

Faisal Mohammed

**THE RICHER THE BETTER: RETHINKING HERITAGE
INTERPRETATION IN THE TENGZUG CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
IN GHANA**

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Central European University

Budapest

June 2017

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by

Faisal Mohammed

(Ghana)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Faisal Mohammed**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

Interpretation of cultural landscapes offers tourists opportunities to absorb the nuances of heritage values both intellectually and physically, which also increases understanding and appreciation in the process. Interpretation of cultural landscapes is successful, all-encompassing, and meaningful when opportunities are negotiated through continued refining of diverse approaches that cater for the complexities and dynamism of specific cultural landscapes. Thus, communicating multifaceted heritage values is not, cannot, and should not be limited to a single communication channel, especially when the cultural landscape is in continual evolution. Yet, the Tengzug cultural landscape which I focus on in this case study, still favours monolithic ways of communicating its complex heritage values to tourists. The opportunities in the existing tourism initiative are rarely given attention, which, in effect, is gradually decreasing tourism potential. It is against this backdrop that this study aims to explore the present perceptions and experiences of stakeholders and contrast them with opportunities in an interdisciplinary framework mainly informed by heritage studies and landscape biography, in order to offer a more attractive and complex understanding of the characteristics of the Tengzug cultural landscape.

The main methods of this study were semi-structured interviews and surveys, and they were analysed thematically and descriptively. The results of the study confirm the existence of potential opportunities in other forms of communication, including traditional knowledge systems, to enrich the existing interpretation. They also indicate that heritage interpretation in Tengzug needs to incorporate varied perspectives both within the landscape and from cultural heritage institutions in order to ensure attractive and complex heritage interpretation. The outcome of this study is a proposed interpretation plan devised on the basis of local experience and practice, enriched by new methodologies developed by heritage studies for all the stakeholders.

Acknowledgements

I thank the almighty God and my Ancestors for the gift of life and protection throughout my studies in Europe, particularly at CEU. A special thanks to Fabiola Mamle Opare-Darko, Georgina Boateng, and Davies Opare-Darko for the constant love and support. Auntie Fab! All I can say is God richly bless you for your good deeds and being such a wonderful mom. I am thankful to my brothers, Ishmael Mohammed, Yunuss Mohammed, Fauzan Mohammed for their selfless support and understanding. To my friend and brother, Bright Obiarabewu, I say thank you and we shall get there!

I thank Professor Benjamin Kankpeyeng, Gertrude Aba Mansah Eyifa-Dzidzienyo and Malik Saako Mohammed for their support during my field research in Ghana. I thank Prisca Na'ambome Yenzie for her time and support in Bolgatanga and the long motor rides to visit informants. I thank the staff of Upper East Regional Museum. I am grateful for your kind gestures and hospitality. I also thank Auntie Lariba and James Papafio for their relentless support during my internship in Bolgatanga.

I thank all the tour guides of Tengzug. Your help really contributed a lot to this study. Thank you, Francis Yin, for all your time and generosity. I thank Hanson for accommodating me in his house during my stay in Tengzug. I also thank Chief John Bawa Zuure and people of Tengzug for allowing me to research in their community. Their generosity is very much appreciated.

I am very grateful to my supervisor Catherine Szanto for her invaluable time put into reading and guiding this thesis. I am grateful to József Laszlovszky and Alice Choyke for their advice and time put into guiding this study. I thank the faculty and staff of department of medieval studies. Finally, I thank my colleagues and friends. Thank you all.

Table of contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| Research methodology | 3 |
| <i>Landscape biography.....</i> | <i>3</i> |
| <i>Interviews and participant observation</i> | <i>4</i> |
| <i>Surveys</i> | <i>5</i> |
| CHAPTER 1 - LANDSCAPE BIOGRAPHY OF THE TENGZUG CULTURAL LANDSCAPE..... | 7 |
| CHAPTER 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION.. | 18 |
| 2.1 Presenting the Tengzug cultural landscape by heritage professionals | 18 |
| 2.2.1 Background information about tour guides. | 18 |
| 2.2.2 Tourist arrivals | 19 |
| 2.2.3 Guided tour trail..... | 20 |
| Site 1: Model house..... | 21 |
| Site 2: Cave school (Bamihug veug)..... | 23 |
| Site 3: Hiding Cave (Kpelin-ni) | 24 |
| Site 4: Hyena Cave (Gbegbeya Veug) | 24 |
| Site 5: Chief’s homestead..... | 26 |
| Site 6: Wuling-ni (a cliff) | 27 |
| Site 7: Tonna’ab Shrine “Caretaker’s” house..... | 28 |
| Site 8: Donkey Cave (Bohi Veug)..... | 29 |
| Site 9: Tonna’ab shrine (Earth Shrine)..... | 30 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| CHAPTER 3 – THE PERFORMANCE OF HERITAGE INTERPRETATION IN GHANA | 33 |
| 3.1 The Ghana National Museum..... | 33 |
| 3.2 The Upper East Regional Museum, Bolgatanga | 35 |
| 3.3 The introduction of Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) in the Tengzug cultural landscape. | 37 |
| 3.4 The CBE Development Activities in Tengzug | 38 |
| 3.5 Tourists in Ghana. | 40 |
| 3.6 Tourists’ profile in the Tengzug cultural landscape. | 40 |
| 3.6.2 The tourist experience and expectations in Tengzug | 42 |
| 3.6.2 Descriptive summary of tourist expectations | 43 |
| 3.6.3 Potential experiential activities | 44 |
| 3.7 Conclusion | 45 |
| CHAPTER 4 -THE SITUATION IN THE TENGZUG CULTURAL LANDSCAPE | 47 |
| 4.1 Discussion | 49 |
| 4.1.2 <i>Perspective on labour conditions for tour guides</i> | 49 |
| 4.1.3 <i>Local tour guides’ perspectives on heritage values.</i> | 50 |
| 4.2 Frameworks for Interpretation | 51 |
| 4.2.1 <i>Conventional interpretation</i> | 51 |
| 4.2.2 <i>Evaluation of the CBE conventional tour interpretation</i> | 51 |
| 4.3 The CBE impacts in Tengzug | 52 |
| 4.3.1 <i>“Musealizing the Landscape”</i> | 52 |
| 4.3.2 <i>Parallel tour guiding</i> | 53 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 4.4 The alternative tour | 54 |
| 4.5 Potential socio-economic challenges in Tengzug | 55 |
| 4.6 Conclusion | 56 |
| CHAPTER 5- TOWARDS AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING INTERPRETATION FRAMEWORK AT THE TENZUG HERITAGE SITE. | 58 |
| 5.1 The Ename charter | 58 |
| 5.2 Making the Ename charter useful at the Tengzug cultural heritage site..... | 59 |
| 5.2.1 Example of good practice of co-existence interpretation | 61 |
| 5.2.2 The Sukur cultural landscape | 61 |
| CHAPTER 6: PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERPRETATION PLAN | 64 |
| 6.1 Interpretation Principles for Tengzug | 65 |
| 6.2 Commencement of the tourism experience..... | 67 |
| 6.3 The thematic framework..... | 68 |
| 6.4. Table 11. Interpreting the Themes | 69 |
| 6.5 Traditional Knowledge as new interpretive media for a Tengzug tourism initiative | 72 |
| 6.6 Table 12. Proposal for interpretive infrastructure restructuring..... | 73 |
| 6.7 Proposal for interpretation sites | 74 |
| CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION | 75 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Table 1. LANDSCAPE BIOGRAPHY..... | 10 |
| Table 2 General objectives for ecotourism. | 39 |
| Table 3. Age distribution of respondents | 41 |
| Table 4. Descriptive information on tourist profiles..... | 41 |
| Table 5. Tourist profile from Blogposts | 42 |
| Table 6. Descriptive summary of tourist experiences..... | 44 |
| Table 7. Showing results of potential experiential activities. | 45 |
| Table 8. Summary of discussion with local tour guides | 47 |
| Table 9. Assessing the Ename charter for interpretation opportunities and challenges. | 60 |
| Table 10. Interpretation principles for Tengzug. | 65 |
| 6.4. Table 11. Interpreting the themes | 69 |
| 6.6 Table 12. Proposal for interpretive infrastructure restructuring | 73 |
| Table 13. Proposed interpretation sites..... | 74 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Figure 1. Map of Ghana | 9 |
| Figure 2. Location of Tengzug..... | 9 |
| Figure 3. Grinding hollows in rock surfaces for shelling shea nuts in Bonchiing..... | 13 |
| Figure 4. Granite rocks scattered throughout the landscape | 14 |
| <i>Figure 5. Land cultivation in Tambog.</i> | <i>14</i> |
| Figure 6. Leather clothing worn by a shrine functionary..... | 15 |
| Figure 7. A historic baobab tree in Tambog | 15 |
| Figure 8. Blacksmithing site in Sakpee..... | 16 |
| Figure 9. Transition from a clay and thatch multi-courtyard homestead to contemporary cement block houses, as indicated by the arrow, in Tambog village | 16 |
| Figure 10. Tengzug cultural landscape. Insert in top left is Talensi-Nabdam administrative district | 17 |
| Figure 11. Google image of the Tengzug hills | 17 |
| Figure 12. Tourist information centre..... | 19 |
| Figure 13. Inside tourist information Centre..... | 20 |
| Figure 14. Pattern of the guided tour | 21 |
| Figure 15 a. Model house..... | 22 |
| Figure 16b. Model house | 22 |
| Figure 17. Tour guide in front of Cave School with white board painted on the rock surface | 23 |
| Figure 18. Hiding Cave..... | 24 |
| <i>Figure 19. Hyena Cave</i> | <i>25</i> |
| Figure 20. Grinding hollows in part of a cave are used as a meeting area for traditional elders.. | 25 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Figure 21. Chief’s nucleated homestead and the ‘jawbones of sacrificed animals hanging from the special building | 26 |
| Figure 22. View of chief’s homestead | 27 |
| Figure 23. View from Wuling-ni | 28 |
| <i>Figure 24. Shrine Caretaker’s house</i> | <i>29</i> |
| <i>Figure 25. Donkey Cave</i> | <i>30</i> |
| <i>Figure 26a. traditional priest heading toward Tonna’ab shrine.....</i> | <i>31</i> |
| <i>Figure 27b. Author and shrine functionary outside the shrine.....</i> | <i>32</i> |
| Figure 28 A section of Sukur Cultural landscape. | 62 |
| Figure 29 Tengzug within the Nabdam Administrative region. | 84 |
| Figure 30. The current interpretation is centralized in Bonchiing. The numbers indicate site tail | 85 |
| Figure 31. Relevant but not featured sites and Proposed sites..... | 85 |

Introduction

*"Through interpretation, understanding;
Through understanding, appreciation;
Through appreciation, protection."
---Freeman Tilden*

Interpretation in its basic understanding means all the methods of presenting the value and significance of a heritage item through varied means.¹ This supports the widely understood claim that heritage interpretation is a communication process which is not limited to one method, but a range of approaches to enhance understanding. Therefore, it encourages the consistent refinement of effective means of making sense of a place.

Tengzug is an important Ghanaian cultural landscape with multi-layered values and dynamic culture which has special significance for many people, be it cultural, religious, aesthetic, or social. The landscape's religious importance, for example, has drawn pilgrims from far and wide and continues to inspire more visitation. Its tourism initiative inspires intellectual and physical access by tourists, which contributes to a different perspective on understanding heritage as a dynamic process that differs from a traditional museum view of heritage. However, the promotion of intellectual and physical access to the interpretation sites in this cultural landscape is negotiated through one channel – using standard tour guiding to interpret and present a single narrative of natural and historic sites associated with this dynamic landscape.

After visiting the site twice in (2008 and 2014) to receive the same unchanged story about this complex landscape as a local tourist and a dance practitioner, different questions emerged. What is the implication of having a monolithic interpretation in a dynamic cultural

¹ Elaine Lawson et al., *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines* (Parramatta, NSW: NSW Heritage Office, 2005).

landscape? How long can it maintain its attractiveness for diverse tourists or returning tourists? Especially taking a cue from the state museums, which are currently criticised for being unattractive and offering boring repetitive interpretation and presentation to communities.²

Although heritage interpretation in cultural landscapes in Ghana is relatively new in practice and yet to receive attention in heritage studies, the opportunities in heritage sites' interpretation remain less explored.³ Already heritage scholarships and field practices have acknowledged that it is only through varied communications of landscape characteristics that single-strand interpretation of historic and natural sites can be challenged to reveal further complexities at the site.⁴ Therefore, I was interested in how different methods may contribute to an informed and enriched understanding of the Tengzug cultural landscape. The study is also based on the conviction that the complexities of the Tengzug cultural landscape, which attract tourists who come with diverse cultural understandings and perspectives, requires a range of complex interpretation and communication tools for meaningful and effective tourist experiences in addition to the existing interpretation.⁵

The main aim of this study is to explore the existing perceptions and experience of the stakeholders and contrast them with good practices elsewhere in an interdisciplinary framework mainly informed by heritage studies and landscape biography. In reaching the aim of this study, the following questions are examined:

- What are the heritage values in the Tengzug cultural landscape?

² Arianna Fogelman, "Colonial Legacy in African Museology: The Case of the Ghana National Museum," *Museum Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (2008): 19–27, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1548-1379.2008.00002.x/full>.

³ Jasmine Foxlee, "Cultural Landscape Interpretation: The Case of Sorry Rock Story at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park," *Tourism Recreation Research* 32, no. 3 (2007): 49–56.

⁴ Foxlee, "Cultural Landscape Interpretation: The Case of Sorry Rock Story at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park."

⁵ Ibid.

- What are the existing and potential communication channels or media for interpreting the cultural landscape?
- Who are the tourists and what are their experiences and expectations’?
- What is the relationship between the Tengzug cultural landscape and the Upper East Regional museum in facilitating unified cooperation for complex heritage interpretation?

Research methodology

In searching for answers to the questions above, different methods were employed to inform the final aim of this study.

Landscape biography

In answering the questions, I used landscape biography as an innovative framework to structure the discussions of heritage values in the cultural landscape by synthesising information about the landscape from different academic disciplines. The framework requires continuous information about a cultural landscape from different eras to understand its development from original settlement to the present day.⁶ It also requires the use of historical summaries of the interplays between ecological dynamics and the social values that have shaped this cultural landscape. However, in using this framework, I deviate slightly from traditional methodology. Rather than describing a linear historical narrative of the Tengzug cultural landscape, I chose to discuss the cultural heritage values that have shaped and constantly recur in defining the Tengzug cultural landscape. The discussion highlights:

1. The Tengzug landscape’s physical characteristics

⁶ Nico Roymans et al., “Landscape Biography as Research Strategy: The Case of the South Netherlands Project,” *Landscape Research* 34, no. 3 (2009): 337–59, doi: 10.1080/01426390802381185.

2. The social ecology (social and cultural values); and
3. The identity associated with the landscape (place identity)

The outcome of this framework has informed a structured (and better) way of understanding the heritage values in the cultural landscape.

Interviews and participant observation

Due to the nature of this study and the limited research available, I adopted an exploratory research design to collect qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews were utilized to encourage informants to voice what they perceive as important.⁷ In total, 10 informants were interviewed. The breakdown includes 4 tour guides and 2 elders from the Tengzug cultural landscape, 2 informants from the Ghana Museums and Monument Board, and 2 professors from the Archaeology and Heritage Studies Department at the University of Ghana. Contents of the semi-structured interviews were thematically analysed. All interviews were conducted in English

Informants for interviews were purposefully selected based on their intimate knowledge and experience and as well their involvement (directly and indirectly) in the development of tourism in the Tengzug cultural landscape. Purposeful sampling is relevant for this study because it focuses on informants who have more intimate knowledge than others about the region.⁸

⁷ Anthony James Veal, *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide*, 3d ed. (Harlow: FT Prentice Hall, 2006); Kokel Melubo and Christine N. Buzinde, "An Exploration of Tourism Related Labour Conditions: The Case of Tour Guides in Tanzania," *Anatolia* 27, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 505–14, doi:10.1080/13032917.2016.1224976.

⁸ Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*.epub, 2007.

With the aim of getting accurate information about the existing tourism set up and routine work of tour guides I stayed in the community for 10 days to develop rapport with the local tour guides and familiarize myself with the community. Although I acknowledge myself as Ghanaian and a researcher with certain knowledge about the site, I made the effort not to influence all the tour guides routine interpretation and presentation. Therefore I assumed the role as a passive participant observer in order to assess the challenges and opportunities inherent to the tour guiding and presentation.⁹

Surveys

As part of the study, questionnaires were also designed for tourists to complete. Originally, my intention was to collect responses after tourists had completed their tour, but because of the absence of tourists during my 10 days stay in the community this was not possible. However, I left the questionnaires at the Visitor Centre in the care of tour guides for tourists to complete. Between July and October 2016, only 15 respondents managed to complete the survey. Upon analysing the field survey, I felt the responses were too few to draw statistically valuable conclusions so I combined information from the survey with information from the internet (blogs and reviews from Trip Advisor) to gain a more informed perspective on tourists' experiences. The surveys were descriptively analysed. The relatively small number of completed surveys reflects the tourism crisis that has affected the community.

In the absence of national interpretation principles to consult, I utilized the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites to inform the proposed interpretation principles at the Tenzug heritage site. In addition to the charter, Sukur World

⁹ P.A. Twumasi, *Social Research in Rural Communities*, 2nd ed. (Ghana Universities Press, 2001).

Heritage cultural landscape in Nigeria was used as good practice to gain ideas for highlighting opportunities for developing informed interpretation principles.

The outcome of this study is an interpretation plan devised on the foundation of local practices and experience, enriched by new methodologies and approaches developed by recent heritage studies and practice. The main audiences for the outcome of this study are the stakeholders including Tenzug community, the Ghana Museums and Monument Board, tour operators, tourists, and non-governmental heritage institutions.

The thesis title “The Richer the Better” was chosen to suggest that investment in interpretation opportunities can inform experiences, and that the richer the interpretation, the better experience it will be the stakeholders.

Chapter 1 - Landscape Biography of the Tengzug Cultural Landscape.

This chapter summarizes the heritage values in the Tengzug cultural landscape through the framework of landscape biography. Tengzug cultural landscape is part of the Taleland with about thirty communities (currently the Talensi-Nabdam administrative district).¹⁰ Taleland is in the Upper East region of the Republic of Ghana. It is about 17 kilometres southeast of the regional capital Bolgatanga, and nearly 800 kilometres north of the nation's capital, Accra. Taleland is a flat region with a plateau and has the general characteristics of a savanna grassland.¹¹

The exact date of Tengzug's first human occupation is debated, but archaeological data suggest that people have been actively interacting with the environment there since at least the Late Iron Age in the first millennium BCE.¹² Tengzug is part of the Talensi community in Taleland.¹³ The Talensi comprise two distinct groups in Taleland; the Hill Talensi or Talis and the Namoos.¹⁴ The inhabitants of Tengzug (Hill Talis) are considered the indigenous people, and the Namoos as migrants of Mamprusi ancestry.¹⁵ It is unclear when the Mamprusi settled in Taleland, but a reconstructed timeline by Timothy Insoll using the timeframe of Meyer

¹⁰ Timothy Insoll, Rachel Maclean, and Benjamin Kankpeyeng, *Temporalising Anthropology: Archaeology in the Talensi Tong Hills, Northern Ghana* (Frankfurt: Africa Magna Verlag, 2013).

¹¹ Gertrude Aba Mansah Eyifa-Dzidzienyo, "Social Construction and the Invisible Gender Roles in Talensi House Construction," *EAZ – Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 2013 2012, 1–16.

¹² Insoll, et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*.

¹³ Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 21.

¹⁴ Insoll, Rachel, and Kankpeyeng, *Temporalising Anthropology: Archaeology in the Talensi Tong Hills, Northern Ghana*.

¹⁵ Nick Gabilopoulous, Charles Mather, and Caesar Roland Apentiik, "Lineage Organisation of the Tallensi Compound: The Social Logic of Domestic Space in Northern Ghana," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 72, no. 2 (2002): 221, doi: 10.2307/3556989; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe*, 19.

Fortes's research suggests a date of 300 years, that is, around 1650.¹⁶ Although the Namoos and the Hill Talis share culturally parallel ritual and administrative systems, the annual festivals celebrated in the Taleland create a direct cultural distinction between these two groups.¹⁷ The Tengzug cultural landscape is defined as the epicentre of Taleland. An inquiry into Talensi world view suggests that place names stemmed from landscape features. Hence "Teng" (land) "zug" (head) is literally translated as "head of the land" showing that Tengzug is the highest settlement on a hill within the Talensi landscape.¹⁸ The language spoken by this community is Talen, a dialect of the Mole-Dagbane language group.¹⁹ It was after the late nineteenth century that the British made systematic changes in Taleland, after the Northern Territory was exposed to colonial conquest. These changes affected the interplay between the landscape and villages and opinions of what is seen as present-day Tengzug.

¹⁶ Timothy Insoll, "Shrine Franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles: Some Observations Based upon the Tallensi, Northern Ghana," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16, no. 2 (June 2006): 223, doi: 10.1017/S0959774306000138.

¹⁷ Field interview. Interview by author. Tape recording. Tengzug, October 8, 2016; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe*; Insoll, "Shrine Franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles."

¹⁸ Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe*; Insoll, et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*; Jean Marie Allman and John Parker, *Tongnaab: The History of a West African God* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Local Chief, Interview, July 13, 2016.

¹⁹ Allman and Parker, *Tongnaab*.

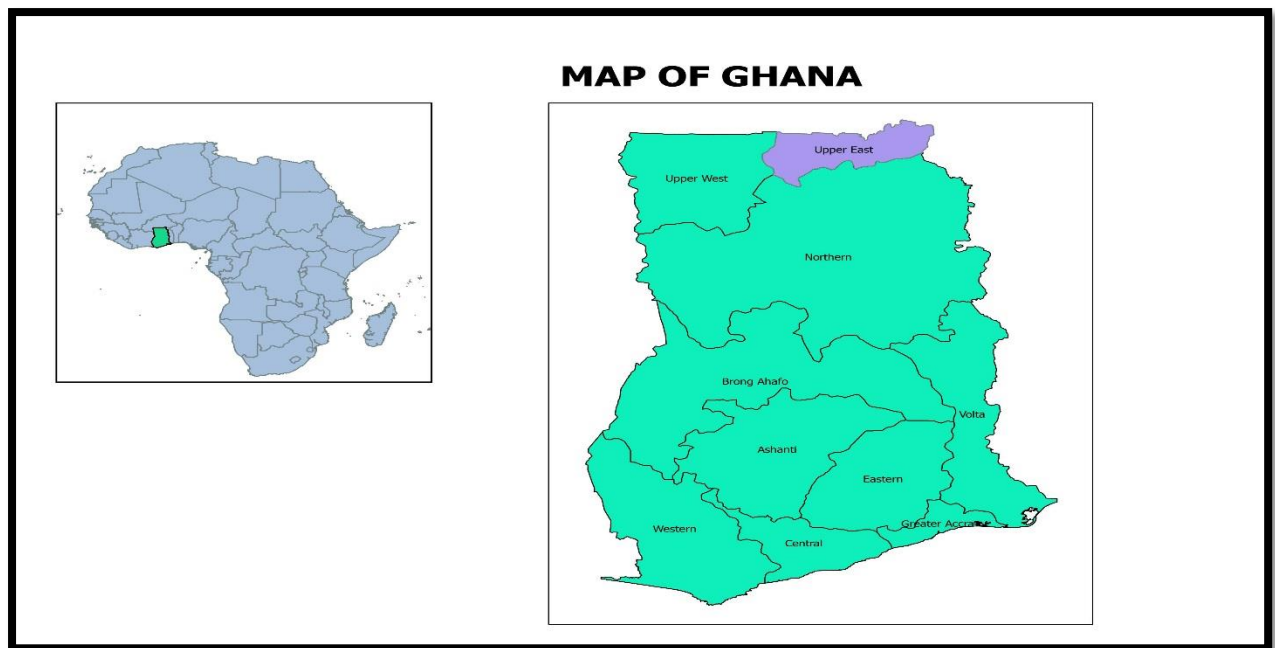


Figure 1 Map of Ghana

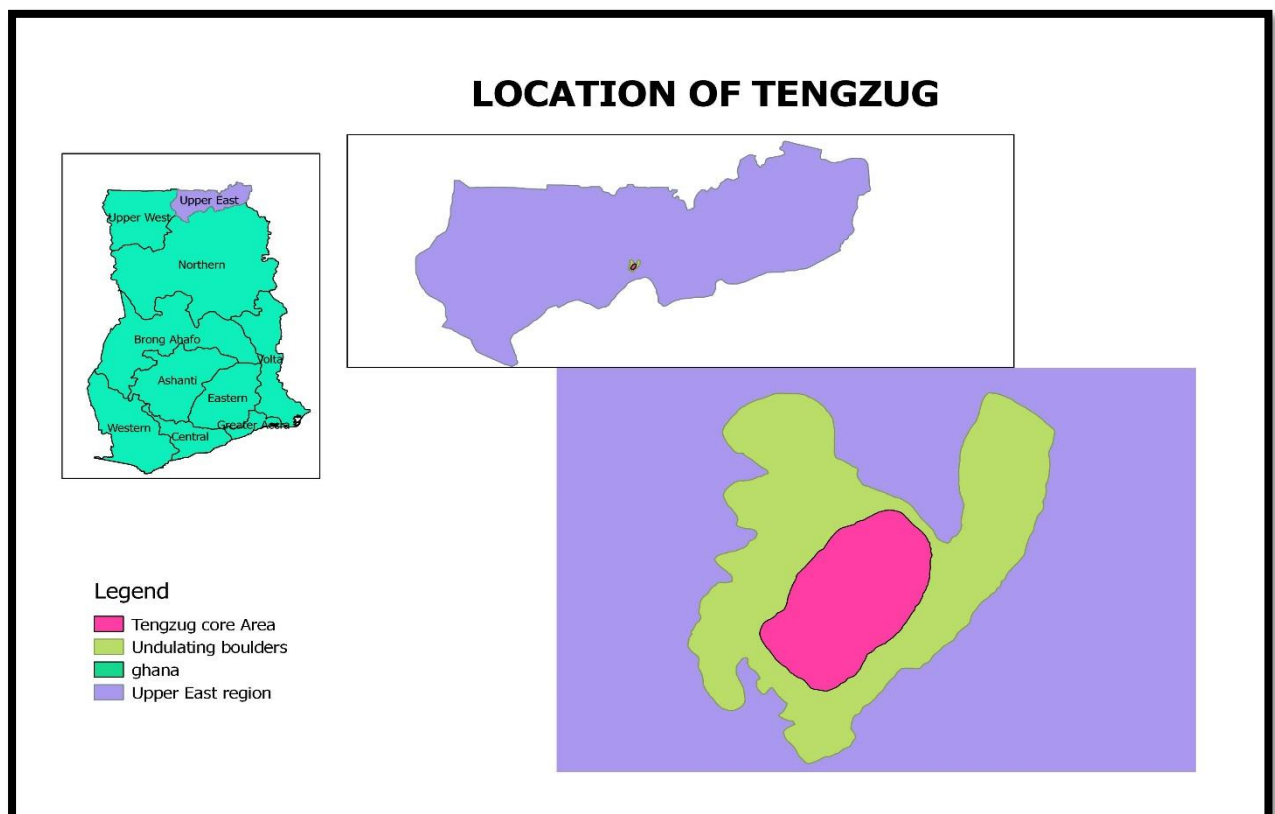


Figure 2 Location of Tengzug

Table 1. Landscape Biography

| CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUES | SUMMARY |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The landscape ecology | <p>The strategic orientation of the landscape forms a natural fortification which demonstrates the interdependence of humans and environment. (See fig 11)</p> <p>The scattered granite rocks throughout the landscape structure the landscape characteristically, which impacts social and cultural interactions. These rocks routinely have both functional and symbolic importance.²⁰ For example, Insoll points out: “the use of rock shelters as shrines, schools, refuges, and for storage purposes; the use of rock outcrops for pounding, grinding, axe and machete sharpening, entertainment (as gaming boards); the use of rock for pestles, pounders, seats for elders, as plaques for hanging ritual items on outside compounds, and as key components of shrines; as well as in building, path edging, and the construction of agricultural terraces.”²¹</p> <p>The upland soil type, with lower soil fertility, in addition to the savannah climatic conditions influence flora characteristics, agricultural activities and crop types, respectively.²²</p> |
| Climate (traditional calendar) | <p>Two seasons (wet and dry) occur and directly influence the regulating of social activities. The wet season reaches its apex in August and September, and is the time for farming. This contributes aesthetically to the greenery in views of the landscape.²³</p> <p>During the dry season (November to March) farming activities are suspended and supplanted by traditional technological production (light industrial activities) such as shea butter processing, blacksmithing, and leather tanning by a few people in the community. This season, for some people, is a period for leisure activities like playing board games. However, in some instances, labour-intensive activities such as house construction and remodelling are also favoured during this period.²⁴</p> |
| Settlements in the landscape | <p>Historically, Tenzug was a densely populated area compared to the present-day situation.²⁵ This is evident in the 1931 colonial government census that recorded about 5000 inhabitants in the cultural landscape and villages along the White Volta compared to 2351 inhabitants in 2007.²⁶</p> <p>Within the Tenzug cultural landscape there are currently seven villages (Boonching, Kpataar, Gundari, Nanchieyir, Sameet, Sakpee, Tambog) (see fig. 10). Eight villages were recorded in the cultural landscape before their inhabitants were forcibly ejected after the British invasion in 1911.²⁷ Upon their return in 1934-35, one village, Santeng, relocated at the base of the hill</p> |

²⁰ Insoll, “Shrine Franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles.”

²¹ Ibid.

²² Gertrude Aba Mensah Eyifa, “House Construction and the Role of Women in Tongo-Tenzug: An Ethnoarchaeological Study.” (MPhil Diss., University of Ghana, 2007).

²³ ; Insoll, et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi*.

²⁴ Gertrude Aba Mansah Eyifa-Dzidzienyo, Interview, August 9, 2016.

²⁵ Insoll, Rachel, and Kankpeyeng, *Temporalising Anthropology: Archaeology in the Talensi Tong Hills, Northern Ghana*, 51; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, 155.

²⁶ Ibid, 155; Insoll, et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*, 13.

²⁷ Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe*.

| | |
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| | <p>closer to the White Volta River, however, their customary role is recurrently reflected in cultural practices including festivals.²⁸</p> <p>The current villages' composition reflects colonial influences in the landscape. Although no material evidence of colonial establishment exists, the memory of forcible eviction of the entire community forms part of community's historical mentalities and is expressed when sensitive historic sites such as rock and tree refuge shelters are visited.</p> |
| Social organization | <p>All seven villages are closely linked to each other (a walking distance of three minutes' average), and are interconnected with footpaths. Each village consists of both single and multi-courtyard compounds. The villages are headed by religious leaders known as <i>Tendaana</i>, or Earth Priests. These Earth Priests in their capacity as religious leaders use their traditional religious office to allocate land for members of the community to settle in their territory.²⁹ They also complement their work in regulating well-being in the cultural landscape by reporting to the senior Earth Priest known as the <i>Goldaana</i>. The <i>Goldaana</i> is the local chief of the Tengzug landscape. Each village has its own distinct cultural or industrial recognition. For example, <i>Bonchiing</i> is known to house the most popular shrine, and Sakpee is known for iron smelting.</p> |
| Architecture | <p>The indigenous architecture of Tengzug ingeniously represents the social, cultural, and economic life of the people. The circular (nucleated) structure of the clay and thatch/flat-top mud houses bound together by a single earthen wall resonates with the Talensi worldview of unity – to live closely together with extended family members, nature, and animals. This can be interpreted as the very fact of living in a nucleated unit – sharing one homestead – means that you are doing every form of activity together (eating, playing, and worshipping with each other).³⁰</p> <p>Currently, rapid systematic change from the indigenous (single and multi-courtyard) “clay and thatch” homestead to contemporary cement-block houses can be observed in many villages (for example, see fig.9). The exception is <i>Boonching</i> village, which has only been marginally affected by this change because the locals have strong and positive views on maintaining the indigenous architectural code utilizing the flat-top mud roof style (see fig.21).</p> |
| Locals' livelihood | <p>The Hill Talensi are mostly subsistence farmers. They rely on intensive agriculture and animal husbandry to define their economy. The food supplies comprise grains, mostly millet (<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>) together with livestock herding so there a degree of economic freedom in most households.³¹ A well-to-do house will have cows or donkeys, while the average house will keep fowl, guinea fowls, sheep, goats, and pigs, which are numerically higher in major households. Intensive agriculture is done in defined spaces found close to houses or kilometres away, sometimes in nearby communities beyond the landscape due to the relatively small sorghum fields that are now giving way to systematic construction of new houses. The majority of the locals work outside the community in various trade to provide income for their families. Apart from agricultural production, other economic activities, including small-scale industrial production of basic household products like shea butter are</p> |

²⁸ Eyifa, “House Construction and the Role of Women in Tongo-Tengzug: An Ethnoarchaeological Study.” MPhil thesis (University of Ghana, 2007).

²⁹ Benjamin, Kankpeyeng. Interview by author. Tape recording. University of Ghana. August 3, 2016.

³⁰ Gertrude Aba, Mansah. Interview by author. Tape recording. University of Ghana. August 9, 2016.

³¹ Gabilopoulos, Mather, and Apentiik, “Lineage Organisation of the Tallensi Compound.”

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| | <p>mostly carried out by women. Shea production requires intensive use of rocks with grinding hollows for shelling the shea nuts. Other seasonal industrial activities include blacksmithing and leather tanning. Blacksmithing and smelting have special sites for production, and finished products are sold to local people or outside the village in craft shops in the closest town.</p> |
| Religion | <p>Talensi religion is complex and is widely held as the most important aspect of the landscape.³² Religious observances are the core values expressed by the community to structure social relation, festivals, and agricultural practices as well as regulating the (social and natural) environment.³³ Religion centres on ancestor and earth cults, and influences the organization and interpretation of the landscape through daily activities such as curative rituals and shrine franchising.³⁴ By the mid-nineteenth century, the name Tengzug invoked sacredness. The landscape was widely recognized as a spiritual destination for religious pilgrims beyond the community as well as neighbouring countries in West Africa.³⁵ The flora also symbolically serve as shrines, and “living” repositories of history. A baobab tree (<i>Adansonia digitate</i>), for instance, is not only useful as a food source, but may have personified representations that serve as lineage shrines for a Talis clan.³⁶ In addition, history is recounted by specific identification with a tree. A baobab tree in <i>Tambog</i> village, for example, offers the opportunity for important dialogue about slavery and the multi-layered site of refuge utilized by the community during the infamous slave raids.³⁷</p> |
| Festivals | <p>Two festivals, <i>Golib</i> and <i>Boardaam</i>, are celebrated annually in the landscape as part of the prescribed cultural activities of the Talis. <i>Golib</i> is a sowing festival and centred on the Earth cult.³⁸ It is celebrated prior to the sowing of the early millet, mostly at the end of the dry season when the rains come.³⁹ The festival, according to Fortes, demonstrates the locals’ reliance on the environment and on the climate for their survival.⁴⁰ The festival is characterized by dance, songs, and ritual activities that call for success in the incoming farming season. <i>Boardaam</i> is a harvest festival celebrated at the end of the agricultural season in September or October.⁴¹ The festival is centred on an ancestral cult.⁴² It is marked by a series of prayers offered to the ancestors and earth for their unity to grant the living long life and blessings. These festivals reveal visual forms of Hill Talis ingenuity in bodily</p> |

³² Insoll, “Shrine Franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles.”

³³ Ibid; Timothy Insoll, “Materializing Performance and Ritual: Decoding the Archaeology of Movement in Tallensi Shrines in Northern Ghana,” *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 5, no. 3 (November 2009): 288–310, doi: 10.2752/175183409X12550007729905.

³⁴ Timothy Insoll, “Talensi Animal Sacrifice and Its Archaeological Implications,” *World Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (June 2010): 231–44, doi: 10.1080/00438241003672856.

³⁵ Allman and Parker, *Tongnaab*.

³⁶ Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*: 158; Field interview, October 8, 2016.

³⁷ Francis Yin, Field interview, July 15, 2016.

³⁸ Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* 105.

³⁹ Insoll, et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*. 21.

⁴⁰ Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, 105.

⁴¹ Insoll et. al., *Temporalising Anthropology*; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*.

⁴² Ibid.

adornments that are crafted by a few skilled craftsmen (blacksmiths and leather tanners) in the villages. These bodily adornments have intrinsic values that are informed by the community's worldview. Festivals in Tengzug, in my opinion, have a dual role of recounting history and documenting the present reality. For example, despite the recurring ceremonial observances as part of recounting heritage, every season of archaeological excavation inspires the composition of new songs, which are sung and transmitted orally during the *Golib* festival.⁴³



Figure 3. Grinding hollows in rock surfaces for shelling shea nuts in Bonchiing. Photo by author 2016

⁴³ Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng, Timothy Insoll, and Rachel MacLean, "The Tension between Communities, Development, and Archaeological Heritage Preservation: The Case Study of Tengzug Cultural Landscape, Ghana," *Heritage Management* 2, no. 2 (2009): 177–197, <http://www.maneyonline.com/doi/abs/10.1179/hma.2009.2.2.177>.

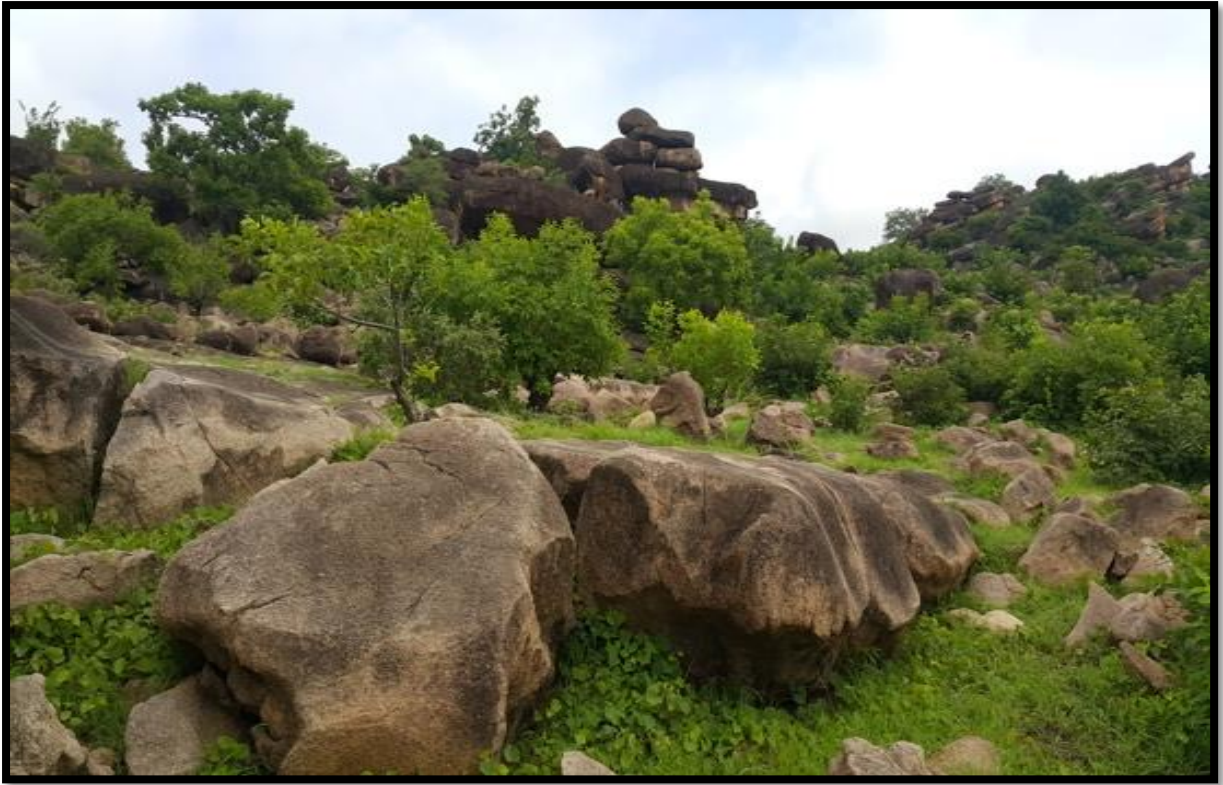


Figure 4. Granite rocks scattered throughout the landscape. Photograph by author 2016



Figure 5. Land cultivation in Tambog. Photo by author 2016.



Figure 6. Leather clothing worn by a shrine functionary. (Photo by author 2016).

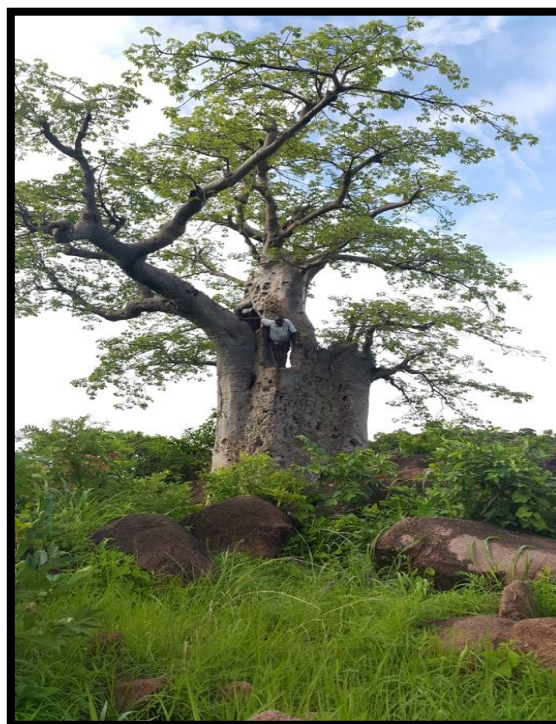


Figure 7. A historic baobab tree in Tambog. (Photo by author 2016).



Figure 8. Blacksmithing site in Sakpee. (Photo by author 2016).



Figure 9. Transition from a clay and thatch multi-courtyard homestead to contemporary cement block houses, as indicated by the arrow, in Tambog village. (Photo by author 2016).

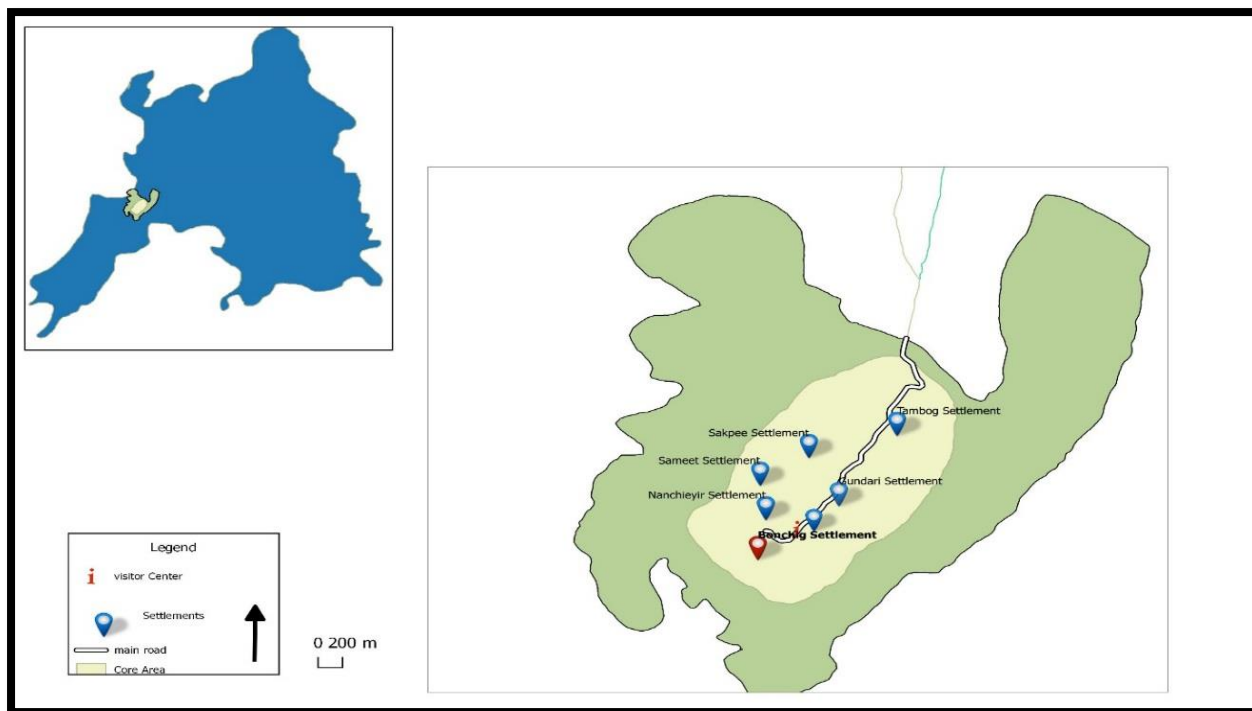


Figure 10. Tengzug cultural landscape. Insert in top left is Talensi-Nabdam administrative district

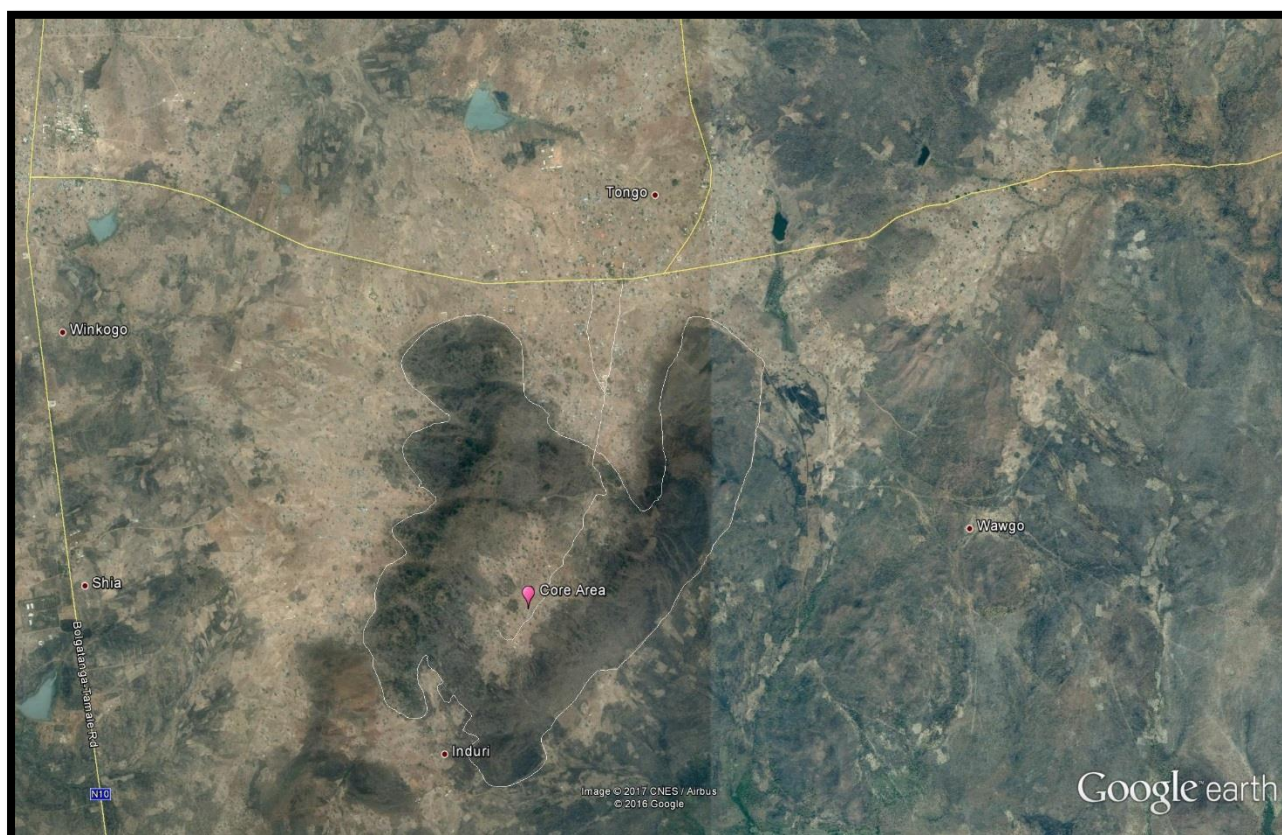


Figure 11. Google image of the Tengzug hills

Chapter 2 - Cultural Heritage Interpretation and Presentation

2.1 Presenting the Tengzug cultural landscape by heritage professionals

The means that have facilitated the recognition of the cultural landscape are academic research by cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, and cultural heritage scholars. For two decades or so there have been continuous excavations going on within the cultural landscape. The findings, however, are only made public in scientific books and articles that target a specific specialized academic audience.

2.2.1 Background information about tour guides.

The four male tour guides at the time of this study are all local members from the Tengzug community. They were selected by the community, that is, each settlement nominated a candidate based on his level of proficiency in reading and writing English. All the tour guides have a primary or secondary school education. The criteria for selection also depended on their intimate knowledge and experience in local affairs. They all earn their living from tour guiding activity, although they work in other part-time jobs that come their way. The choice of all male tour guides is congruent with the existing local custom that forbids women to mention the names of shrines. Because the existing on-site interpretation contains information that requires mentioning of shrines, women cannot be tour guides for this part of the cultural landscape.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Gertrude Aba Mansah. Interview by authour. Tape recording. University of Ghana, August 9, 2016

2.2.2 Tourist arrivals

The tourist receipts – while known to be unreliable because of financial discrepancies – shows that 5,966 tourists visited the site from January 2012 to December 2015, with international tourists constituting the major numbers followed by domestic tourists. Throughout all the years, February/March and October registered the highest number of tourist visits because of the annual festivals celebrated in these months.



Figure 12. Tourist information centre. (Photo by author 2016).

Upon reaching the Tengzug cultural landscape, the tourist finds the permanent tourist information centre (TIC) located west of the cave school just behind the disintegrating model house. The tourist information centre does not offer any visual guide to the landscape such as a site orientation, leaflets or maps. The only source of visual material available is a wall poster (see fig 13) that illustrates cultural activities identified with the community. This poster was developed by a researcher, Aba Eyifa, who carried out research on culture heritage and the role of women in Talensi house construction. Tourist orientation takes place verbally in English by designated tour guides. On average, the total duration of the guided tour is approximately two hours and covers a total distance of about 2.83 kilometres.



Figure 13. Inside tourist information Centre. (Photo by author 2016).

2.2.3 Guided tour trail

The guided tour trail begins from the TIC and ends at the Tonna'ab shrine in a circumnavigated manner that takes in various features. In the following, I will summarize the on-site interpretation currently offered by the tour guides. The summary does not represent the entirety of the rich heritage of the landscape. I describe what is presented and how the guides present it to tourists. Additionally, the summary is what I experienced as a tourist and I stress that the presentation given by tour guides represents their basic knowledge. If any historical time frame or detailed explanation is missed at a given site, it reflects what is being presented to tourists.

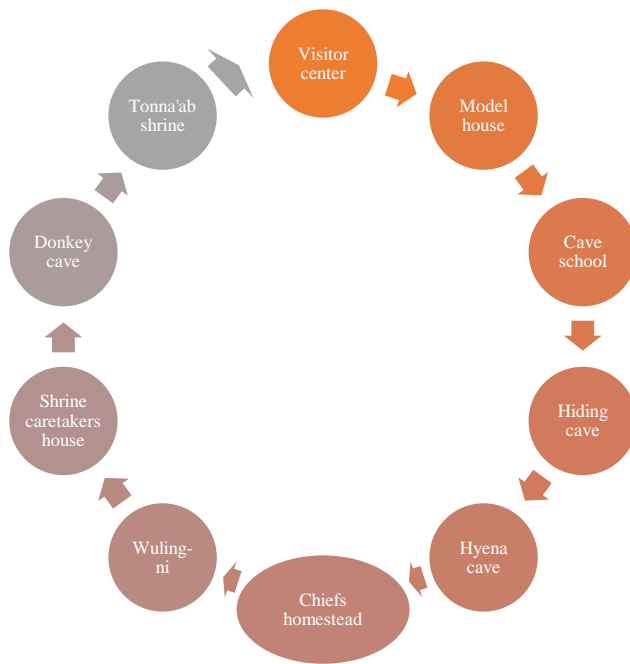


Figure 14. Pattern of the guided tour

Site 1: Model house

The first site of attraction after the orientation at the tourists' centre is the model house meant to represent the traditional architecture of Tengzug and Talensi in general. Because of its deplorable state, it has collapsed and tourists can no longer access the compound. The model house originally showed the anatomy of a Talensi traditional domestic house. The various compartments in this traditional round house as well as its functions are explained by the guides to tourists in the following order: entrance, kraal, inner compound, bedrooms (gendered), and functions of the flat roof and storage rooms.



Figure 15 a. Model house (Photo by author 2016).



Figure 16b. Model house (Photo by author 2016).

Site 2: Cave school (Bamihug veug)

Although the school no longer functions, it is a symbolic place that references the introduction of formal education in the community. The school is in a rock shelter and comprises a single classroom and a canteen as well as a pantry where children ate during breaks. As interpreted by the guides, the school was regulated by climatic patterns. Classes were conducted to conform to the weather and seasons. Thus, as the sun moved from east to west, continuous adjustment of classroom seating took place within the rock shelter. In addition, class activities became less intense at times when more social activities took place, including house construction and festivals, among other happenings.

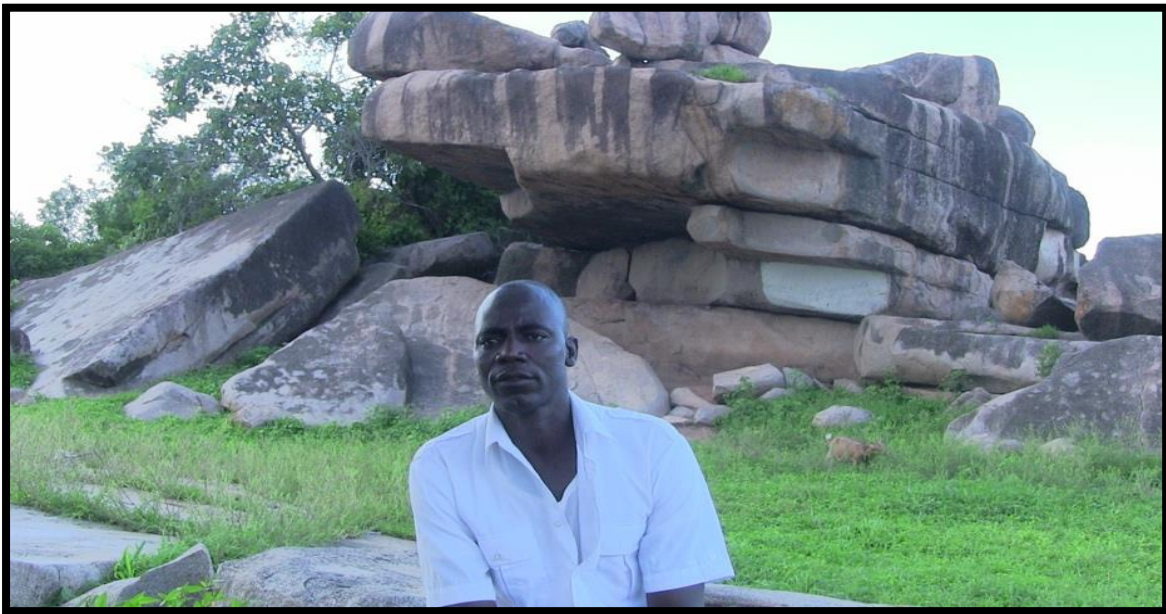


Figure 17. Tour guide in front of Cave School with white board painted on the rock surface. (Photo by author 2016).

Site 3: *Hiding Cave (Kpelin-ni)*

The Hiding Cave, as the name indicates, served in past times as a strategic location for the locals to conceal themselves from enemies during inter-ethnic conflicts. Similarly, the Hiding Cave also sheltered the community during the British colonial expansion in the region around 1911. The cave, then tucked in among wild trees and bushes, made it easier for the community to avoid direct contact with intruders.

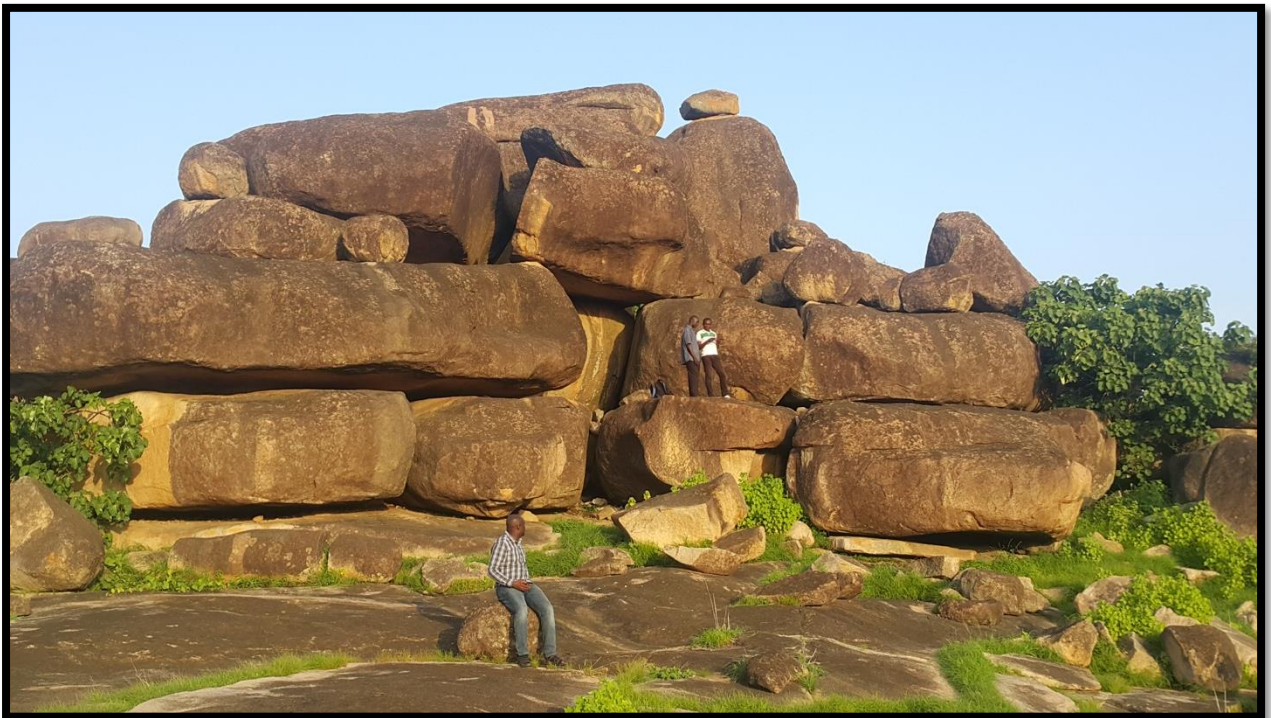


Figure 18. Hiding Cave. (Photo by the author, 2016).

Site 4: *Hyena Cave (Gbegbeya Veug)*

Directly opposite the Hiding Cave, about 20 meters away, is Hyena Cave. Hyenas once occupied Hyena Cave. According to local history, these animals preyed on livestock kept in the kraals of various domestic compounds. However, once the place they lived was discovered (according to the story told by the guides) the community mobilized to drive them away. The cave has since been utilized as an annual meeting place for traditional elders during the *Golib* festival.

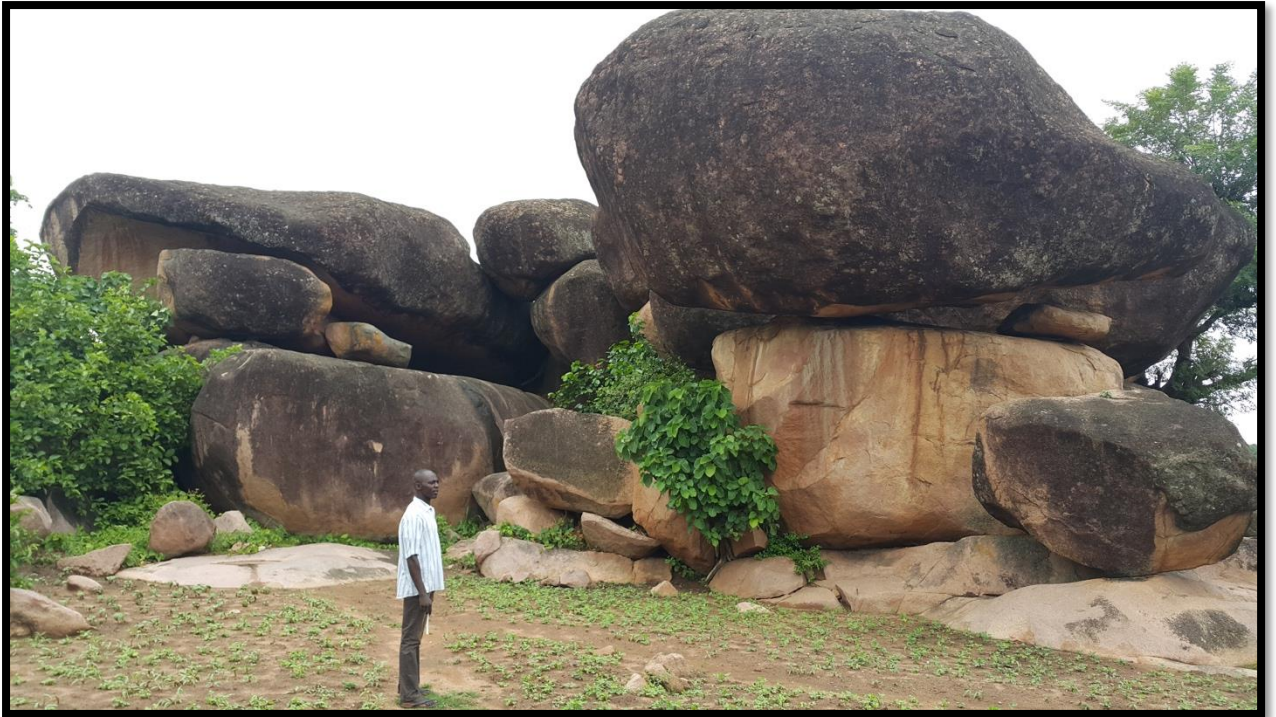


Figure 19. Hyena Cave. (Photo by author 2016)



Figure 20. Grinding hollows in part of a cave are used as a meeting area for traditional elders. (Photo by author 2016).

Site 5: Chief's homestead

The tours continue to the chief of the Tengzug chief's homestead. It is a typical example of a nucleated homestead with more than 300 inhabitants. The chief's homestead demonstrates Tengzug dedication to enforcing the traditional architecture code of having dwellings with flat roofs without thatching or using galvanized roofing sheets. Guides explain the entry and exit points of the house and their symbolic functions. The central courtyard, where jawbones of sacrificed animals are hung on a special building, are further interpreted as means of displaying varied sacrifices made for the public observances. The climax of this part of the site tour is when tourists stand on the chief's palace to get a panoramic view of the villages.



Figure 21. Chief's nucleated homestead and the 'jawbones of sacrificed animals hanging from the special building. (Photo by author 2016)

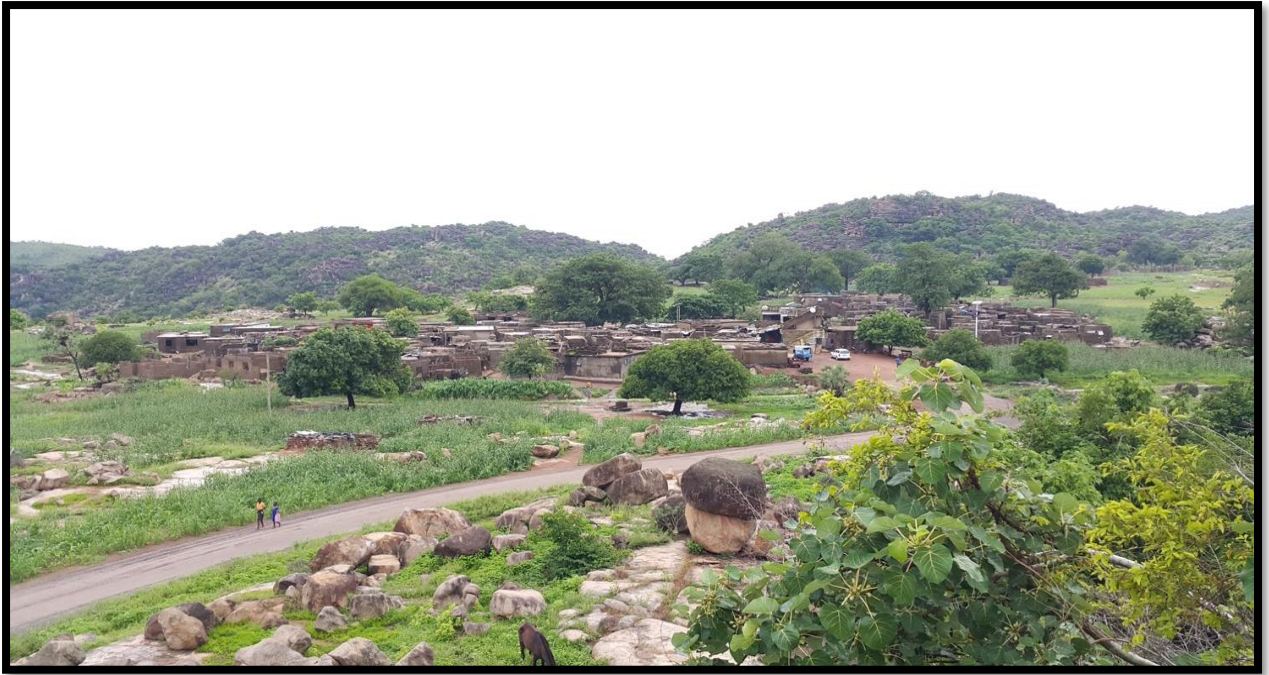


Figure 22. View of chief's homestead. (Photo by author 2016).

Site 6: Wuling-ni (a cliff)

According to local history, this place, Wuling-ni, served as a strategic hunting area to trap wild animals, especially hyenas. Due to the nature of the plateau it acted as a hunting blind for fleeing wild animals, forcing them fall off the hill after a determined chase. The place also has a symbolic funeral area to hold heroic dances for a deceased Earth Priest (*Tendaana*) or a chief from the community.



Figure 23. View from Wuling-ni (Photo by author 2016)

Site 7: Tonna'ab Shrine "Caretaker's" house

The shrine caretaker, as the name suggests, is the chief priest of the Tonna'ab shrine. According to the custom, any tourist interested in visiting the Tonna'ab shrine must be introduced to the chief priest (a male elder) by the tour guide for permission to visit. After permission is granted, an aide to the chief priest will be delegated to take the tourist to the shrine. During this part of the tour, the shrine functionary supplants the tour guide's role as guardian of the sacred space. Entry to the shrine is open to all genders. However, Talensi customs of restrictive access require entering the shrine topless (naked upper torso) and with bare feet. Compliance with this local protocol is very strictly and enforced.



Figure 24. Shrine Caretaker's house. (Photo author 2016)

Site 8: Donkey Cave (Bohi Veug)

When the wishes of pilgrims are fulfilled by the Tonna'ab shrine after their consultation there, donkeys are usually sacrificed to the shrine to show gratitude. Their skulls are kept in the donkey cave to signify the potency and efficacy of the shrine. Not only donkeys are sacrificed to the shrine. According to the tour guides, gratitude may be shown by sacrificing different kind of domestic animals including cows, goats, sheep, etc. However, only the skulls of sacrificed donkeys are kept in the cave. Also, as interpreted by the guides, in times past, when the drought season intensified, skulls were dried outside and used as symbolic material objects to beseech the gods for rains. On rare occasions the Donkey Cave functions as traditional performance space for the initiation and introduction of a newly elected priest after the demise of the old one.

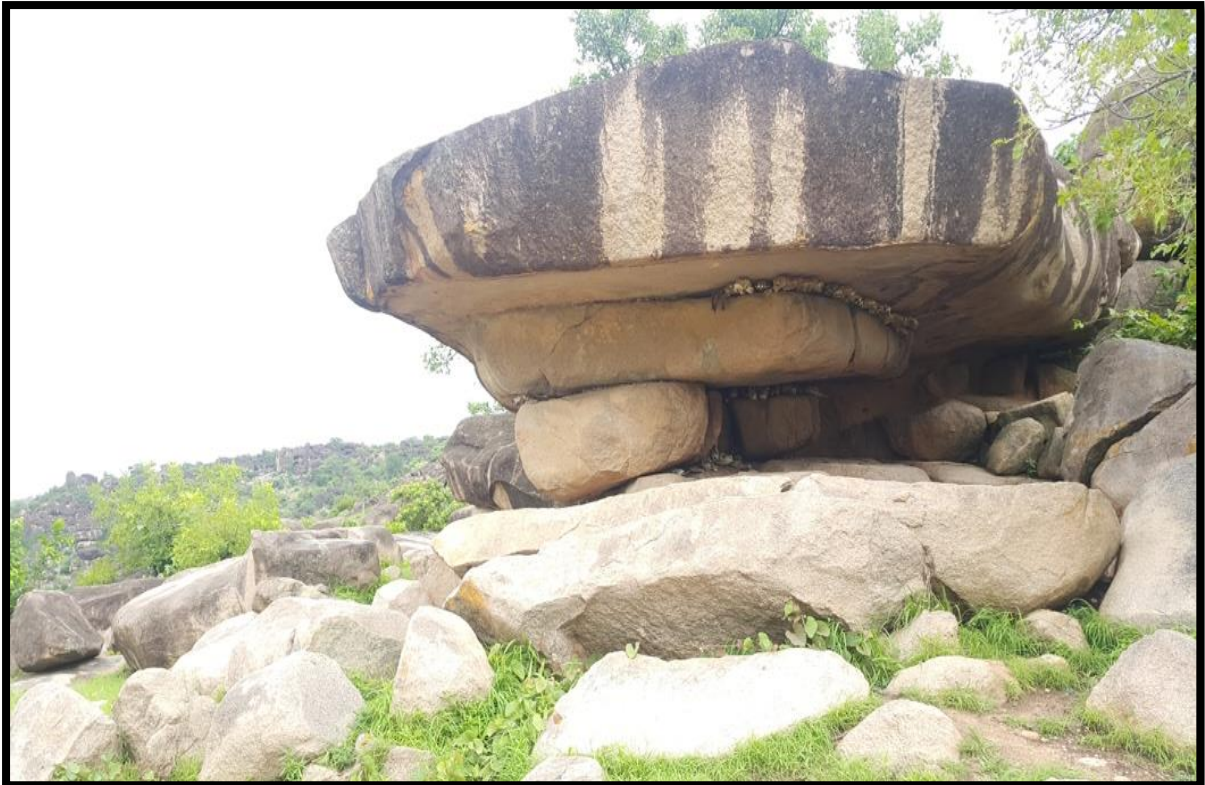


Figure 25. Donkey Cave. (Photo by author 2016).

Site 9: Tonna'ab shrine (Earth Shrine)

At the foot of the shrine, about two meters away from the Donkey Cave, is a performance space known as *Boardaam tambihi* used during the *Boardaam* Festival (see chapter 2). From *Boardaam tambihi*, a footpath was followed in single file, led by the aide and followed by the tour guide and myself. Along the footpath to the shrine, a designated place was set up to allow a brief stop to observe the specified protocol before the further journey was made. Upon reaching the sacred shrine, the tour guide carefully led me into the inner sanctum of Tonna'ab. At this point, I became an active participant by joining the guide and other functionaries in observing and “experiencing” how the indigenous shrine (Tonna'ab) operates. According to custom, it is not possible to reveal what transpired between myself and other members who were present. The functionaries explained that the sacred power of the shrine is linked to its curative rituals, fertility enhancement, business and educational success (in my

case), and stability in life. Visual evidence of the heaped feathers of sacrificed fowls and guinea fowls is one immediate observation I made. These domestic fowl are regularly sacrificed. It seems that a bird of a specific, relevant colour is symbolically offered and accepted by the Tonna'ab shrine.⁴⁵

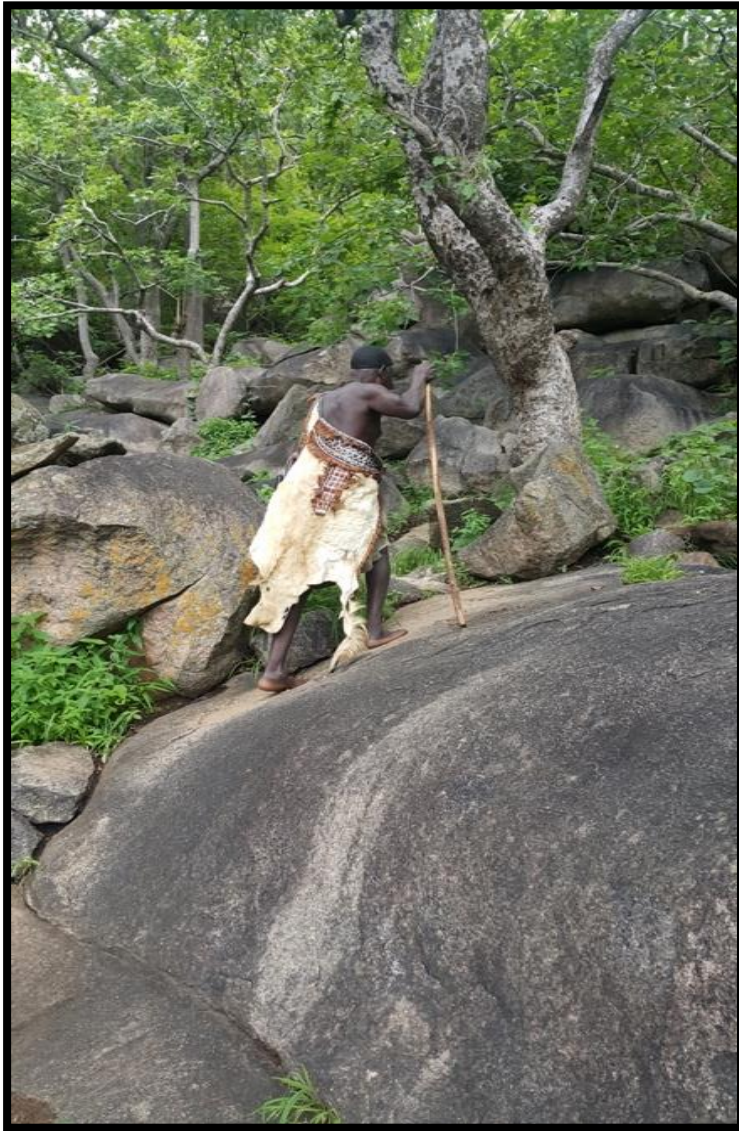


Figure 26a. traditional priest heading toward Tonna'ab shrine. (Photo author 2016)

⁴⁵ Insoll, "Talensi Animal Sacrifice and Its Archaeological Implications."



Figure 27b. Author and shrine functionary outside the shrine. (Photo author 2016)

The outlined summary shows how interpretive activities are routinely conducted in the cultural landscape by the local tour guides and the shrine functionary, respectively. The selected attraction areas are, so far, the only means provided to tourists to understand the rich and diverse cultural heritage values existing in this cultural landscape.

The sites that are selected for the tour guides to interpret and present are interesting, diverse, and relevant. They mainly show interesting features of the landscape; therefore, they represent the diverse character of the landscape, but the interpretation is direct and does not offer any other means to absorb the cultural nuances because the tour guide mostly controls the story or information of these selected sites throughout their presentation.

Chapter 3 – The Performance of Heritage Interpretation in Ghana

There are other opportunities to present and interpret the Tengzug heritage site in a more attractive way and already there are other cultural institutions presenting this heritage site. These institutions are relevant for the Tengzug heritage site, but besides being physically separated from the settlement and surrounding cultural landscape, there is a dysfunctional cooperation between them and the heritage site. Later, I will suggest a heuristic approach which may employ more stakeholders. This chapter focuses on three discussions: the first part discusses the presentation of interpretation in Ghana Museums and the Upper East regional museum – which offer interpretations of the Tengzug site. The second part discusses the introduction of community-based ecotourism in Tengzug, and the third part focuses on tourist profiles and experiences. All three discussions are interrelated and they present the perspectives of the performance of heritage interpretation at both the heritage site and museum, and for the tourists as well, who are considered the direct consumers.

3.1 The Ghana National Museum

The Ghana National Museum, located in the capital of Ghana, Accra, is a colonial era creation that was established on the eve of independence in 1957 by the then-prime minister of Ghana. The museum was meant to curate and interpret permanent exhibitions of selected material cultural objects (mostly archaeological and ethnographic) from the various regions across the country. These cultural objects were alienated from their contexts and housed together in spaces that do not respect the social or religious contexts that created them.

The Ghana National museum regulates the regional museums, which curate region-specific material culture in the country. In term of operations, the regional museums utilise

similar curatorial visions to that of the Ghana National Museum, meaning that they are predominantly ethnographic and archaeological museums. Both the National and Regional museums have come of age as official cultural institutions but are still immature in their curatorial and interpretation practices.⁴⁶ A major challenge facing these museums has been their inability to understand and integrate the intangible aspects of the objects in the collections. In their operation (collection, presentation, and interpretation) and their institutional legal frameworks –State Act 387 of 1969, intangible cultural heritage has not been recognized as an aspect of heritage.⁴⁷ As such, they are stagnating as institutions and are unpopular among Ghanaians because they do not integrate Ghanaian communities into their activities. Simply, they fail to show the relevance of the cultural objects showcased within their walls to contemporary Ghanaian communities.⁴⁸

In his assertion, Kense, cited in Kankpeyeng et al., deduced that Ghanaian communities, like most African cultures, understand history, respect their traditions, and value their cultural heritage as a connection to their past.⁴⁹ Continuity is expressed through kinship relations, ancestral veneration, oral tradition, and cultural performances.⁵⁰ According to Kankpeyeng “the ‘present’ is understood through identification with forebears and inherited, material possessions and culturally valued landscapes that range from artistic treasures, shrines, and

⁴⁶ Arianna Fogelman, “Tradition, Urbanity, and ‘Colonial Legacy’ at the Ghana National Museum,” 2005, <https://museumstudies.columbian.gwu.edu/sites/museumstudies.columbian.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TraditionUrbanityandColonialLegacyattheGhanaNationalMuseum.pdf>.

⁴⁷ Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng, Timothy Insoll, and Rachel MacLean, “The Tension between Communities, Development, and Archaeological Heritage Preservation,” *Heritage Management*, 2014, <http://www.maneyonline.com/doi/abs/10.1179/hma.2009.2.2.177>; “Ghana Museums & Monuments Board,” accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.ghanamuseums.org>.

⁴⁸ Akolgo Ayine, Interview by author. Tape recording. Upper East Regional Museum, July 27, 2016; “ANO,” *Kiosk Culture Exhibition with Dk Osseo Asare, Latifah Idriss & Yaw Brobbey Kyei*, 2015, <http://anoghana.org/kiosk-culture-exhibition/>.

⁴⁹ Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng and Christopher R. DeCorse, “Ghana’s Vanishing Past: Development, Antiquities, and the Destruction of the Archaeological Record,” *African Archaeological Review* 21, no. 2 (2004): 89–128, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/B:AARR.0000030786.24067.19>; Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and MacLean, “The Tension between Communities, Development, and Archaeological Heritage Preservation,” 2014.

⁵⁰ Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and MacLean, “The Tension between Communities, Development, and Archaeological Heritage Preservation,” 2014.

regalia, to sacred groves and natural features perceived to have spiritual significance.”⁵¹ In this discussion it is relevant to ask, since the cultural heritage of local communities like Tengzug is continuously being created and re-created, does the possibility exist to strike a balance between conventional approaches in interpreting heritage to accommodate non-conventional cultural heritage?

3.2 The Upper East Regional Museum, Bolgatanga

The Upper East Regional Museum lies in Bolgatanga, the capital of the Upper East Region, and is situated about 15 km from the Tengzug cultural landscape. It was established in 1972 and inaugurated in its present location in 1991 by the Ghana National Commission on Culture.⁵² It is an archaeological and ethnographic museum that mainly curates permanent exhibitions of local pottery, paintings, musical instruments, jewellery, weaponry, and chiefs’ regalia.

In the daily routine practices of the museum, it only exhibits a permanent collection of old and sometimes damaged material cultural objects that have no background information and little relevance to the local communities they represent. The museum is not dynamic and does not keep abreast of contemporary developments in these local communities. Furthermore, its exhibitions too are uninspiring as they still reflect colonial ideas about Africans to local communities. As such, the local communities do not find the visiting relevant, and this has led to the institution’s isolation from the community. In a discussion with a senior staff member from the Upper East Regional Museum, she gave as her opinion that: “the Regional Museum is no longer a museum.”⁵³ She recounted that the Regional Museum had the ambition of serving

⁵¹ Kankpeyeng and DeCorse, “Ghana’s Vanishing Past”; Kankpeyeng, Insoll, and MacLean, “The Tension between Communities, Development, and Archaeological Heritage Preservation,” 2014.

⁵² “Upper East Regional Museum,” accessed May 11, 2017, <http://www.ghanamuseums.org/upper-east-museum.php>.

⁵³ Field interview. Interview by author. Tape recording. Upper East Regional Museum, June 5, 2016.

the interests of local communities but had failed to keep up with the changing demands of these communities.

The Upper East Regional Museum is relevant for the Tengzug cultural landscape because this is the only museum which officially presents and interprets the heritage site as part of its exhibition. Although the current interpretation and presentation of the heritage site only utilizes old photographs of traditional festivals and cultural celebrations – which take about 15 minutes to see – fundamental opportunities exist for the museum to reconsider its curatorial activities.

Importantly, the museum's location in the regional capital, which is close to the regions' art centre, plays a strategic role in receiving tourists who may want to find out about the cultural heritage of the region. Typically, the Tengzug heritage site depends on the museum to introduce and orient tourists about the richness of the heritage site to encourage further visits to the heritage site. Usually, the manner of interpretation and presentation determines tourists' interest in more exploration. Thus, it fair to assume that successful interpretation may increase tourist visits to the site, which the Tengzug heritage site may rely on.

Equally, it is likely that returning visitors from the site may want further information from the museum about aspects of the heritage site that were not clear enough. For example, it is striking that some aspects of traditional practices (I will discuss this later in the chapter) in the cultural landscape were not interesting for international tourist, perhaps because their significance was not communicated well during the visit to the site. In addition, archaeological studies have been going on in the landscape for over a decade now, but the tour guides do not have the expertise to communicate scientific information as part of the mainstream interpretation.

The Tengzug heritage site in this situation may depend on the museum as an official cultural institution to make such information more comprehensible. This suggests an opportunity for the museum to use its expertise to shape complex information for a more attractive and exciting interpretation. Here, it is convenient to say that both institutions require functional cooperation to strengthen and improve collaborative interpretation practices. In addition, it may make the museum more relevant to the local community, which has been their major challenge in asserting their social relevance.

3.3 The introduction of Community-Based Ecotourism (CBE) in the Tengzug cultural landscape.

Tengzug was among the 14 communities selected for the Community-Based Ecotourism Projects in 2001. The project was a collaboration between the Tengzug local community, The Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC), USAID, Resident American Peace Corps volunteers [RAPC]), and the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA), with technical support from the Ghana Museum and Monument Board (GMMB).⁵⁴ The Upper East Regional Museum played a complementary role to GTA by embarking on a tourism awareness campaign in Tengzug to enlighten and increase the community's understanding of ecotourism.⁵⁵

Before the establishment of the CBE project, the Tengzug cultural landscape was famous for its sacred cultural landscape. It mostly receives pilgrims from different parts of Ghana and the surrounding countries. The Nature Conservation Research Centre (NCRC), was the chief architect of the ecotourism project in this community. In their leading capacity, they actively coordinated with the local chief and district assembly at the local level, the GTA at the national level in developing infrastructure as well as distributing resources, and USAID at the

⁵⁴ USAID, "Community-Based Ecotourism Project (CBEP) Executive Summary" (Ghana, 2004 2002).

⁵⁵ Mohammed Malik Saako. Interview by author. Tape recording. Museum of science and Technology, Accra, August 4, 2016.

international level for monetary support. USAID supported the project financially for two years (January 2002 to December 2003).⁵⁶ It authorised the construction of a model traditional house to serve as an interactive interpretive centre, as well as a separate office for tourist reception. In addition, the model house was equipped with traditional crafts to orient tourists about the indigenous villages.⁵⁷ Site trails were also developed. Resident American Peace Corps volunteers supported the project as advisors in its implementation. The Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) became the direct government representative responsible for the marketing and promotion of the project.

3.4 The CBE Development Activities in Tengzug

Three general objectives were outlined by the external project stakeholders to meet the project's goal for all 14 CBE communities in Ghana. Therefore, the same objective was applied to the Tengzug CBE project. They include: providing ecotourism facilities; improving marketing; and improving human resource capacity (see table 2). Implementation of activities in the Tengzug cultural landscape also followed the general objectives.

⁵⁶ USAID, "Community-Based Ecotourism Project (CBEP) Executive Summary."

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Table 2 General objectives for ecotourism.

| Focused Activity | Activities undertaken |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Improve ecotourism facilities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construct /Improve interpretative centres: new interpretative centres were constructed and existing ones were upgraded. • Erecting directional signage: to provide guidance to tourists visiting various parts of the site. • Construct/Improve nature trails: involved developing and maintaining nature trails at various sites • Sanitation facilities: toilets were constructed to meet sanitary needs. |
| Improve ecotourism marketing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global marketing by creating an official website for ecotourism in Ghana. • Internal advertisement by producing brochures and posters. • Uniform receipt system: designed receipt and printed for each site to increase financial transparency |
| Improve organizational human resource capability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism awareness session: facilitated by GTA which was aimed to increase community understanding and awareness ecotourism as well as the benefits of tourism. • Training in financial management: conducted by Resident American Peace Corps volunteers to orient each local community about financial management and record keeping. • Interpretive/customer service training: one-week training organized by Hospitality Associates. The project offered training in tour guiding and customer service skills. |

Adapted from USAID final Report (2005:9-10)

3.5 Tourists in Ghana.

The CBE is underlined in the Ghana's second National Tourism Development Plan for 2013–2027 as a reliable resource for generating a steady income to increase socio-economic benefits in local communities'.⁵⁸ It is considered the fastest growing segment of the Ghana tourism industry attracting more international tourists.⁵⁹ Currently, three types of international tourists are identified by the Ghana Tourism Authority; holiday tourists, business tourists, and educational tourists.⁶⁰ Of the three, business and holiday tourists are the most important and regular type of tourist in Ghana.⁶¹

3.6 Tourists' profile in the Tengzug cultural landscape.

My assumptions concerning tourist profiles are based on the questionnaires I collected with the help of tour guides, which I analysed to give a fair indication of tourists' experiences and expectations. The collected information is a relatively small group, therefore, I combined information from it with other information from the internet (5 blogposts and 5 reviews from Trip Advisor) to bring more perspective into the discussion. At the time of this study on the heritage site, 698 tourists had already visited the site from January to June 2016.

The small amount of information gathered is in consonance with the current challenge of low tourism in the study area. A total of 15 respondent sheets were collected. The socio-demographic characteristics of each respondent (from questionnaires) included age, nationality, place of residence, gender, and occupation. Gender distribution was almost the

⁵⁸ Gabriel Eshun and Eva Tagoe-Darko, "Ecotourism Development in Ghana: A Postcolonial Analysis," *Development Southern Africa* 32, no. 3 (May 4, 2015): 392–406, doi:10.1080/0376835X.2015.1020218.

⁵⁹ Eric Adjei Lawer et al., "Forecasting Annual Patronage by Domestic and Foreign Tourists to Mole National Park, Ghana," *American Journal of Tourism Management* 2, no. 2 (2013): 55–61.

⁶⁰ Isaac Bentum-Ennin, "Drivers of International Business and Holiday Tourism in Ghana: A Nonparametric Approach," *International Journal of Economics & Business Studies* 4, no. 1/2 (Spring-Fall 2014): 25–42.

⁶¹ Ibid.

same with 7 males and 8 females. The total number of respondents (from questionnaire) were between the ages of 18 to 54, which can be summarized as follows;

Table 3. Age distribution of respondents

| Age of group respondents | 18-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | Omitted Age |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Number of respondents | 2 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Table 4. Descriptive tourist profile.

| Tourist(s) Nationality | Place of residence | Occupation | Reason for visit and intended time to spend. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Austria (2)</i> | Respondent 1. Bolgatanga Respondent 2. Bolgatanga | Designer Graphic designer | Shrines and view. (3-4 hours) To know about the people (3-4 hours) |
| <i>Belgium (1)</i> | Belgium | N/A | Recommendation from the internet (2-3 hours) |
| <i>Ghana (3)</i> | Respondent 1. Tamale Respondent 2. Bolgatanga Respondent 3. Bolgatanga | Teacher Land Surveyor Social worker | To see the hill and shrines (3 hours) To see the place (2-3 hours) No response |
| <i>Germany (4)</i> | Respondent 1. Bolgatanga Respondent 2. England Respondent 3. Germany Respondent 4. Bolgatanga | Agriculturalist Student Student Volunteer | Returning tourist. (3-4 hours) UNESCO Tentative nomination. (2-3 hours) Leisure trip with boyfriend. (2-3 hours) Recommendation from sister. |
| <i>Italy (1)</i> | Ghana | Local teacher | To hike (the whole day) |
| <i>Netherlands (1)</i> | Leiden | N/A | Recommendation from the internet (2 hours) |
| <i>United Kingdom (3)</i> | Respondent 1. London Respondent 2. Tamale Respondent 3. Tamale | Volunteer Volunteer Volunteer | Recommendation from a friend History and view. (3- 4 hours) Recommendation from friends. (2-3 hours) |

Table 5. Tourist profile from Blogposts

| Tourist(s) Nationality | Place of residence | Occupation | Reason for visit and time spent |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| India | Navrongo | Volunteer (2011) | Part of touring itinerary (2 hours) |
| Germany | Accra | Volunteer (2013) | Part of touring itinerary |
| Canada | Tamale | Health volunteers (2011) | Part of touring itinerary (2 hours) |
| United Kingdom | Tamale | Volunteer (2013-2014) | Touring itinerary |
| Ghana | Bolgatanga | 2017 | |

The findings (both questionnaires and blogpost) show that most respondents (15) were international tourists from Europe, with one Indian and five Ghanaians. I could not ascertain the socio-demographic information from the TripAdvisor reviewers, but based on their profiles it is fair to suggest they are international tourists, probably from Europe.

3.6.2 The tourist experience and expectations in Tengzug

The most widely held view is that the tourism destination image frequently influences tourists' actual expectations due to the publicity of the tourism site.⁶² For Tengzug it is valid to say the Ecotourism marketing by GTA (through its brochures) and internet reviews influenced tourist expectations of the site considerably. But there are other factors too which equally influence tourist expectations and their planning. For example, the strategic location of the Upper East regional museum in Bolgatanga plays a crucial role in forming tourist expectations of the site. As Tables 3 and 4 indicate, the majority of international tourists visiting the site live in Bolgatanga and closer towns, suggesting that there is a possibility of them visiting this museum – which offers an interpretation of Tengzug.

⁶² Akın Aksu, Ebru Tarcan İçigen, and Rüya Ehtiyar, "A Comparison of Tourist Expectations and Satisfaction: A Case Study from Antalya Region of Turkey," *TURIZAM International Scientific Journal* 14, no. 2 (2010): 66–77, http://www.dgt.pmf.uns.ac.rs/turizam/arhiva/vol_1402_akin.pdf.

As already indicated about the Upper East Regional museum's dysfunctional cooperation with the heritage site, and equally, its inability to keep abreast of contemporary change there, it is useful to assume that expectations brought to the heritage site by some tourists are influenced by the interpretation given in the regional museum. For example, a tourist expressed in her blogpost that she thought of visiting a historic site "showing cultural practices from the past."⁶³ In this statement, it is likely she visited the museum before the heritage site, because the visual presentation of the heritage site in the museum portrays the landscape as a pristine and untouched heritage site, which gives tourists the mental imagery of travelling to a remote area to see something ancient. Conversely, after her arrival in Tengzug, she came up against a different expectation of seeing the distinctive active sacred landscape, and even further experienced the sacredness of the Tonna'ab shrine by respecting and responding to local protocol of "going topless" – which she expresses as a "once in a lifetime opportunity". Although her original expectation was not met, a different experiential activity compensated for it. This scenario brings into question how many tourists might have found themselves in this same situation? Because tourists using the museum as point of inquiry before visiting the heritage will have shaped expectations which may have impacted their visit with dissatisfaction or who may have experienced something new (as in the above example).

3.6.2 Descriptive summary of tourist expectations

As part of the questionnaire, I asked tourists "to describe their experiences at Tengzug heritage site in the best possible way." The summary of tourists' expectation shows that most tourists were generally satisfied with their experiences (see Table 6), although some tourists gave further remarks such as "...tour guides should be upgraded" (respondent 1. Germany), "...the sites need more development with handbooks, leaflets and more guides" (respondent 3.

⁶³ "So This Is Africa," accessed February 20, 2017, <http://sothisisafrica.blogspot.com/>.

United Kingdom) and “...it will be nice to have a place of convenience for tourist to relax and or visit the washroom.” (Netherlands)

Table 6. Descriptive summary of tourist experiences.

| International Tourist | Ghanaian tourist |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| “the local people are nice and welcoming” (respondent 1, Germany) “It was interesting, and relaxing.” (Italy) “It is so direct and kind of [normal]” (respondent 2, Austria) “Culturally interesting” (respondent 2, Germany) “Amazing view” (Belgium) “I was really happy to visit the place” (TripAdvisor 2015) | “Great” (respondent 1) “Today is my first day but I was impressed” (respondent 3) |

3.6.3 Potential experiential activities

The summary above shows that tourists were generally satisfied with what was presented to them by their tour guide, but there are equally experiential and participatory activities that may further improve or even increase these experiences. I discussed potentially interesting activities with tour guides (using their comments about what some tourists do beyond the usual tour) to structure the most common activities as part of the questionnaire for tourists to select. The proposed activities include local songs, farming, shea butter-making, local beer tasting, and house construction. These activities were purposefully selected because they are seasonally conducted and encourage access to participation. When the 15 respondents were asked to select more than one participatory activity of interest, the most common interest was local house construction, followed by local songs (see Table 7). Beer tasting, shea butter-making, and farming were the less interesting activities respectively. Although the results are small, they nevertheless suggest some of the possibilities and potentials of what some tourists would be willing to experience in terms of participatory activities.

Table 7. Showing results of potential experiential activities.

| Activity | local songs | Shea butter making | Local beer tasting | Local house construction | Farming |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| No. of interested respondents | 7 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 3 |

3.7 Conclusion

The Upper East regional museum is officially the only museum that interprets the culture heritage of the Tengzug heritage site. However, given its physical separation from the Tengzug heritage site, the museum is not functionally connected to the site in a way that ensures a good collaborative interpretation of the site's heritage. Importantly, the location of the regional museum is strategic and crucial for the Tengzug heritage site because the site partly depends on the museum for proper intellectual orientation that is updated for tourists and partly for its image promotion. Equally, the curatorial vision of the museum shows that the museum needs cultural heritage sites like Tengzug to enrich its interpretations and performance. A possible opportunity for the museum to enrich its collection and performance may be in establishing a collaborative and functional interpretation activity with the Tengzug heritage site.

Understandably, one essential feature of CBE is the importance of community-driven heritage, which provides for a different tourist population curious to go beyond popular cliché and ready to make an extra effort, both physically and intellectually, as demonstrated in the tourist profile. This implies that site experiences and expectations are crucial for the maintenance of the CBE. As the results of tourist experiences suggest, most tourists are pleased with their tour experiences (despite some inconveniences), and they are ready to go beyond the traditional site trail for more enhanced experiences.

Further analysis of some tourist remarks (mainly bloggers and TripAdvisor reviewers) shows the complexity and attractiveness of the Tenzug cultural landscape cannot be completely understood within the cultural landscape alone. Some aspects of the heritage sites need more intellectual input to improve international tourists' understanding. For example, the sacredness of the site, which has Earth and Ancestral shrines, needs a more enhanced means of communicating its significance for tourist appreciation, because some comments suggest that they did not understand the relevant nuances of the sacred space. They made comments like... "The shrine itself wasn't too intriguing, just a pile of feathers and some old baskets" or "...It was nothing more than a small cave with a pile of feathers of chicken and smears of shea butter on the rock".⁶⁴ Importantly, this challenge presents an opportunity for the Upper East Regional museum to redefine its curatorial vision in order to shape the meaning and understanding of such aspects of heritage sites that many international tourists do not find interesting. Further, this may enhance the museum approach of enhancing more intellectual access to attractive and complex information not provided at the heritage site.

⁶⁴ Sachin Patwardhan, "Navrongo and Tongo," accessed February 25, 2017, <http://ghanaxp.blogspot.com/2011/03/navrongo-and-tongo.html>; "So This Is Africa," accessed February 25, 2017, <http://sothisisafrica.blogspot.com/>.

Chapter 4 -The Situation in the Tengzug Cultural Landscape

The chapter, divided in two parts, focuses on findings from the field research. The first part focuses primarily on summaries of discussions with the local tour guides and shrine functionaries for an emic disclosure of what they consider cultural heritage value(s); which framework informs their interpretation, and the challenges they face as guides. I have contextualized discussions in three categories: cultural heritage values, interpretation framework, and local issues. I depended on the personal commentaries of the tour guides for the summary (see Table 8) because they have invaluable knowledge about the community and routinely play a crucial role in answering enquiries from prospective tourists. For the sake of privacy and convenience, the names of the tour guides have been replaced with the letters A B C D.

The second part discusses community-based ecotourism interpretation impacts and constraints in the Tengzug cultural landscape. It also presents an evaluation of the CBE interpretation. In addition, it discusses an alternative interpretation of the cultural landscape with its opportunities and potential impacts.

Table 8. Summary of discussions with local tour guides

| Tour Guide | Cultural Heritage Values | Framework for Interpretation | Local Issues |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tour Guide A | 1. Festivals 2. Shrines 3. Baobab trees 4. Local houses 5. Local technology (leatherwork, basketry, iron smelting) | 1. "I offer an on-site guided tour by using my experience and acquired knowledge from eco-tourism training." 2. Tourists sometimes direct their attention to engaging in local interactive activities (for example, house plastering, and shelling nuts) whenever | 1. "Some of my colleagues lack basic training, yet they are officially guiding tourists." 2. Some people from the chief's homestead are also giving tour guide services. 3. "I don't even know what NCRC is doing. Since 2009 they have stopped contacting and communicating with us." |

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | 6. Rock shelters | we come across such an activity during on-site guided tours or when we visit other settlements. | 4. "All that GTA is interested in is collecting data on a tourist's return. They hardly check on the progress and sustainability of this ecotourism project." 5. Some tourists litter and violate the environment. "...we understand that what brings good also brings bad" – with emphasis on how the ecotourism project has a dualistic effect; economic benefit and unaccepted practices from some tourists. Tourists sometimes violate ritual objects leading to the shrine, especially during festivities, and this causes inconvenience for the community. |
| Tour Guide B | 1. Festivals. 2. Shrines 3. Local technology (blacksmith, leatherwork) 4. Baobab trees (for food and cultural importance) 5. Rock shelters 6. Local beer (<i>Pito</i>) | 1. "I offer guided tours using my knowledge of local culture, as well from training." 2. "When tourists ask to see other places of interest, I take them there." | 1. "English Language limits my expression." 2. "We lack monitoring or evaluation." 3. No interpretive materials here. 4 These are not the only sites we have, however, their closeness to the TIC limits the presentation of other sites. 5. "NCRC and GTA are not helping us at all." 6. Some people from the chief's homestead also guide tours. |
| Tour Guide C | 1. Shrines 2. Festival 3 Rock shelters 4. Houses | I offer guided tours using methods from training. | 1. "GTA is not helping this initiative as it used to." 2. Parallel tour guiding service by some members of the chief's homestead without any training. They provide inaccurate interpretation and distort information. 3. "English Language is sometimes a challenge for me." |
| Tour Guide D | 1. Festivals, 2. Rock shelters. 3. Baobab tree (refugee camp) | 1. I don't have any training but I can give guided tours 2. I learnt on the job by observing my colleagues. | 1. Adult tourists get tired easily during field tours. 2. "All that GTA is interested in is collecting data on tourists' returns. They hardly check on the progress and sustainability of this ecotourism project." |

4.1 Discussion

Tengzug local tour guides play a central role in the existing tourism setup as representatives of the community and information providers to perspective tourists. Their responsibility as site ambassadors (in) directly promotes tourism depending on tourists' experiences, which may inspire re-visitation or recommendations.⁶⁵

4.1.2 Perspective on labour conditions for tour guides

The labour circumstances of the Tengzug tour guides are essential for understanding their performance because their position in the existing tourism initiative is crucial for its success or otherwise. To other tourism stakeholders it may seem that local tour guides' job security is assured because of the community-driven ecotourism initiative, but for local tour guides there are other factors affecting their performances such as low remuneration for their work, their enthusiasm and dedication for work being undervalued, and inadequate training.

A primary challenge facing tour guides is, despite their arduous working conditions, the pay for their services is low, and this influence most of them to take on extra jobs for additional income to enhance their living and family expenses – all the tour guides have wife(s) and children. Thus, some tour guides (two from observation) are unproductive and not committed to working full time. In addition, the low tourist arrivals also impact commitment to tour guiding, so sometimes on a typical day, the tourists' information centre operates without any tour guide waiting to receive tourists. Sharing a personal story, one tour guide stated: “this job is not as interesting as it used to be, there are no tourists coming and I cannot solely depend on it for my living, that's why I am taking a temporary job in another town as a polling agent.”⁶⁶ In pressing situations, sometimes the accumulated monies paid by the fewer tourists for tour

⁶⁵ Kokel Melubo and Christine N. Buzinde, “An Exploration of Tourism Related Labour Conditions: The Case of Tour Guides in Tanzania,” *Anatolia* 27, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 505.

⁶⁶ Field interview. Interview by author. Tape recording. Tengzug, July 15, 2016

services are tampered with by the bookkeeper (some tour guides take on extra roles as bookkeepers), which amounts to irregularities in book keeping and tension among the tour guides. This was shown in one tour guide's discontentment by stating that "our chairman (leader of tour guides) embezzles the money we collect from tourists and he fails to render proper accounts when he is called."⁶⁷

Further, a key concern raised by all the tour guides was the lack of attention towards their performances and the low status accorded to them by some tourists and external tourism stakeholders, which implicated the government. However, I could not find enough information to support this claim. Nonetheless, it is crucial to their performance and the community alike, and needs further inquiry. In general, against all odds, tour guides stay positive about their mandated job to render tour guiding services for tourists.

4.1.3 Local tour guides' perspectives on heritage values.

When I asked tour guides to explain the heritage values that are important to them and the community, their responses were similar (see Table 8. Cultural landscape values). They further explained that the natural sites which are seen to have both functional and spiritual meaning, historic places, sacred groves, continuing social and cultural practices that are all valuable to the community and are traditionally safeguarded through restricted access. Restricted access is a conscious approach to preserving cultural and heritage significance for the present and future generations. Access/restrictive access in this thesis is not only limited to access to places in the cultural landscape. It also includes access to social and cultural activities, thus, access or restrictions on social participation.

⁶⁷ Field interview with Tour guide C, Interview by author. July 16, 2016.

In summary, the Tengzug community's perspective on cultural values centres on four categories:

- Spiritual values
- Continuing social practices
- Historic places.
- Natural environment (both open and restricted access)

4.2 Frameworks for Interpretation

4.2.1 Conventional interpretation

The term *conventional* interpretation in this thesis refers to the interpretation developed by the CBE project stakeholders. The conventional tour uses site or nature trails, and a few local tour guides trained to interpret the natural and historical heritage of the landscape. The interpretation for the on-site tour gathered its sources from historic experiences and myths associated with natural and historic places. The interpretation offered to tourists has no reference to scientific information, especially archaeology, although there have been continuous excavations in this cultural landscape since 2002.

4.2.2 Evaluation of the CBE conventional tour interpretation

- There are no landscape orientation guides and updated maps, so it is difficult to orient yourself as a tourist.
- Interpretation is centred in one settlement out of the seven potential settlements. Many interesting landscape markers are under-visited. Only tourists with more time to spend get the chance to learn more about the cultural richness of this landscapes.
- The proximity of the TIC, located in Bonchiing settlement discourages the visibility of other villages or sections.
- Interpretation of the historical past is well presented by some tour guides.

- The existing conventional interpretation content does not provide a variety of interesting activities for tourists to choose from, like choosing to visit plant (tree) shelters instead of rock shelters.
- No convenient electronic platform (website) or print media exist to allow tourists to access the cultural landscape information before and after their visit.

4.3 The CBE impacts in Tengzug

In general, tourism impacts the community by bringing social benefits as well as inconveniences. What I discuss below focuses on the latter, that is, the remarked upon and emerging undesirable impacts associated with existing CBE interpretation

4.3.1 “Musealizing the Landscape”

The study of existing conventional tours in one village suggests that the context of interpretation focuses on the historical narration of happenings at selected natural sites. The selective interpretation and scheme of presentation (unchanging narratives delivered in the past tense) place the cultural landscape in a static time setting – fixed in the past – without linking them to contemporary ways of life. This encourages undertones of an artificial separation of the physical landscape and the people. This reflects a similar idea to “musealizing” objects in traditional museums – where objects are torn from their uninterrupted routine of utilization, labelled with inscriptions, and appropriated for touristic consumption.⁶⁸ For Tengzug, the selected physical landscape becomes the object of presentation to tourists, while the social activities that encourage a sense of connection in shaping its distinctive local meaning are

⁶⁸ Michele Piazzai, “Stop Amassing Cruts and Stones!” (Erasmus University, 2012), <https://thesis.eur.nl/pub/12775/Piazzai%20-%20Thesis%20final.pdf>.

underrepresented. This situation can be attributed to musealization -- described as a “fossilized outdoor museum”.⁶⁹

4.3.2 *Parallel tour guiding*

Other tour services compete with existing *conventional* tour guiding. Their activities have resulted in tension between local tour guides and some residents (unofficial tour guides) from the local chief's homestead. As explained by one external observer, these residents, motivated by a higher authority within the community offer similar conventional tours to tourists. While there have been consistent complaints about this situation from the local tour guide to the local chief, traces of this activity persist. It cannot be said with certainty that this parallel tour activity is only influenced by insider activities. There are complaints against tour guides about their lack of financial transparency, which is equally said to have instigated this parallel tourism. However, my observation suggests the poor nature of the TIC and its proximity to the chief's homestead make it easier for tourists to mistakenly consider the latter as being the official TIC. Thus, the occupants in the chief's homestead take advantage of this lack of clarity to make money instead of referring them to the TIC. This parallel tour activity, aside from its economic benefits, frequently results in interpretation inconsistencies and actual misinformation.

This situation underlines one important question: how far can heritage institutions like the Upper East Regional Museum and Ghana Tourism Authority enforce monitoring measures in Tengzug as external stakeholders? Although the community controls the tourism project, in my opinion, external monitoring is more relevant because, as part of the museum's civic responsibility, the museum shares the role of custodian of the heritage with the community.

⁶⁹ Nora J. Mitchell et al., eds., *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, World Heritage Papers 26 (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2009).

The community should be informed about the relevance of tourist management and respect for designated and trained tour guides because misinformed interpretation mostly affects the community's image and impacts tourists' experiences.

4.4 The alternative tour

There are opportunities for experiential and complex interpretation in the Tengzug cultural landscape that could foster a sense of interpretation and presentation by the community using their basic knowledge that differ from the conventional tour guiding service. But these types of interpretation and presentation are yet to be officially recognised as innovative and attractive means of engaging tourists who want to go beyond clichés and who are ready to make an effort to experience more, physically as well as intellectually.

The alternative tour is defined in this thesis as a tourism initiative inspired by the community using their traditional knowledge systems as well as tourist engagement and experiences. The term “traditional knowledge system” has no specific definition because of what Hussain and Armitage term intrinsic complexities,⁷⁰ but this thesis will utilize and be consistent with Berkes's definition. According to Berkes, traditional knowledge is “a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs, handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment.”⁷¹

Apart from visits to the Tonna'ab Shrine there are some social activities that are practical and indirect, require less formalised talking (learning by doing), and are easy to participate in. These social activities are mostly discovered by interested international tourists,

⁷⁰ Hussein and Armitage, “Traditional Heritage Management”; Fikret Berkes, *Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Perspective in: Inglis Julian T(ed). Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases* (Ottawa, Ont., Canada: International Program on Traditional Ecological Knowledge, 1993), 3.

⁷¹ Berkes, *Traditional Ecological Knowledge*, 3.

who only travel beyond the existing standard site trails if they are looking for more indirect forms interpretation.

For example, as expressed by tour guide A, during on-site trail tours when some international tourists come across shea nut shelling activities or a mud house where remoulding activities (in the dry season) are taking place and wish to participate, permission is sought from the locals and in most cases access is granted. Therefore, for a tourist who may be interested in experiencing something different, probably an indirect interpretation after countless direct interpretations at other sites, h/she may not get to know about such experiential possibilities unless they make the effort to discover them themselves. Even so, chances are slim that the tourist will run into such opportunities because these social activities are seasonally regulated. Information about these alternative tours with their associated interesting activities are not communicated by tour guides during orientation and after the tour because they have not been recognised officially as potential opportunities for creating a dynamic heritage experience that may be complex and attractive for a variety of tourists willing to absorb more cultural nuances.

4.5 Potential socio-economic challenges in Tengzug

The alternative tour may increase tourist visits to the site and promote activities like craft production as well, which is good for the community's socio-economic development, but may equally have an undesirable impact on the community. This is especially true when craft production and alternative tourism are given the same weight in increasing community participation for economic improvement. The former is relevant for this discussion. It may influence changes in traditional and local subsistence forms of living.⁷² In some extreme cases, for example the Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site in Botswana, local production of crafts for

⁷² Susan O. Keitumetse, "Investigating the Impact of World Heritage Site Tourism on the Intangible Heritage of a Community: Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site, Botswana," *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, n.d., accessed May 13, 2017.

culture practices has changed significantly. Goods produced as ordinary touristic artefacts for sale based on tourist demand were numerically greater and therefore had a greater economic weight.⁷³

The direct potential consequence in Tengzug may include the destruction of unique local production sites due to over-utilization, for example, the unique hollow rock surfaces and smithing sites for production. It may also affect authenticity in knowledge and information transfer for future generations because the overproduction of crafts for tourists may be susceptible to infiltrated mass-production techniques which are not unique to the community. In addition, there will be potential pressure on natural resources (raw materials) in the heritage site for production affecting local subsistence, because locals may have to share what they consume with increasing demand from tourists. For example, the relatively small wood sources in the landscape and neighbouring communities will be over-utilised as fuel for smithing sites to produce more metal crafts. In a related case, a special plant species, (*Veta vera*) or elephant grass, in and around the heritage site may go extinct because of over-cultivation of fibre for basketry.

4.6 Conclusion

The conventional interpretation is informative, privileges oral history in presentation, and gives more insight into the historic events at certain interesting sites in the landscape. The conventional tour is relevant for existing tourism because it shows important archaeological, natural, and cultural sites and demonstrates diversity in presentation. It limits the absorption of the landscape richness and nuances, however, because of its restricted interpretive and communicative medium – tour guiding. The interpretation is direct and the framework has

⁷³ Ibid.

petrified the landscape because interpretation is not dynamic and disconnects the historic past from contemporary social activities.

Meanwhile, there are opportunities for alternative tours to enhance the tourism experience as part of the existing conventional tour. This alternative tour has the potential to diversify the channels of communication through doing, creating more appealing interpretations that allow locals to utilize their basic knowledge to communicate other significant aspects of the cultural landscape. Importantly, the social experiential activities that constitute the conventional tour are season specific and follow the local calendar. Thus, sustainability may be maintained when potential alternative tours are realised using the local calendar and seasonal rhythms.

I have acknowledged the potential impacts of the socio-economic development associated with alternative tours. Rather than promoting crafts as part of enforcing community participation in socio-economic development, the latter should primarily focus on the alternative tour to enhance the existing conventional tour in order to give tourists a complex, meaningful, and attractive interpretation of the site(s).

Chapter 5- Towards an All-Encompassing Interpretation Framework at the Tengzug Heritage Site.

The foregoing discussions have demonstrated that there are opportunities in addition to the official conventional tour for interpreting and presenting the Tengzug cultural landscape in a more attractive and meaningful way. These opportunities, when realised, will ensure a more informed interpretation, creating an enriched tourism experience. Internationally recognised interpretation guidance models already exist that can be used to realize these ideas. In the absence of a national interpretation framework to consult first before making further suggestions, I had recourse to the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (the 2008 Ename charter)

5.1 The Ename charter

The Ename charter defines basic guidelines or principles for effective and meaningful interpretation of cultural heritage sites. It operates as an innovative document that primarily makes communication of the significance of cultural heritage sites flexible, and provides cultural heritage experts with pre-crafted frameworks to examine and critique in order to enhance their own interpretation practices.⁷⁴ Thus, these formulae can be adapted to make interpretation relevant and suitable for specific cultural landscapes. In Africa, the successful application of the Ename charter has been widely demonstrated in the South African cultural landscapes. For example, an analysis was carried by Keitumetse to examine the living stone memorial sites that have multiple cultural identities.⁷⁵ Similarly, the successful interpretation

⁷⁴ Susan Osireditse Keitumetse, *African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016).

⁷⁵ Keitumetse, "African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice."

plan for Robben Island Museum centralizes the Ename charter, where the institution was able to integrate the complexities associated with this politically loaded heritage site for enhanced interpretation.⁷⁶ This inspired me to consult the charter and make it relevant in the West African context.

5.2 Making the Ename charter useful at the Tenzug cultural heritage site.

An approach to make the 2008 Ename charter meaningful in the Tenzug heritage site is to adopt compatible principles from the charter and integrate them into the local context for an enriched and meaningful interpretation. This will ensure that the existing conventional and potential alternative tours at the site rely on frameworks that keep abreast of modern global standards as well as keeping attuned to local knowledge systems.

It is important to address the opportunities and challenges in Tenzug with specific indicators from the charter in order to create locally relevant interpretation principles. Accordingly, I have assessed the Ename 2008 charter to highlight specific indicators (see Table 9 for the analysis), and I acknowledge that it may have limitations. The assessment should be considered as a first attempt in designing an interpretation plan specific for Tenzug. Therefore, I suggest that in-depth research is still required. The 2008 Ename charter comprehensively defines seven principles of sustainable interpretation. However, this thesis will utilize and be consistent with four of these principles (including selected indicators):

- understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites
- using science and living cultural tradition to communicate local heritage values
- safeguarding of both tangible and intangible values
- engaging all relevant stakeholders.

⁷⁶ Robben Museum, “Robben Island Interpretation Plan,” accessed May 7, 2017, <http://www.robben-island.org.za/>.

Table 9. Assessing the Ename charter for interpretation opportunities and challenges

| ICOMOS Charter Principle Numbers | Indicators identified in the context of the Tengzug cultural landscape | Compatibility and problems identified within Tengzug cultural landscape. |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Principle 1: Access and Understanding | 1.2 “Interpretation and presentation should encourage individuals and communities to reflect on their own perceptions of a site and assist them in establishing a meaningful connection to it. The aim should be to stimulate further interest, learning, experience, and exploration”. | The potential alternative tour (indirect interpretation) in Tengzug encourages the community and individuals to reflect on how they discern the landscape. However, the CBE interpretation has a more prominent presence/role here than the alternative tours. |
| | 1.5 “Interpretation and presentation activities should also be physically accessible to the public, in all its variety” | There are limitations to access cultural heritage values. Restricted access is very much emphasised and local protocols must be respected and not interfered with in this regard. |
| Principle 2: Information Sources | 2.2 “Interpretation should be based on a well-researched, multidisciplinary study of the site and its surroundings. It should also acknowledge that meaningful interpretation necessarily includes reflection on alternative historical hypotheses, local traditions, and stories.” | Oral histories associated with historic sites are well represented and can be further enhanced through other media. Archaeology and other relevant knowledge crucial to improving existing interpretation is, to date, only found in scientific books and journals. |
| Principle 3: Context and Setting | 3.1 “Interpretation should explore the significance of a site in its multi-faceted historical, political, spiritual, and artistic contexts. It should consider all aspects of the site’s cultural, social, and environmental significance and values.” | Opportunities in the alternative tours (indirect interpretation) are yet to officially be acknowledged at the site. They would enhance meaningful tourism, allowing exploration of the varied heritage of sites’ significance. |
| | 3.5 “Intangible elements of a site’s heritage such as cultural and spiritual traditions, stories, music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts, local customs and culinary heritage should be considered in its interpretation”. | There are opportunities in the alternative tours to increase the visibility and representation of intangible cultural elements at the site. |
| Principle 6: Inclusiveness | 6.1 “The multidisciplinary expertise of scholars, community members, conservation experts, governmental authorities, site managers and interpreters, tourism operators, and other professionals should be integrated in the formulation of interpretation and presentation programs.” | Knowledge and technical assistance from museum experts and findings from scholarly research are not integrated into existing interpretation activities. |

5.2.1 Example of good practice of co-existence interpretation

There is already a World Heritage site in Nigeria, the Sukur cultural landscape, which shares similar landscape features with the Tengzug heritage site and is realizing an interpretation framework that can offer practical advice for Tengzug. Although information on the site's webpage does not refer to the Ename charter as being a model for its successful co-existent interpretation, my impression is that it has been created along the lines of the Ename principles. Therefore, I am looking at this site as a good example in order to see whether it can offer me further practical ideas or to what extent such working examples can be relevant for Tengzug heritage. The site is relevant to use as a good example for Tengzug because not only does it have similar landscape characteristics as Tengzug, it has been through a careful evaluation process before getting listed as a World Heritage site. In addition, it has a working management plan that guides its sustainability.

5.2.2 The Sukur cultural landscape

The Sukur cultural landscape is landscape located in Madagali along the Nigeria/Cameroon border. It was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1999 using Criteria (iii) (v) (VI). The site is an old settlement on a hilltop with a maximum elevation of 1045m. It is famous for iron smelting technology, dating back to the 16th century. The landscape is characterized by farmland which is intensively cultivated.⁷⁷

The cultural heritage, which is protected by the laws of the state, comprises thirteen clans. The site utilizes an interpretation framework that combines social experiential activities with conventional interpretation.⁷⁸ While it chiefly employs the traditional management system

⁷⁷ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Sukur Cultural Landscape," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/938/>.

⁷⁸ W. Nzeda Tagowa, *Rural Tourism as a Factor of Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Sukur WorldHeritage Site in Adamawa State, Northeastern Nigeria in: Carlos A. Brebbia and Wessex Institute of*

of taboos and restricted access, traditional knowledge is integrated with conventional practices like archaeology (supported by the State Council of Arts and Culture) to re-enact iron smelting, with a view to reviving indigenous furnaces in the community.⁷⁹ This way, each clan provides communal support to encourage greater community participation, as well as creating a convenient means for facilitating knowledge transfer to younger generations. This gives the community a sustainable way of engaging a variety of tourists by using knowledge that appeals to them whilst being guided by scientific knowledge. In addition to guided tours and the provision of brochures and flyers, the site has an informative website that provides information from the community to the wider public.⁸⁰



Figure 28 A section of Sukur Cultural landscape. Image adapted from Positive Nigeria.

Technology, (Eds.), The Sustainable World, WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment 142 (Southampton: WIT Press, 2011), 677.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 681.

⁸⁰ “Sukur Cultural Landscape Home Page,” n.d., accessed April 26, 2017; “Sukur Cultural Landscape (Nigeria) | African World Heritage Sites,” accessed May 15, 2017, <http://www.africanworldheritagesites.org/cultural-places/traditional-cultural-landscapes/sukur.html>. <http://www.sukur.info/home>

Tengzug needs a locally relevant interpretation framework because of the challenges and opportunities it offers in its surrounding local landscape. I have therefore assessed the site using specific indicators from the 2008 Ename charter to underline these challenges and opportunities. Examples of good practices from the Sukur heritage site were also consulted. The desired outcome is to construct site-specific interpretation principles as part of a proposed interpretation plan.

Chapter 6: Proposal for an Interpretation Plan

Heritage interpretation in Tengzug may be richer, better, and more complex when communicated in a way that recognizes the multifaceted heritage richness and as well activating the diverse media communication channels available in addition to the existing more standard media. What I am doing in this proposal is building on the interpretation and presentation offered by the tour guides. To make interpretation more meaningful, I have identified potential opportunities at the heritage site that are relevant, but not unified with what is currently offered to tourists. I have underlined these opportunities to inform the proposed interpretation plan. In principle, interpretation can be described as the fundamental step needed to communicate the richness of this cultural landscape. It requires the respect for and use of relevant interpretive media. For effective interpretation to prevail, it requires an interpretation plan. At the basic level, an interpretation plan provides the strategies and guidance needed to interpret a heritage site for tourists, especially international tourists.⁸¹

Designing an interpretation plan for the Tengzug cultural landscape is the fundamental step necessary for organising tours of the landscape and structuring how existing and potential stakeholders may make sense of these tours. This requires developing effective instruments that maintain the interest of all the recognised stakeholders, including locals and tourists, as well safeguarding the rich characteristics of the landscape.⁸² Effective instruments are developed by responding to essential site-specific questions.⁸³ Thus, for the potential effective instrument to be realised, this interpretation plan proposal will answer the following questions:

⁸¹ Lawson et al., *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items*.

⁸² Aleš Smrekar et al., “A Methodological Basis for Landscape Interpretation: The Case of the Ljubljana Marsh,” *Acta Geographica Slovenica* 56, no. 2 (February 17, 2016), doi:10.3986/AGS.875.

⁸³ Ibid.

- What are the potential interpretation principles for Tengzug?
- What are the potential themes for interpretation?
- Who are the tourists?
- What potential interpretive media are compatible with Tengzug?
- How can the existing interpretation infrastructures be improved?
- What are the potential interpretation sites and social experiential opportunities?

One advantage at Tengzug is the existing interpretative infrastructure that was developed by the community-based ecotourism project. It defined the current interpretation sites and built a tourist information centre. Therefore, the proposed interpretation plan aims to build on and enhance the existing interpretation framework already identified in the thesis.

6.1 Interpretation Principles for Tengzug

As part of the interpretation plan, I am constructing interpretation principles to show how interpretation and presentation programs in the site should be imagined.

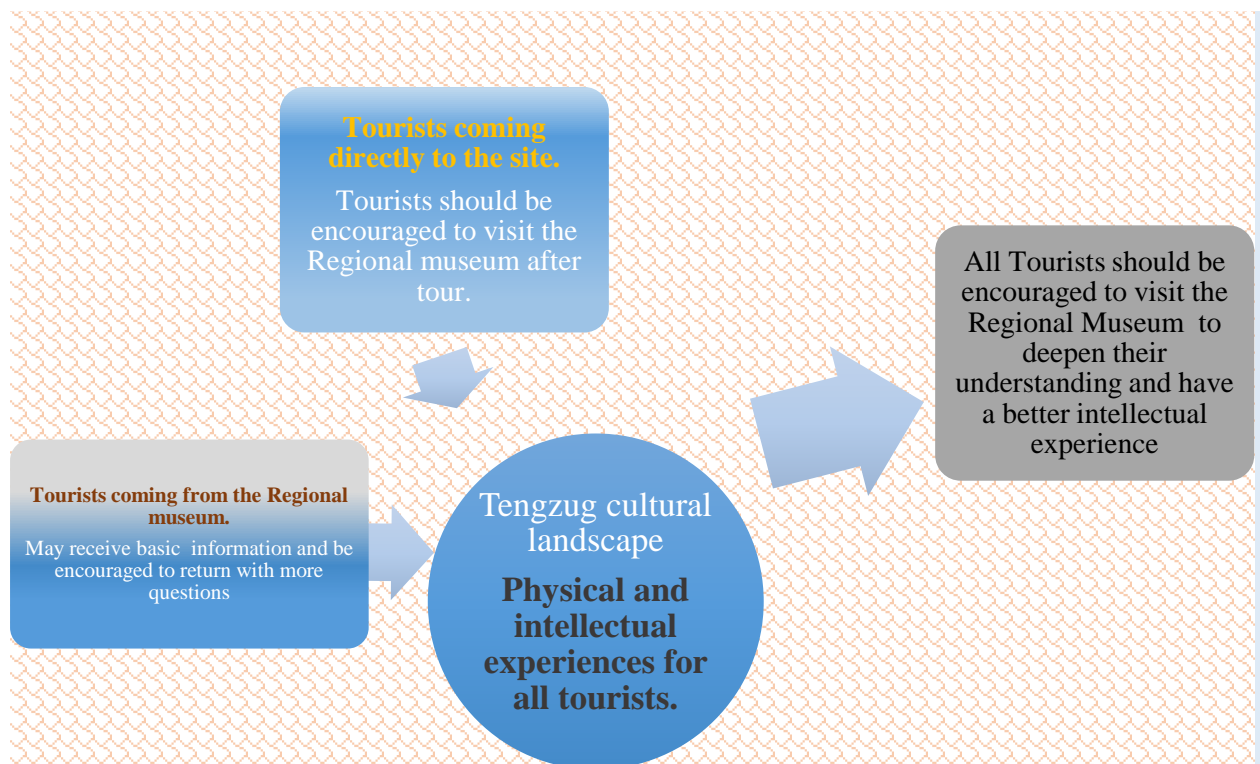
Table 10. Interpretation Principles for Tengzug.

| | Principles of interpretation | Specific application |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Respect for community's customs of open access and restricted access. | Cultural Heritage practitioners, researchers, and tourist should respect local customs of access and restricted access. Traditional protocols of access in the community are very much emphasised in all spheres of community activity. This has encouraged conservation practices. Thus, heritage practitioners and tourists need to respect them accordingly in all regards. Respect must equally be accorded to tourists to whom landscape significance is being communicated. |
| 2 | Consistent cooperation with heritage experts and cultural institutions for inclusive interpretation and representation. | Little research has been done in the Tengzug cultural landscape, therefore it will be important to promote further research through ethnography, archaeology, cultural anthropology and cultural heritage studies. National and regional museums offer interpretations of the heritage site, however, there is no relationship |

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | <p>between the interpretations offered in those institutions and interpretations presented in the community. Therefore, there should be further research to develop a plan that will establish the relationship.</p> <p>In addition, the museums can collaborate with researchers and use results from their scientific study on, for example, iron smelting and smithing as tools for the community to make informed decisions on how to interpret the technology to the wider public, which in effect may enhance knowledge flow among these stakeholders and as well as cooperative interpretation.</p> |
| 3 | Interpretation should have a fair representation of the cultural landscape characteristics. | The perspective of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage is crucial for the meaningful understanding of the people and the landscape. Some of the landscape characteristics are underrepresented or not at all represented in the existing interpretation although they are important so they should be incorporated. For example, the sacred character is represented but other relevant social experiential characteristics are not represented. |
| 4 | Interpretation should be thematic and relevant in local context. | The existing interpretation is structured in relation to the site trail, but not thematised. This has meant that other important landscape characteristics have been systematically ignored and has limited the opportunities to present the landscape in an attractive and complex manner. Therefore, interpretation should be thematised so that other landscape characteristics and potential ones may be acknowledged. |
| 5 | Interpretation should be season-specific. | Most potential social activities that can be integrated in the existing standard interpretation are seasonally conducted. Therefore, to reduce potential impact, interpretation should respect the seasons in which such activities are conducted. |
| 6 | Interpretation should use multiple media to facilitate communication. | The existing conventional interpretation media (traditional tour guiding) is good and relevant for the sites but there are other communication channels such as seasonal experiential social activities, maps, brochures, and photographs. These media may further improve understanding of the diverse richness of the landscape, which may enhance tourists' experience both physically and intellectually. In addition, the potential media channels should appeal to both the local community and tourists. |

6.2 Commencement of the tourism experience.

Based on the assumption and the findings from this thesis that tourists coming to visit Tengzug have probably had already seen or will see the Regional Museum, I want to rely on the museum as a resource. It must be stated that I do not intend to construct a potential museum interpretation in this interpretation plan, but since the role of the museum in supporting potential activities and opportunities is relevant, I have made some references of interpretation opportunities in the museum (see table 11). I can imagine that for a complex and richer interpretation and tourism experience, tourists should visit the Regional museum either before or after their visit to the living site.



How I imagine tourist movements

6.3 The thematic framework

The thematic framework is central to the functioning of this interpretation plan and it reflects the significance of the Tengzug heritage site. The thematic framework is important because it offers an adaptable structure that allows the linkage of Tengzug stories and experiences for an informed interpretation plan.⁸⁴

What I am discussing here is my own imagination of how the heritage site should be experienced. I am using this thematic framework as a tool to structure and synthesize complex and rich experiences, including the existing conventional tours — which are direct and not thematic — and other opportunities identified in the alternative tours. This, as I imagine, will encourage the flexibility to have both direct and indirect interpretation, hence tourists may have better options to absorb the cultural nuances at the convenience of both themselves and the locals. The proposed themes are interrelated and potential tourists should consider them as opportunities to explore further the meaning and significance of the landscape. With all that said, the three main themes can be summarized as:

- Tengzug as the epicentre of resistance
- Life on the sacred hill
- Joining hearts and hands – the creative experience

⁸⁴ Office of Environment and Heritage, “Hill End Interpretation Plan and Implementation Strategy” (Sydney: Office of Environment and Heritage, 2014), <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/planmanagement/draft/20140364HillEndIPIP.pdf>.



6.4. Table 11. Interpreting the Themes

| <div>Tengzug as the epicentre of Resistance</div> <div>Living on the Sacred hill</div> <div>Joining hearts and hands</div> | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Main interpretive goal | Tourists get to experience the multifaceted historical narratives that contribute to the landscape's distinctiveness. | Tourists will understand and appreciate the contemporary life in Tengzug through the eyes of the Tallensi, who recurrently shape and give meaning to the site. | Locals and the wider public may discover unique opportunities to experience complex and rich social experiential activities. |
| Existing /potential sub-themes to discover | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indigenous life before colonialism 2. Complexities of community resistance against colonialism. 3. Narrative of indigenous living. 4. The settlement system before and after colonialism. 5. Indigenous architecture. 6. Utilization of rock and tree refuges | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Continuity of tradition in the Tonna'ab Shrine. 2. Unique annual festivals 3. Community land and resource use systems 4. Local technology production processes. 5. A Tallensi market day out. 6. Night life in Tengzug 7. Interesting hybridity in architectural forms. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Building Tengzug architecture 2. Processes of indigenous iron smelting and smithing 3. Learning the intricacies of leather and basketry working. 4. Dancing in the Annual <i>Golib</i> festival. 5. Archaeology and continuity, cooking |
| Existing Interpretive media in the landscape | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tour guiding | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interaction/ participation with a shrine functionary at the Tonna'ab shrine | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Visits to designated households to participate in traditional household remoulding activities. |
| Opportunities for potential Interpretive media in the landscape | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Brochures 2. Models of local architecture 3. Site trails 4. Photographs 5. Maps | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seasonal guided tours to industrial sites. 2. Periodic short audio-visual documentaries. 3. Guided tour to the chief's homestead (nucleated family system). 4. Brochures 5. Participation in Annual <i>Golib</i> Festivals 6. Maps | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annual local building workshops at the model house using traditional knowledge systems. (location can either be model local architecture or any identified community remoulding activity) 2. Annual smithing and smelting workshops at site in-situ using traditional and other interpretive media. 3. Participation in leather and basketry making using local traditional knowledge systems in the model local architecture. 4. Cooking and eating meals. |
| Existing /potential Interpretive opportunities in the Regional museum | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-orientation programs with updated photographs and brochures. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Invitation of tour guides for special community forums. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Occasional invitation of locals to the museum to share their traditional |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Post-heritage site complex intellectual tour 3. Material culture exhibition. 4. Webpage 5. Popular/public interpretation of local archaeological excavations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Story telling session on international story-telling day. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> performances and knowledge with the public. 2. Cultural heritage awareness programs. 3. Public archaeology presentations |
| Potential schemes to interpret the site through Events | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annual public education. 2. Museum on wheels. See http://anoghana.org/kiosk-culture-exhibition/ 3. Collaborative knowledge exchange workshops with media companies (example heritage talk shows) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cooperative knowledge exchange workshops with media organizations (example heritage talk shows) 2. Museum on wheels. See http://anoghana.org/kiosk-culture-exhibition/ 3. Public events where related themes are discussed 4. Podcasts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Occasional invitation of locals to the museum. 2. Museum on wheels. See http://anoghana.org/kiosk-culture-exhibition/ |
| Interpretive experience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acknowledgement and respect for diverse sites. 3. Complex shared stories embedded in oral knowledge. 2. A memorable journey through outstanding landscape markers and settlements. 3. Panoramic undulating boulders. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An experience in the Sacred Shrine 2. Opportunity to observe local market days including local farm and industrial products. 3. Deepen understanding of subsistence living. 4. Hangout in local wine bars. 5. Appreciating intensive rock uses for routine daily and leisure activities 6. Local tales, local stories 7. Experiencing tropical weather conditions. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Moulding and decorating local architecture with indigenous tools and material. 2. Memorable interactive participatory activities. |
| Target Audience | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tourists spending short hours in the landscape | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tourists living around the community and willing to explore more, physically and intellectually. 2. Tourists visiting for annual festive events. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tourists living around the community and willing to explore more, physically and intellectually. 2. Tourists visiting for annual festivals. 3. The local community 4. Researchers and specialists 5. Traditional technology and vocational schools |

6.5 Traditional Knowledge as new interpretive media for a Tengzug tourism initiative

This thesis has identified that the Tengzug cultural landscape may support multiple media, and Traditional Knowledge has been identified as an indispensable aspect of a potential communication channel to consolidate the existing tour guiding. Although I am using Traditional Knowledge Systems as an overarching concept to stress the importance of local involvement in the Tengzug tourism activity,⁸⁵ what is relevant, as I imagine, is the systematic integration of social activities – identified with the alternative tour– as an essential medium for further intellectual and physical interaction between the community and wider public. I recognize the absolute relevance of using this media, because the traditional knowledge is embodied in the locals who have long experience in managing the cultural resources through generations of practical experiences.⁸⁶

As the media have yet to be recognized, an introduction is essential to create awareness. The introduction of this media should start from consulting local people who have the knowledge and expertise in an identified social or cultural activity which has tourism potential. It should also be under the premise that monitoring and continuous support through relevant technical training is ensured by cultural heritage institutions, preferably the Ghana Monument and Heritage Board. Training and monitoring may include developing a cultural experience-based training that will continuously help locals transform cultural information to educational and intellectual assets so that specialized locals may have the competency to function as interpreters for experientially based cultural activities.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ S. Mostafa Rasoolimanesh and Mastura Jaafar, “Community Participation toward Tourism Development and Conservation Program in Rural World Heritage Sites,” 2016, doi: 10.5772/62293.

⁸⁶ Susan Keitumetse, “Cultural Resources as Sustainability Enablers: Towards a Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) Model,” *Sustainability* 6 (n.d.): 70–85, accessed May 20, 2017.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

With that said, alternative tourism will have a meaningful entry into the tourism initiative to be recognized officially as part of resourceful media in addition to the existing tour guiding. What is important in this discussion is the introduction and validation of alternative tour as an indispensable communication media that can strengthen the existing tourism experience. I cannot go into further detail about how this media should be modelled because it will require more expertise and ample time to construct, which requires further additional research.

One main operational directive I imagine for this media is that it should be consulted at specific times within the local calendar to serve a special kind of tourists. This means that the media may only be utilized based on an agreed time in accordance with the traditional calendar. So, for example, designed experiential interpretation for iron smithing and smelting may be advertised for some targeted tourists only twice a year during the dry season. If this pattern is followed, it can enforce sustainable utilization of the media, which will follow a natural pattern of the local cycle.

6.6 Table 12. Proposal for interpretive infrastructure restructuring

| Name | Description |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tourist information centre | The tourist information centre in the Tengzug landscape plays a crucial role in structuring tourists' orientation. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the TIC is dysfunctional and important resources or tools to enhance tourists' expectations are not available. Thus, informational materials like maps, brochures about the community and leaflets are unavailable either as hard-copies or PDF downloads, etc. This has impacted the tourism experience. The tourist information centre should be developed and equipped with informational and promotional material to improve tourism experience. While proposing revamping the TIC, I suggest that the centre should be moved to Nanchieyir (see fig. 31). This would encourage easy landscape orientation and better visibility for other settlements. In addition, relocating the TIC centre may mitigate existing parallel tour guiding which is impacting tourism in the landscape. |
| Model house | The model architecture should be restored so that it can function in its initial purpose of enhancing tourist understanding of indigenous local architecture. |

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | <p>It may also serve as an alternative for tourists interested in local settlement history and it gives a better experience of mud house amidst the increasing architecture hybridity.</p> <p>The model house can also serve as a venue for conducting interactive activities and practical projects, especially in the dry season.</p> |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

6.7 Proposal for interpretation sites

There are potential sites with rich and relevant narratives that may contribute to the existing sites to enhance landscape diversities. These sites were revealed by local tour guides as important and accessible. But they require further structuring to accommodate tourism. These sites have the advantage of diversifying heritage values and will increase visibility to other settlements and nearby community unlike the existing site trail that is limited to one settlement.

Table 13. Proposed Interpretation Sites

| Name | Description |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Baobab Tree | A rare flora species, the baobab trees in the landscape, have distinctive utility values, including shelter for meetings and relaxation, symbolic value as shrines; educational value and food. The baobab tree is a symbolic “living” repository of historical memories that still contribute to the cultural biography of the Tengzug community. The most unique and interesting baobab tree is in Tambog settlement. The tree served as a shelter for victims fleeing conflicts and has similar relevance as the hiding cave. It is famous locally for its great size and symbolic significance. |
| Local brewery | This site is located in Tongo popular for local beer “pito” production. The beer is a cereal alcohol produced from millet. The site is also famous for its brewing skills that make use of indigenous knowledge in brewing. The site also central in gathering headmen to share local stories over pito and xylophone music. |
| Smithing and smelting sites | Smithing is only conducted in Sakpee, and it’s the only settlement responsible for the production of cultural and household metal objects. |
| leatherworks | Gundari settlement is known producing animal skin costumes and bodily adornments are for local festivals. |

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In this study, I have presented and discussed the Tengzug landscapes characteristics, the existing interpretation and experiences, and advanced my argument underlining the core point that Tengzug is a unique and important cultural landscape in Ghana, and that there are opportunities in the landscape and other resources to inform an attractive and complex presentation of the site to build on the current monolithic interpretation and presentation.

The aim of this study was to examine the existing perceptions and experience of the stakeholders and contrast them with good practices elsewhere in an interdisciplinary framework mainly informed by heritage studies and landscape biography. By doing this, I used landscape biography and an innovative framework to highlight and discuss the heritage values in the Tengzug cultural landscape. This framework led me to blend multiple academic disciplines to define the meaning of landscape from its past inheritance to the living present. Thus, by combining different academic fields – most significantly archaeological information due to the limited research in the study area – it was possible for me to describe the heritage values in this landscape from the academic point of view.

In addition, I believe heritage values should be seen through the eyes of the local community, therefore I used semi-structured interviews to acquire more information about the heritage values from local tour guides. Although it was challenging because I could not interview more important personalities from the community as I wished to, nonetheless the information from tour guides was certainly valuable. Also, I purposely relied on their knowledge, not only because they are tour guides from the community, but because their invaluable knowledge has informed important published research connected to the cultural landscape. This, in my view, contributed more perspective on what scholars have said and what is now said by locals. It also informed a better understanding of the inherent opportunities in

this cultural landscape. I also assessed the challenges and opportunities inherent to the existing interpretation and presentation by the local tour guides through qualitative analysis and participant observation.

Further, tourist surveys from the field were analysed through descriptive analysis. I felt the replies from the field survey were too few to draw statistically viable conclusions so I combined information from the survey with information from the internet to gain a more informed perspective on tourist experiences.

The results from the survey and interviews show that although tourist expectations are not always met after arrival, they are generally satisfied with the interpretations currently offered on the landscape but may want to explore further interesting and complex interpretive activities which underpin social experiential activities. Tourist comments also revealed the fact that the multi-layered characteristics of the heritage site and its complexities cannot be completely absorbed in the cultural landscape. Some aspects of the heritage sites are not only about physical access but require more of an intellectual contribution on the part of tourists to make them truly understandable.

This shows the relevance and responsibility of the National and Regional museums to utilise this opportunity for offering further enriched interpretation in their space so that they become relevant for the heritage site and vice versa. It is clear that the National Museum and Regional Museum present the heritage of the cultural landscape but there is little or no connection between interpretation in the landscape and the ideas currently presented in these museums. If the museum expands its curatorial vision to accommodate this opportunity, it can certainly contribute to a more attractive and better interpretation, because the regional museum already offers a partial interpretation of the heritage site.

The results of existing tour guiding activity at the heritage sites show that the selected and presented sites are relevant and diverse because they are representative of the landscape's varied physical characteristics. However, there are other sites that can further enrich what is being presented such as the other villages that comprise the settlement network of the region, which features heritage sites like the baobab tree.

In addition, although the existing conventional tour is structured in terms of following a designed site trail, it presents sites in a way that is not thematised. This has limited the representation of other important sites that have similar characteristics as the existing sites in terms of rich and relevant narratives. As part of the proposed plan for effective communication about the other relevant but non-presented sites, I have suggested interpretive themes for these sites.

The study of communication media revealed that in addition to the existing communication medium, which is standard for tour guiding and relevant for interpreting the sites (although some guides find it challenging to communicate in English), there are other forms of complex and more experiential-based media. These media are already being utilised but have not been officially acknowledged as opportunities for enriched and complex interpretation. I have argued that traditional knowledge as alternative media should be introduced in the tourism initiation for a complex tourism experience both intellectually and physically. My analysis of international interpretation charters and research on examples of other cultural landscapes in Africa that currently work well and are sustainable gave me good ideas for highlighting opportunities for developing informed interpretation principles for the Tengzug cultural landscape. I have developed interpretation principles to guide potential interpretation in the site.

To sum up, I have synthesised all the above information to achieve the thesis's outcome by developing an interpretation plan as a recommendation for complex and meaningful interpretation in the Tengzug cultural landscape. I hope to make the interpretation plan relevant for the community and the regional museum. But further research in all related academic fields is necessary in Tengzug for a more informed approach to seeing and understanding the site.

All projects have first steps. On my return to Ghana I will need to develop a network of like-minded individuals who I can work with to develop my ideas. I have already had lengthy discussions with two senior members from the Ghana Museum and Monument Board who are progressing with their innovative story-telling initiative and are equally interested in Tengzug. These two people will be my first resource persons to consult with on the outcome of this thesis. Timothy Insoll and the professors from the University of Ghana are equally resourceful people who may use their experience and expertise in working at the site to further suggest recommendations. The tour guides are very open and willing to assist in any regard, which gives this thesis more relevance. It is my hope that when all the necessary resources are put together to inform a richer interpretation, tourism in Tengzug may be better.

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Appendices

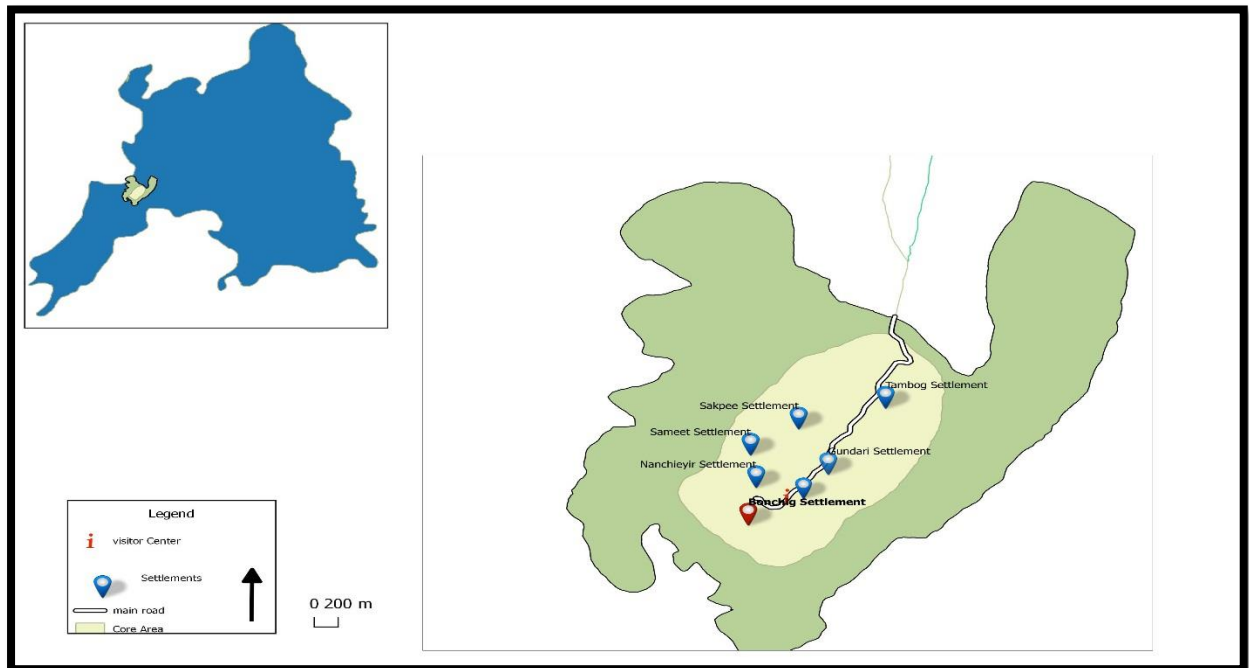
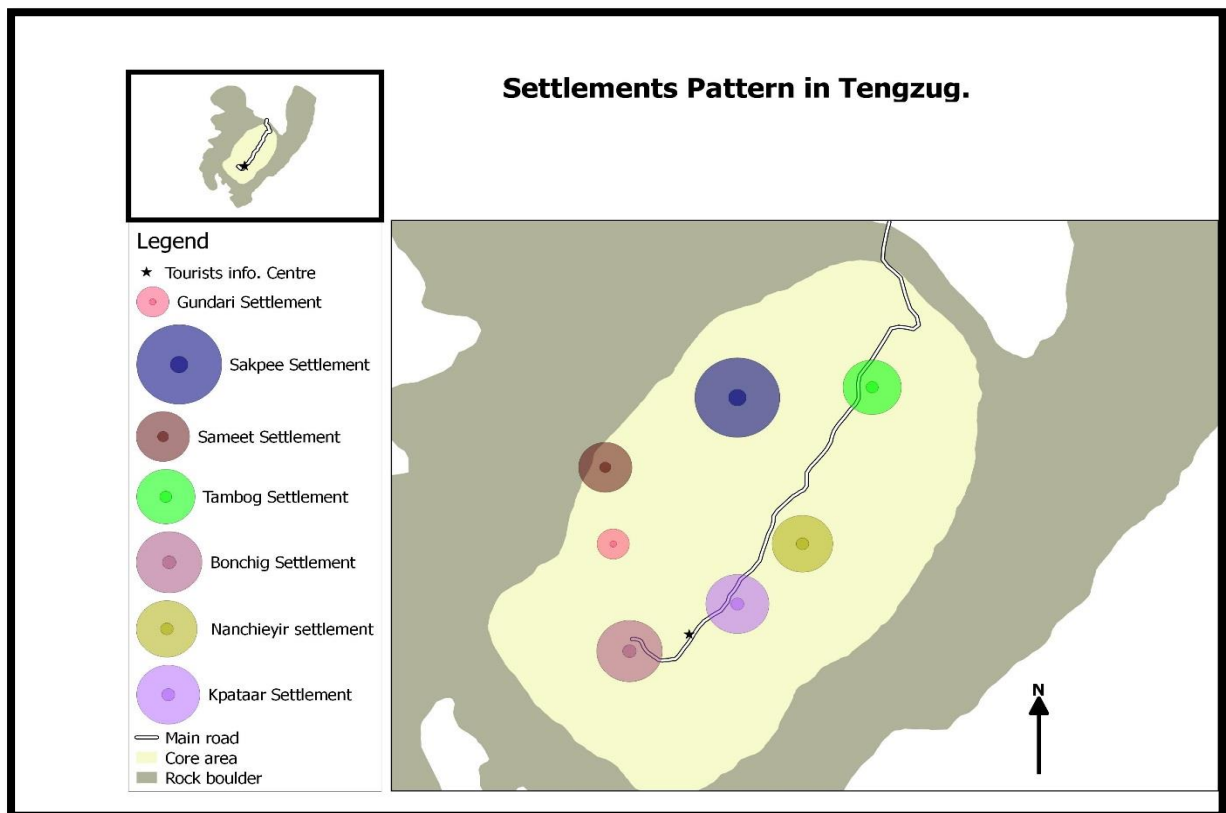


Figure 29 Tengzug within the Nabdam Administrative region.



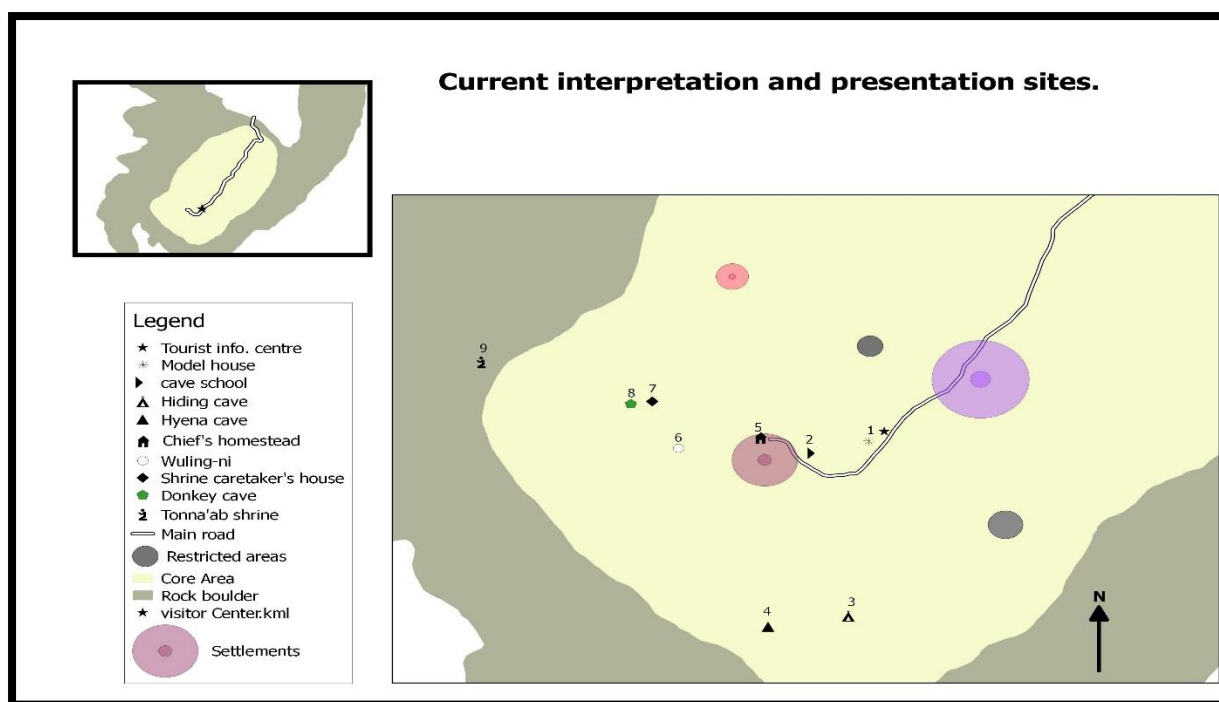


Figure 30. The current interpretation is centralized in Bonchiing. The numbers indicate site tail

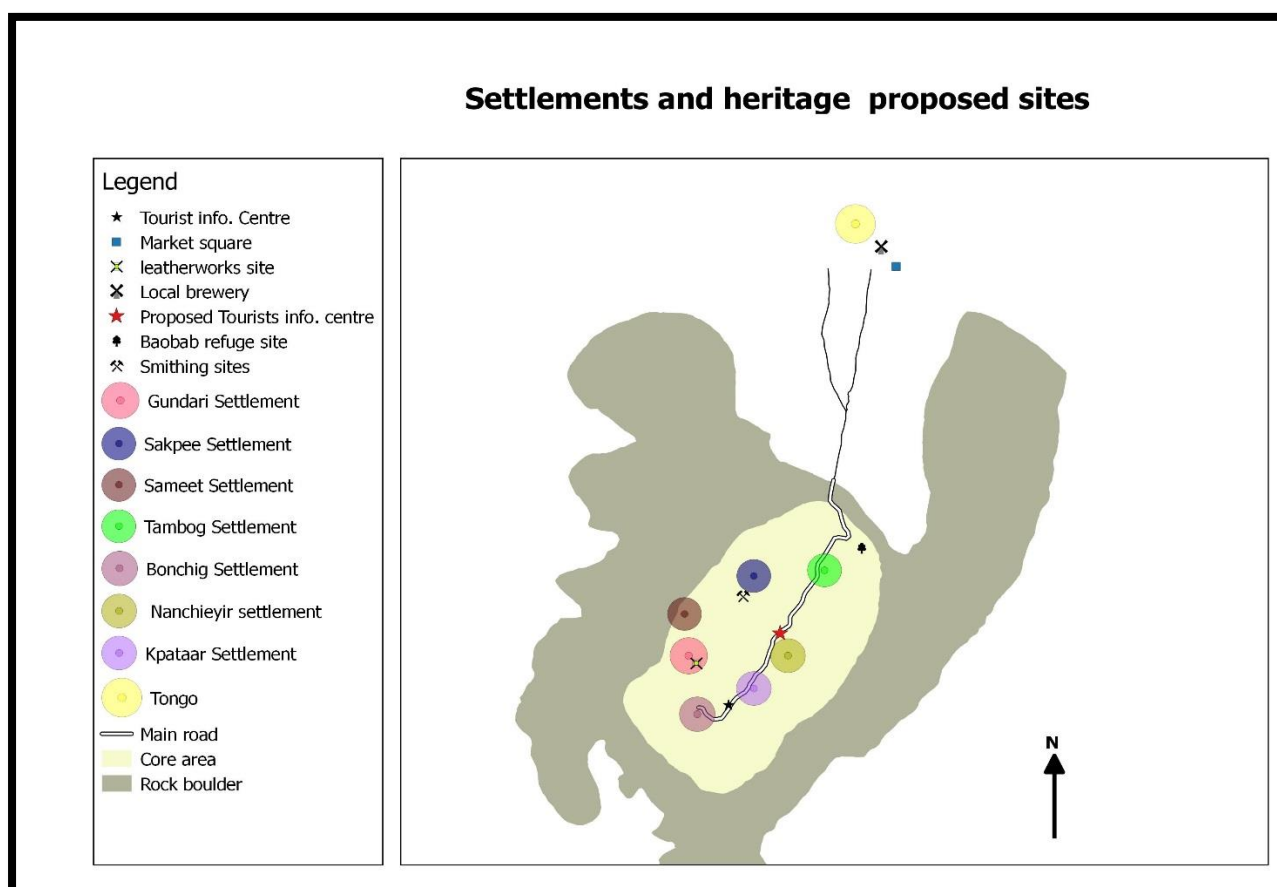


Figure 31. Relevant but not featured sites and Proposed sites.

Visitor experience survey at Tengzug

My name is Faisal Mohammed and I am a student of the Cultural Heritage program at the Central European University, Budapest. This survey is conducted as part of a master's thesis on Tengzug heritage interpretation and development. I will greatly appreciate if you could take the time to complete the following questionnaire.

Name:

Date:

Age:

sex:

Nationality:

occupation:

Place of residence:

1. Which of the following best describes your situation today?

On a short trip.

i. On a day out

ii. On holiday away from home in the area

| |
|--|
| |
| |

2. Approximately how far did you travel to get here today

3. How long did you intend to spend here today?

.....

4. Why did you decide to visit Tengzug?

.....

5. How did you find out about Tengzug?

.....

.....

6. During this trip which of the attractions will you remember most and why?

.....

.....

7. How best can you describe your experience at Tengzug attraction places?

.....

.....

.....

9. Your rating of services rendered by tour guide: please tick [✓]

| | excellent | good | satisfactory | unsatisfactory | poor |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------|--------------|----------------|------|
| Overall services rendered by guide | | | | | |
| Tour guides interpretation of the site. | | | | | |
| How well did you get all the information your tour guide gave? | | | | | |

10. Would you take advantage of participating in cultural activities if they were available?

Yes [] No []

If yes, what would you like to learn about?

- i. Music []
- ii. Farming []
- iii. Shea butter making []
- iv. Local beer tasting (pito) []
- v. Local house construction []
- vi. Other (please list)

11. How will you compare other sites you have visited in Ghana to Tengzug

.....

12. Write any comments you want to share

.....

Thank you very kindly for your participation

Interview consent forms



INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TOPIC: STRATEGIES IN HERITAGE INTERPRETATION FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES; THE CASE OF TONGO-TENGZUG.

My name is Faisal Mohammed and I am a student of the Cultural Heritage Program at the Central European University, Budapest. This interview is conducted as part of a master's thesis on Tenzug heritage interpretation and development.

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the above study.
2. I agree to the interview being electronically recorded.
3. The purpose and nature of the study have been answered to my satisfaction.
4. I agree that my name may be used for the purposes of the study.

Name of interviewee: Gertuile Aba M. Ejifa-Bachiryo (Mo)

Signature of interviewee: [Signature]

Date: 04 August 2016

For Researcher

I have explained the purpose of the study to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed.

Signature of Researcher: [Signature]

Date: 09/08/16



INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TOPIC: STRATEGIES IN HERITAGE INTERPRETATION FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES; THE CASE OF TONGO-TENGZUG.

My name is Faisal Mohammed and I am a student of the Cultural Heritage Program at the Central European University, Budapest. This interview is conducted as part of a master's thesis on Tenzug heritage interpretation and development.

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the above study.
2. I agree to the interview being electronically recorded.
3. The purpose and nature of the study have been answered to my satisfaction.
4. I agree that my name may be used for the purposes of the study.

Name of interviewee: Prof. Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng

Signature of interviewee: [Signature]

Date: August 03, 2016

For Researcher

I have explained the purpose of the study to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed.

Signature of Researcher: [Signature]

Date: 07/08/16



INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TOPIC: STRATEGIES IN HERITAGE INTERPRETATION FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES; THE CASE OF TONGO-TENGZUG.

My name is Faisal Mohammed and I am a student of the Cultural Heritage Program at the Central European University, Budapest. This interview is conducted as part of a master's thesis on Tenzug heritage interpretation and development.

1. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the above study.
2. I agree to the interview being electronically recorded.
3. The purpose and nature of the study have been answered to my satisfaction.
4. I agree that my name may be used for the purposes of the study.

Name of interviewee: Mathew D. Mzik SAKO

Signature of interviewee: [Signature]

Date: 04/08/16

For Researcher

I have explained the purpose of the study to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed.

Signature of Researcher: [Signature]

Date: 04/08/16