important monument, which was first built as a palace by the first Asante King, Kwame Osei Bonsu, alias Nana Osei Tutu I in 1820. The palace was seized and destroyed in 1873 by Sir Garnet Wolseley, the then Governor of the Gold Coast, who converted the ruins into training ground for British Soldiers. In 1897, Governor Hodgson rebuilt the palace into a fort and it remained under the jurisdiction of the British until 1952 when it was converted into a museum. The Museum is now run as a semi-private one by the Ghana

Armed Forces and is autonomous of the GMMB, although it receives technical assistance from it

Unlike the other museums, the Armed Forces Museum exhibits military hardware, photographs and other objects that inform on the nature of early interactions between the Asante and the British, and on the origins of Ghana's involvement in United Nations peacekeeping activities. Among items exhibited are guns, badges, domestic utensils, flags and other items captured by the Gold Coast members of the West African Frontier Force from the Italian army in Abyssinia between 1940 and 1941, and from the Japanese in Burma between 1944 and 1945. Other items depict Ghana's peacekeeping achievements in the Congo in 1962. The museum has guided tours and attracts mostly foreign visitors.

2.2.6: Manhyia Palace Museum

This museum was established, and is operated by the office of the King of the Asante. It is located in a one-storey building that was constructed by the British in 1925 for Nana Agyemang Prempeh I whom they had exiled to the Seychelles Islands. From 1970 until 1995 when the museum was set up, the building was used as the administrative headquarters of the Asanteman Council.

The museum complex provides rare information about the history of the Asante kingdom and its experiences with the British colonial administration. The bulk of the exhibition comprises furniture, utensils, drums and other regalia of Nana Sir Agyemang Prempeh II, who used the museum building as residence during his reign. Included in the regalia are gold-plated linguist staffs, sandals, state swords, bracelets, muskets, finger rings, stools and other costume items that are still used by the current Asante King. Also



found are decorations and gifts received by Nana Sir Agyemang Prempeh II from the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, the late President Tubman of Liberia and King George VI of Great Britain. In addition to these are drawings and statues of early kings of Asante, photographs and drawings of old Kumasi and European administrators that operated there

Tours of the museum are highly controlled. They are usually conducted by the curator of the museum, Mr Osei Kwadwo, and began with a documentary video of the Asante kingdom and pageantry. The curator has a number of books on Asante history (eg. Osei 1994), which are sold in addition to other books, handicrafts and other gift items in a gift shop attached to the museum.

2.3: Monuments and Tourism

As defined by the current director of the GMMB, Dr. I.N. Debrah⁴, monuments are "architectural works, or works of monumental sculpture, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, cave dwellings or a group of buildings, which have value from the point of view of history or art". Most monuments are intentionally made to serve as monuments, while many are by-product monuments, which are relics of the ambitions of earlier ages that have the ability to frustrate or even contradict the aims of their first creators (Boorstin 1987). Aside the man-made monuments are nature monuments such as national parks, waterfalls, lakes and other elements of the natural environment.

Over 21 different monuments have been identified and monitored by the GMMB. Most of them are by-product monuments that can be grouped into three main types.

⁴ The definition is found in a paper presented by the director of the GMMB, Dr. Debrah at the First Seminar for Managers of Culture and Natural Heritage Protecting Cultural Property, Dakar, 1998.

These are a) forts and castles found along the coast, b) indigenous architectural abode type buildings - popularly called vernacular buildings in the Asante and Eastern Regions, and c) different types of mosques and historic walls in the northern and upper regions of Ghana. A few intentional monuments like tombs of historically important people, overhead bridges and circles, and nature monuments such as waterfalls, lakes and national parks are also found.

As part of the national tourism development programme, selected monuments were restored to promote education and tourism. Among them, the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and Fort St. Jago at Elmina have received the most attention. Major archaeological excavations were undertaken at the sites of these monuments (DeCorse 1992), and with seed funding initiated by the USAID in 1996 for a Ghana Heritage Conservation Trust, the monuments have been restored and their programmes revitalised. The GMMB also raised about \$13,000 in 1998 to restore the Yao Tano shrine at Ejisu-Besease and other Asante traditional buildings.

Although tourists share their time between nature monuments, beaches, festivals and other activities, their patronage of the restored monuments increased tremendously over previous years. Tourism programmes vary, however, between the forts and castles and the other monuments.

2.3.1 Forts and Castles

The most prominent of the castles is the Christiansborg Castle (Nunoo 1969, van Dantzig 1980), the seat of the Ghana government. Beginning as a small trading lodge of the Swedish Africa Company in 1652, the castle was named after King Christian IV of



Denmark when it was acquired and transformed into a fort by the Danes in 1661. After changing hands over the years between the Danes, the Portuguese and the Akwamu, the fort was gradually converted into a castle and was sold by the Danes to the British in 1850. It became the seat of the British Governor who relocated to it from Cape Coast in 1873 and served that function until the end of British rule in the Gold Coast.

As seat of the Government of Ghana, the Christiansborg Castle receives international tourists of repute who directly affect Ghana's foreign relations. Visiting heads of foreign nations, diplomats and foreign delegations of different kinds are regularly hosted and often conducted on tour at The Castle, as it is referred to. Beyond its administrative capacity, The Castle is an exclusive tourist centre that is limited to state and inter-state officials.

With regards to the general public, however, the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles have since their restoration, new focus and direct association with the PANAFEST, and celebrations of Emancipation Day become major tourist attractions. In 1996, for example, the Cape Coast Castle recorded about 29,770 visitors with 7,495 being foreigners. The Elmina Castle on the other hand had 22,187 visitors as compared to 17,091 visitors in 1993 among whom 24.8 per cent were foreigners (Bruner 1996). Tours and programmes of the Elmina Castle centre on the horrors of the Slave Trade within the castle, as evidenced by dungeons and condemned cells. Consequently, about half of all foreign visitors to the castles are Africans from the diaspora and from West African countries.

According to tour guides at the Larabanga Mosque in the Northern Region, although the actual date when the mosque was constructed is unknown, the mosque was



functioning by 1421 and was associated with an emissary from Saudi Arabia. Irrespective of its status as a holy shrine of Muslims, the mosque is visited regularly by different groups of foreigners each year due to mainly its architectural design. The visitors' books for 1999 and 2000 indicate comparatively low attendance by Ghanaians. This may be due to the location of and difficult access to the place.

Among the nature monuments, the Mole National Park in northern Ghana and the Kakum Rain Forest in the Central Region are very attractive to foreign tourists. The Mole National Park in particular appears to be patronised by mostly foreigners who usually stay overnight to partake in safaris. As intimated by several tourists questioned, the park is attractive to international tourists because wildlife is easily observable as compared to other game reserves in Africa. Unlike Mole, the Kakum Rain Forest receives many Ghanaians as well as foreigners not only because of its flora but also due to a walk on a seven-segment suspended bridge above the canopy of a dense forest.

Information on tours of Asante traditional buildings was not obtained.

2.4: Summary

The discussions above indicate that the existence and popularity of Ghanaian museums and monuments since the last decade can be accounted for by the need to create centres for an increasing tourist market in the country. This was fostered by assistance provided by foreign donor agencies towards the restoration and rehabilitation of the museums and monuments. The structure and functions of the museums and monuments may thus be influenced partly by their external sources of finance and tourism.

Much as the museums and monuments are visited each year by different categories of tourists, there are major differences in their programmes and activities, which influence the compositions of their target groups of visitors. In the Ghanaian government's bid to attract international tourists, the forts, castles and museums of Cape Coast and Elmina emphasise the Slave Trade and hence target Africans in the diaspora and people who are generally sympathetic to the woes of the Slave Trade. The National Museum may also begin to receive more of such visitors by shifting its focus to the Slave Trade. Other museums and monuments, on the other hand, have a broad target group of people who desire to know more about other aspects of the culture and environment of Ghanaians aside the legacy of slavery.

Probably due to lack of funding and personnel, and to administrative problems, exhibitions and other programmes of the various museums and monuments, with the exception of the National Museum, seem to be static with little or no alterations in exhibits and interpretation. Most of the museums and monuments have not yet attained international standards in terms of environmental conditions, services and access. Nonetheless, programmes offered at these places should educate the general public about the cultural heritage of Ghanaians and other peoples of the world, heighten dialogue between citizens of different nations and ultimately lead to understanding and cooperation among them.

MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS IN GHANA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

3.1: Introduction

The history of museums and monuments in Ghana (Duah 2000, Anquandah 1999, 1997, DeCorse 1993, 1992, van Dantzig 1980) suggests that museums and monuments are channels through which Ghana was initiated into the international system of sovereign states and through which the nation's economic, political and social structures were partly shaped. Since the 15th century when the Elmina Castle was constructed, forts and castles built along the coast of Ghana in particular became part of the history of European expansion overseas (van Dantzig 1980). They served as administrative headquarters of major European companies, religious missions and governments and as centres where different kinds of international transactions were conducted between native peoples of the geopolitical area now called Ghana and different groups of European merchants, missionaries and state officials. In fact, the territorial jurisdiction of the foreign concerns operating along the coast of Ghana were restricted to the forts and castles, which were well protected and often the target of inter-state arms conflict (van Dantzig 1980). Successive governments and peoples of Ghana have also used some of them for administrative purposes. The Christiansborg Castle, for example, is still the seat of the government of Ghana.

Transactions in the forts and castles in European imports and primary export products, including gold and slaves, for example, generated foreign income for the natives and brought prosperity to the Europeans. Active native participation in the

construction of the forts and castles and in domestic, commercial, social and religious activities within them initiated different kinds of interpersonal and socio-economic relationships between the natives and Europeans. Such relationships influenced alterations in many aspects of the cultural behaviour of Ghanaians. Townships were, for example, created by fort and castle workers at many places in Ghana such as Osu, James Town, Keta, Ningo, Elmina, Cape Coast, Abandze and Kromantin. Many early natives received formal and informal European education, while others were converted to Christianity and European values in the castles.

The design of forts and castles along the coast, and income generated by the Asante and other powerful native kingdoms that conducted business along the coast probably influenced, in part, the construction and design of many traditional Asante buildings that have become World Heritage Monuments. According to informants, the original structure of the fort that currently houses the Armed Forces Museum in Kumasi, for example, was built by Nana Kwame Osei Bonsu (Osei Tutu I), the then Asante King, after visiting the Elmina Castle whose architecture he admired. The construction was undertaken with material and technical assistance from the Dutch who were 'friends of the king'.

The recognition of Ghana's forts and castles and Asante traditional buildings by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites brings these monuments into global focus. This recognition could be seen as rendering the monuments properties not only of Ghana but the world at large, with Ghana serving as custodian. Through the monuments, Ghana has become one of the few nations where the world community can be educated further about

the Slave Trade and aspects of the culture history of Africa. The monuments also make Ghana an active partner of UNESCO.

The National Museum has also been an important link between Ghana and the international community of states. It is a prominent symbol of Ghana's sovereignty, and serves as the main forum where foreigners can decode a gist of the country's culture history from exhibited materials, and where friendly relations between Ghana and other nations are usually expressed by visiting international dignitaries. In recent times, the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park has complemented the National Museum, as another medium through which friendly relations between Ghana and other nations are expressed. It is common for foreign dignitaries who cherish Kwame Nkrumah's ideals and quest for international peace and harmony, and whose respect for Ghana is associated with Nkrumah to lay wreaths on Nkrumah's tomb and tour the Park Museum that exhibits collections of Nkrumah's books and few of his property. Other museums link the nation to the world indirectly and passively through the knowledge they impart to individual foreign tourists.

It can thus be said that museums and monuments have since their establishment been closely associated with different sectors of Ghana's foreign relations. Specific ways in which the new roles they perform in tourism since the 1990s affect the country's international finance, race relations, PanAfricanism and antiquity laws are discussed below.

3.2: International Finance

Through their association with tourism, museums and monuments have contributed to the inflow of foreign exchange into Ghana, as a non-traditional economic sector. This was made possible through, first, an increase in financial and technical assistance by the several international bodies that were associated with the restoration and development of museums and monuments in the country. Differential fees collected in foreign exchange at the museums and monuments are secondary sources of additional foreign exchange, no matter how little. Although records of actual grant amounts, fees and values of technical assistance were not available to me, the relatively high and increasing foreign exchange earnings of the tourist industry over the past decade partly reflect the contribution of the museums and monuments. The earnings have increased from about 80 million US dollars in 1990 to about 300 million US dollars in 1999⁵.

3.3: Museum and Monument Tours and Race Relations

Through tourism, Ghanaian museums and monuments have become instruments that enhance understanding and friendship between Ghanaians and foreigners and promote racial harmony, an important contributor to world peace. To a large extent, tours of the museums and monuments provide foreign visitors the opportunity to understand and appreciate aspects of the culture of Ghanaians whose material correlates are conserved and exhibited. As intimated by tour guides at Larabanga, visits of European tourists to the Larabanga Mosque and the occasional participation of Muslims among them in worship and prayer at the mosque "bring Whites closer to the local people". Friendly and cooperative interaction between Ghanaians and foreigners is exemplified by numerous

⁵ "Tourism Statistical Facts Sheet on Ghana", prepared by the Ghana Tourist Board, 1999.

instances in which foreign citizens have provided development assistance to rural Ghanaian communities and have been installed development chiefs

Knowledge obtained by many non-Africans after touring Cape Coast and Elmina Castles in particular awakens them to the injustice and cruelty of the Slave Trade and the need to eschew injustice across the world. This awakening is expressed in several comments recorded by foreign tourists in visitors' books of the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles from 1990 through 1999, a few of which are quoted below:

- a) "Black page in Dutch history" (Dutch, 27th April 1991, Cape Coast Castle)
- b) "Hearing is one thing, seeing is another. This is a vivid history of the slave trade. How can human beings ever do something like this?" (Chinese, 24th Sept. 1991, Cape Coast Castle)
- c) "The castles should serve as a monument to the enslaved and tortured people throughout the world, today and in history. May it serve to remind us of barbarity of racism and teach us to live with respect for one another in peace" (British, 14th June, 1996)
- d) "Today, I sincerely want to apologise for what my Dutch forefathers have been doing to the Ghanaian slaves. I feel very ashamed about it. God bless us all" (Dutch, 21st Nov. 1996, Cape Coast Castle).
- e) "This place is a unique memorial for what humans can do to other humans - Let us remember this Lesson of History" (German, 24th March, 2000)
- f) "It was a very interesting visit to try to understand what happened in the past regarding how we treated people. Unfortunately this is still existing now in the world" (French, 5th Aug. 00, Cape Coast Castle)

Another important derivation from the link between the country's museums and monuments and tourism has been the development and improvement in relations between Ghana and other peoples of African descent, including citizens of non-African states such as African-Americans and other diaspora Africans. Because forts and castles, particularly the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, were actively used in the Slave Trade

(De Corse 1992, 1993) and remain direct symbols of this trade, they are highly attractive to diaspora Africans especially (Bruner 1996). The participation of many of them in naming ceremonies and other rituals at the castles and comments recorded by them reveal, as observed by Bruner (1996), that most of these tourists regard the castles as sacred sites for spiritual development, self-realisation and for reconnecting to Africa, their ancestral home. Examples of the recorded comments include the following:

- a) "This is not a tourist centre only but a place for African-Americans to reconnect with their past. It is a sacred place." (African-American, 8th Jan. 2000)
- b) "This was the missing link of my struggle to find my ancestors. I hope to deliver this message to my US brothers and sisters. Thank you (African-American, 8th Sept 2000).

The Cape Coast and Elmina Castles thus serve as symbols of the emancipation of diaspora Africans and baits that draw many of them to Ghana. In recent years, scores of diaspora Africans participating in the Pan African Historical Festival (PANAFEST) and Emancipation Day celebrations have visited the castles on pilgrimage. Many have relocated to Ghana and formed a number of organisations⁶, including the African American Association of Ghana, the One Africa Production, the Afrikan World Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission (AWRRTC) and the Fihankra group that lobby for dual citizenship for all diaspora Africans and promote PanAfricanism in the country. A result of the activities of the above organizations and other groups is the passing of Immigration Bill 573 by the Parliament of Ghana to offer dual citizenship to diaspora Africans who desire to relocate to Ghana. The Bill is yet to be signed into law by the President of Ghana.

⁶The AWRRTC and the African America Association operate from the Du Bois Centre, Accra, while the One Africa Productions is based at Cape Coast. The Fihankra group has its headquarters at Osu, Accra.

Assin Manso has created another sacred monument, in addition to the tomb of W B Du Bois that mark the 'home-coming' of diaspora Africans and African unity in general. Special ceremonies are organized for visiting African Americans, Ghanaians and other African tourists during Emancipation Day celebrations at these monuments to rekindle the spirit of PanAfricanism.

Contrary to the relative racial and international harmony that is realisable from the museum and monument tours, however, a number of discords emerge from the tours by foreigners that have racist undertones and could escalate and jeopardise Ghana's relations with some countries. One of the main areas of conflict is the payment of differential fees by foreigners. According to officials of the GMMB, the comparatively lower standard of living of Ghanaians and the need to maintain the monuments and their staff were taken into account when the fees were fixed. The fees are thus in the interest of the sustenance of programmes of the monuments. Be that as it may, many foreign tourists regard the higher fees payable by them as a mark of discrimination against them in a modern world in which attempts are being made to minimise national and racial differences. While Europeans (whites) see the fees as a form of racial discrimination, diaspora Africans regard them as a phenomenon that alienates them from their ancestral home. The foreign tourists hence object to these fees strongly and express their dissent in written comments such as

- a) "This is a nice place but why do we foreigners have to pay more than Ghanaians. If we do this in Europe, they (Ghanaians) call me a racist. Please do something about this form of discrimination." (Dutch, 25th Dec. 1994).
- b) "It is not right for that me a slave descendant should have to pay money to see where my ancestors were captured" (African-American, 25th Dec. 1994).

- c) "Having to pay roughly 30 times the entrance fee Ghanaians pay for me is a reason not to visit the castle" (Unknown, 5th Sept 2000)

Another area of tension that threatens to cloud racial harmony concerns reactions of some diaspora Africans and Ghanaians against Europeans (whites) Bruner (1996) observed that the emphasis on dungeons and the Slave Trade at the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles calls attention to European whites as oppressors and diaspora Africans as victims In the assessment of Ms. Fredricka Rhule, a tour guide at the Cape Coast Castle, many diaspora Africans and Ghanaians arrive at the castle with little knowledge of the Slave Trade and upon seeing the evidence of this trade live become emotional and aggressive towards whites This situation has resulted in verbal and physical assaults on a number of European tourists A prominent African American was, for example, said to have referred to a European architect working on the restoration of the castles during a conference in 1994 as a "white slave master", while a diaspora African physically attacked a Dutch tourist after visiting the dungeons.

Besides diaspora Africans, Ghanaians and other African nationals have also expressed anger and hatred against whites in various forms due to information they obtained from tours of the castles about slavery A Ghanaian lady was, for example, reported to have expressed her preparedness to strangle a white person after participating in one of the dramatic programmes of the Cape Coast Castle that took her through the dungeons (Bruner 1996) According to the Librarian and a Senior Tour Guide at the Cape Coast Castle, many blacks, including Ghanaians and other Africans, would not mix and interact with whites after touring the castle. Such feelings of hatred aroused in blacks by tours of the castle against whites have necessitated the separation of blacks from

whites during tours of the castle. Remarks written by some African visitors to the castles also point to the occurrence of racial tension (see below).

- a) "The white men should compensate us for doing this harm to us" (Ghanaian, 3rd March, 1997)
- b) "After this tour we can say let's forgive them, but not forget! However white people should pay more because of their responsibility in this shameful trade" (Burkinabe, 7th June, 2000).

Resentment of foreigners who tour the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles also occurs among citizens of Cape Coast and Elmina, as many of them feel alienated from the castles through entrance fees, which they cannot afford, and through security restrictions. In a bid to protect foreign tourists from harassment by local people who demand gifts from the tourists, and to maintain a relatively clean environment around and within the castles, the GMMB has restricted hawkers and other members of the local Fanti community from wandering into the castles. At the entrance of the Elmina Castle, for instance, is the inscription "THIS AREA IS RESTRICTED TO ALL PERSONS EXCEPT TOURISTS". The local Fanti could thus enter the castle only as tourists after paying the appropriate fees. Although the reasons for this policy sound valid, a number of local people I interviewed at Elmina and Cape Coast remarked that the restriction is a form of discrimination against them by their own nation, as they are the owners of lands on which the castles were built.

3.4: Tourism and Ghana's Antiquity Laws

Laws that regulate the export of antiquities from Ghana are spelt out in the National Museum Regulation 1973, which was drawn up by the GMMB in pursuance of NLC

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Decree 387 of 1969, Article 30 of the Regulation defines an antiquity as "certain immovables as well as any work of art or craft, including, modelled clay figure, cast or wrought iron metal carving, housepost, door, ancestral figure, religious mask, staff, drum, bowl, ornament, utensil, weapon, armour, regalia, manuscript or document, if it is of indigenous origin, made before 1900 or if it is of historical artistic or scientific interest and is or was used in the performance of any traditional ceremony". Article 1 of the Regulation prohibits the export of an antiquity without a permit issued by the GMMB. Prior to adopting tourism as a major aspect of its programmes, the GMMB had been implementing the Regulation strictly. It issued permits to exporters of antiquities and licenses to dealers in antiquities.

With the involvement of museums and monuments in tourism and the increase in the number of tourists arriving in and departing from the country, however, it has been difficult for the GMMB to implement the Regulation. Apart from the lack of sufficient personnel, finance and logistics, the removal of permits and licenses on non-traditional exports by the Ministry of Trade with the influence of the Ghana Export Promotion Council has made the situation worse. Apparently, the removal of export controls on non-traditional exports was done to take advantage of the tourist market and generate additional income for the nation. Nevertheless, as the definition of non-traditional export is vague, the measure has made it impossible for the GMMB to challenge the export of antiquities. The result is an increase in the illegal trafficking of antiquities and the export of much of Ghana's cultural property, contrary to international antiquity laws (Prot and O'Keefe 1998), as reported by the Director of the GMMB. Considerations of

The Decree is published in the UNESCO Compendium of Legislative Texts, on The Protection of Movable Cultural Property, vol II, 1977

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the economic benefits of the export of cultural property have also prevented the ratification by Ghana of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of the Prohibiting and Preventing of Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970). Ghana is thus unable to seek international assistance in the restitution or return of exported cultural property and this threatens to devalue the cultural heritage of Ghanaians ⁴

⁴This observation was made by the Director of the GMMB in a paper he presented at the First Seminar for Managers of Culture and Natural Heritage Protecting Cultural Property, Dakar, 1998

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The discussion in the previous chapters sought to describe and explain the nature of the relationship between museums, monuments and international tourism in Ghana, and how this relationship affects the country's performance in the international system. It was based mainly on qualitative data gathered from oral sources, unpublished annual reports of the GMMB, and a few publications. Evidence to support some observations made in the discussion are, thus, circumstantial, and the discussion by no means embraces all variables relevant to the subject matter. Also, for the same reasons, some issues may not have been addressed thoroughly and others may have been glossed over. Nevertheless, the results of the study should stimulate further research into the subject matter of the discussion, while educating Ghanaian bureaucrats and international agencies about how tours of Ghana's museums and monuments by foreign visitors affect the country's foreign relations.

The findings of the study suggest that the establishment of most museums and monuments in Ghana was directly linked to the formation of the state of Ghana. With the exception of the museums, the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, the tomb of Du Bois and the tombs of former slaves at Assin Manso, which were deliberately built to commemorate important aspects of Ghanaian history, the country's monuments had served various functions and only became monuments long after their earlier functions. Their designation as monuments was due largely to their constructional design and the types of use to which they were put.

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Irrespective of when, and for what purpose, they were established, all the museums and monuments have remained in the service of the nation, as vehicles of communication through which different kinds of messages about the culture and history of Ghana are packaged and transmitted to the general public. They have directly and indirectly been associated with Ghana's performance in the international system of state and non-state actors. Specific ways in which they impact on Ghana's foreign relations vary, however, in relation to the particular purpose for which they were established, and the specific programmes and services they offer. In general, however, the functioning of all museums and monuments in the country during the last decade has been influenced by international tourism, as their programmes and services were altered and targeted at mainly international tourists.

4.1: Effects of Tour Programmes on Ghana's Foreign Relations

Programmes offered by museums and monuments in Ghana in the 1990s to boost tourism, including exhibitions, tours, workshops and seminars can be grouped into two main categories. These are programmes that inform on the culture and history of Ghana, and those that focus on the Slave Trade.

With the exception of the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, programmes of all the museums and monuments dwell heavily on core elements of the culture and history of Ghana beyond the Slave Trade, and are targeted at the general public. Information about Ghanaian traditional political, economic and religious systems, peacekeeping activities and early forms of interaction between Ghanaians and foreigners, for example, stimulate deeper understanding by foreigners of poorly known aspects of the culture of Ghana and

enhance friendly and peaceful coexistence between Ghana and foreign nations. To date, no discord between Ghanaians and foreign visitors has been attributed to the above category of museum and monument programmes. The peaceful atmosphere created by these programmes probably accounts for why the Larabanga Mosque, the National Museum, the Armed Forces Museum, the Asante Regional Museum and the Manhyia Palace Museum are toured by a cross-section of foreigners, as compared to the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles

The second category of programmes, which emphasises the negative effects of the Slave Trade is promoted specifically at the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and, recently, at the National Museum. Although much of the history of these castles concerns the Slave Trade, the emphasis on this trade glosses over other functions the castles serve. As a result of this emphasis, the target group of the programmes has been mainly diaspora Africans and Europeans who are inquisitive about the Slave Trade. The programmes play on the emotions of many diaspora African tourists, which are manifested variously. First, the relocation of an increasing number of diaspora Africans to Ghana in recent times is partly attributable to the programmes. Second, the demand by groups of diaspora Africans for dual citizenship in Ghana has been stimulated by their recognition of the castles and museum exhibitions on slavery as direct evidence of their ancestry. The passing of Immigration Bill 573 by the Parliament of Ghana could also be seen as deriving from tours of museums and monuments that commemorate the Slave Trade. If signed into law, the Bill would be a major alteration in the foreign policy of Ghana towards diaspora Africans, and would make Ghana one of the first African nations to initiate reconciliation between diaspora Africans and Africans on the African continent.

Coast and Elmina Castles have influenced Ghana's international standing is the adoption of Ghana as the centre of the call by the AWRRTC for reparations to Africa from European nations that partook of the Slave Trade. Although this call is controversial and has not yet been backed by the Government of Ghana, it adds to the passing of Immigration Bill 573 to buttress Ghana's position as a key player in PanAfricanism and the quest for global justice and peace. The Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park, its museum and mausoleum and the tomb of Du Bois also attract many PanAfricanist leaders and heads of state who visit Ghana.

It is observed, however, that in spite of their role in generating positive interactions between Ghana and diaspora Africans, the Slave Trade programmes are a major source of tension that could defeat the goals of tourism in Ghana and Ghana's foreign policy. Differences in meanings attached to Ghana's forts and castles by diaspora Africans as a result of the former's programme focus, and by Ghana itself are among the sources of tension. While Ghana is concerned with mainly the exploitation of the relationship between the forts and castles and the slave trade for purely economic reasons, the diaspora Africans attach sentimental and emotional value to these monuments and regard them as sacred shrines that should be preserved as they are. In this regard, there is a clash of interest between Ghana and groups of diaspora Africans.

As indicated in Chapter Three, four programmes of the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles also promote racial tension between diaspora Africans and Europeans in particular. This tension has not yet caused major confrontations and may appear to be minor, but it has the potential of damaging Ghana's international image, as it could flare

up into major discords if a foreign national should get hurt in Ghana. The current practice of separating Africans from Europeans during tours of the Castles is a reflection of the nature of the tension, and is not healthy for global peace and harmony

The perpetuation of racial tension at the castles could eventually restrict tours of those centres to diaspora Africans, as the majority of European tourists may not be inclined to visit them. Should this happen, the value of the castles, the market for the overall tour programmes and the total income realisable by Ghana from those centres would decrease considerably. In addition, the purpose of the castles as World Heritage sites that foster education, peace and harmony globally would be defeated.

Although the programmes of Ghana's museums and monuments are generally meant to attract international tourists, they are generally static with little or no changes over the period under study. The exhibitions, documentary films, interpretations and tour programmes of most of the museums and monuments have remained the same over the decade, and have become monotonous. This could discourage repeats of tours by some foreign visitors.

Services associated with the tourism programmes of the museums and monuments are also problematic and could deter potential tourists. Apart from the fact that access routes to most of the museums and monuments are relatively poor, many of these centres lack vital facilities such as decent toilets, affordable accommodation and food and refreshments. Hotel accommodation and food in the cities and towns where the museums and monuments are found are quite expensive, yet the performance and attitudes of most staff of the hospitality industry are not professional. Many of the tourists interviewed

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The payment by foreigners of higher entrance fees than Ghanaians at the museums and monuments also has a negative effect on the perception of Ghana by foreign tourists. As explained earlier, foreigners see Ghana as a nation that discriminates against them by imposing the higher fees on them, while its nationals pay much lower fees.

4.2: Variables Influencing Harmony and Conflict

In spite of problems associated with the involvement of museums and monuments in tourism, it can be asserted that tours of Ghana's museums and monuments by foreign visitors are potentially useful to Ghana's foreign relations, as there has not been any major confrontation or discord that could affect Ghana's international image. The relative success of the link between museums, monuments and tourism could be attributed partly to an atmosphere of tolerance created in the country by the adoption of a new paradigm of economic and political development. This paradigm, which is characterised by free market economic and liberal political dispensations (Appiah 1998), has resulted in stability and relative peace in the country and encourages the influx of foreign tourists. Tourist arrivals in the country have also been enhanced by improved communication and transportation networks between Ghana and foreign nations.

Problems associated with the tourism programmes of the museums and monuments are due partly to the fact that tourism is a relatively new industry in Ghana and has not yet attained international standards. There is yet to be a clearly defined

tourism policy by the GMMB for the participation of the country's museums and monuments in tourism; the current programmes, therefore, appear to be impulsive, spontaneous and unplanned. Many tour promoters whose clients visit the museums and monuments have little training and experience in tourism, and are not well informed about the museums and monuments. In order to sustain and develop museum and monument tourism in the country as a means of improving Ghana's performance in the international system, a number of important issues that could threaten the success of the tour programmes have to be addressed.

4.3: Improving Ghana's Foreign Relations Through International Tourism

The following suggestions are intended to help improve tour programmes and services of museums and monuments in Ghana in order to maximise their roles in the country's foreign relations.

- a) The GMMB in conjunction with its affiliate bodies should embark upon intensive and extensive research into the cultural heritage of Ghana so as to acquire additional materials for exhibition. The results of such research should be made available to tour guides of the board to enable them provide a detailed account of the cultural heritage of Ghanaians.

- b) The GMMB should train additional tour guides and other staff and motivate them adequately with improved conditions of service to cater for the increasing numbers of tourists. This training should be formal and specialised, and take place at institutions

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whose academic programmes cover tourism at museum, monuments and other heritage sites. So far, most tour guides of the GMMB are National Service Personnel who have little knowledge and experience in museum and monument tourism, and although the Department of Geography and Tourism at the University of Cape Coast trains graduates in tourism, none of these graduates works as a tour guide.

- c) Exhibitions and other programmes of the museums and monuments should be varied from time to time in order to limit monotony. The documentary films shown at the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles and at the Manhyia Place Museum, for example, could be changed, or new ones with broader scopes could be added. The provision of two separate video rooms with different foci would be useful in creating options for the varied groups of tourists.

- d) Existing libraries at the Cape Coast Castle and the National Museum should be developed and new libraries should be created at other museums and monuments. The libraries should be furnished with a variety of books that relate to the programme focus of the museums and monuments.

- e) Tour programmes of the museums and monuments should include community programmes such as walking tours of the towns and cities in which the museums and monuments are found. This would foster interactions between tourists and members of the local communities and give tourists a broader framework for understanding information obtained from the museum and monuments. The addition of community

programmes to the tour packages is very important, as the museums and monuments have close historical ties with the communities.

- f) Other monuments besides forts and castle and Asante traditional buildings should be developed into tourist centers. Natural monuments, as well as historic sites across the country should be identified and included into the tourism programme of the GMMB.

The implementation of the above suggestions by the GMMB depends on the availability of financial and technical resources. The rationale, however, is to broaden the scope of tourism programmes and services of Ghana's museums and monuments to capture much of the country's cultural heritage.

Based on the overall discussion of information available for this study, it can be asserted that the use of museums and monuments to educate foreigners about core elements of the culture of Ghanaians and the totality of Ghana's history enhances the country's relations with other nations and promotes global peace and harmony. Although the current focus on the Slave Trade is economically beneficial to the country in the short-run, and has been a means of promoting PanAfricanism, it is associated with various problems that could weaken the tourist industry in Ghana and Ghana's relations with other nations. A review and alterations of the programmes and services offered by the museums and monuments of Ghana over the past decade should remedy many of the limitations of the museum and monument tours in Ghana.

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APPENDIX I

Appendix Ia.: Unstructured Questions Administered to Tourists

1. Name
2. Country of Origin
3. Occupation
4. Date of Arrival
5. Duration of Visit to Ghana
6. Purpose of Visit
7. Which Tour Centres have you visited ?
8. What are your views about these centers with regards to
 - a) Services provided
 - b) Programmes (exhibitions, tours etc)
9. Which other tour centers are you likely to visit ?
10. How did you know about these centers ?
11. Why did you decide to visit these centers in particular
12. What were your major concerns at the centers ?
13. What changes would you like to suggest ?

Appendix Ib.: Unstructured Questions Administered to Tour Guides

1. Name
2. How did you become a Tour Guide ?
3. For how Long have you been a Tour Guide?

4. How many Tour Centres have you visited with tourists?
5. What are your observations with regards to:
 - a) Services provided
 - b) Programmes (exhibitions, tours etc)
 - c) Interactions between different groups of Tourists
6. Which Tour Centres are most preferred by Tourists you have dealt with, and why?
7. What are the most common concerns of Tourists you have dealt with ?
8. What changes would you suggest with regards to programmes and services provided at the tour centers ?

