


FESTIVALS AND CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

A CASE STUDY ON CHALE WOTE STREET ART FESTIVAL



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DECLARATION

I, Wushama Tuferu, declare that except for the works of other authors duly acknowledged, this research is the result of my own original study under the supervision of Dr. Karolina Doughty and Dr. Emmanuel Akwasi Adu-Ampong towards the award of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN TOURISM, SOCIETY AND ENVIRONMENT (MTO).

REFLEXIVITY AND POSITIONALITY COMMENTS

As a student, I went into this research with little knowledge of creative production. I also chose to research this topic because of my interest in placemaking and the central role places around the world are still fluid and ordering processes and activities. My choice of context for this research, that is Jamestown in Ghana and Chale Wote Street Art Festival was influenced by my bid to research on the tourism experience of Ghana from another perspective other than heritage and ecotourism. In addition, considering scant knowledge on the role of events and festivals in placemaking and my positionality, I planned to conduct a qualitative study to be able to understand how events and festivals contributed to placemaking, and to find out and understand the activities of events organisers in the context they work. Also, even though I seek to write about the event since its onset, I however acknowledge that most of my experiences at the 9th edition of Chale Wote will highly influence my approach on this topic. Reflecting on the data collection stages, my role as an “insider” (a Ghanaian) played a part in helping me navigate my research setting and to be able to communicate with locals and other participants at the festival.

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This academic piece of work is not produced based on my sole efforts. I had guidance, encouragement, and support in different forms from many people and to these following people below and many more people who may not be mentioned, I am truly grateful for your support during this journey.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my lovely parents; Inspector Mumuni Tuferu and Mrs. Suale Rahinatu for their continuous support and encouragement in every facet of my life. And to my younger brother; Abdul Gafar Tuferu for his immense help and support throughout this journey and especially during my data collection.

ABSTRACT

Festivals and events have been critiqued as not having positive impacts on destinations and residents beyond “festivalisation” of urban space. Due to this, past literature has approached and associated events and festival to place branding- leading to scant literature that approach festivals from a placemaking perspective. By using Chale Wote Street Art Festival as an example of a place-based event, the research reveals that beyond place branding, events have place making outcomes. Chale Wote Street Art Festival contributes to placemaking because, the festival creates a positive image for Ga Mashie on one hand. On the other hand, through fusion of arts, culture and history, the festival provides space for socialisation and networking between locals and visitors. In extension, the festival also helps in social construction of the place by redocumenting history through re-appropriation of historical buildings; adding value to community assets; promoting community participation which leads to economic gains and diversifying tourist experiences in the country. Notwithstanding this, the research finds that community participation and huge turnouts are not only the factors that can sustain place-based festivals like Chale Wote for many years. In this regard, the research recommends that the event organisers should focus on how to maintain the community assets that they rely on and to use a structured participation programme. This will boost community participation and help them to monitor impacts in the areas of education, skill development and in addressing primary concerns of residents that may arise in the future.

Keywords: *Event Tourism, Creative Placemaking, Chale Wote, Jamestown, Ghana*

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the experience seeking economy, festivals and events have been sought after by people who tie their travels to witness events such as music, arts, and film events among others. In relation, many countries have put in place policies to promote event tourism since it provides competitive advantage (Getz, 2013). Event tourism is where destinations are promoted through events to attract people who are motivated to travel for such events (ibid). However, due to the business approach used by event organisers to sell destinations, events have been criticized for serving as avenues for “festivalisation” (Cudny, 2016) of places, cultures and urban spaces. Hence, this perspective leads to scant literature that view events from a standpoint where events bring meaningful impacts on destinations beyond marketization and economic benefits (Lee and Arcodia, 2011). Consequently, events literature has been associated more with place branding than from a place making perspective.

In association, the role of events and festivals in place branding has been well documented (Lee and Arcodia, 2011; Derrett, 2004). But recently, there is a shift in this thought as events and festivals have also come to be conceptualised from a placemaking perspective (Brito and Richards, 2017; Richards, 2017). Here, events and festivals are identified to have placemaking influences because of their role “... in a wide range of externalities, including economic impacts, image change, social capital and cultural regeneration” (ibid. p. 2).

Placemaking is a multifaceted activity because urban and regional planning takes place at different scales (top-down or bottom-up or combination of both public and local strategies) (Arefi, 2014; Strydom et al., 2018). Placemaking is a deliberate attempt to improve the quality of a place through planning and application of community assets and by extension, to create and manage public spaces with the purpose of improving a community’s wellbeing, happiness

and health (Wyckoff, 2014). In association, improvement in quality of place comprises of and not limited to using strategies to make community members respect cultural heritage, making a place accessible, and providing spaces for recreation, socialization and for people to connect (ibid.2014).

Place branding is associated with application of business strategies to promote destinations and its assets for competition and profit motivation (Pasquinelli, 2013), Placemaking on the contrary is not always backed by business motives but more focussed on community, people and building a better place (Wyckoff, 2014). However, in order to promote place-making, event organisers are also encouraged to use more commercial approaches for the benefit of the place and residents (Platt and Ali-Knight, 2018). Pasquinelli (2003) defines place branding as applying "... business theories and practices to places with an emphasis on corporate branding in order to establish a fair reputation and build a brand equity supporting the pursued development path" for local and regional development (p.1).

Contrary to this critique of events and festivals as avenues for commercialisation of culture and places, events such as grassroot festivals for example have been found to contribute to placemaking because of the impacts it has on communities and locals. Platt and Ali-Knight defines "grassroot festivals as those that originate from within a community and are place-based." (p.262) and due to this, "... place-embeddedness is a key contributing factor to festival success (ibid. p.263). In association, as community assets are important in event planning, event organisers are also important because of their ability to identify these community assets to solve indigenous problems (McNaughton and Gray, 2017).

Based on the arguments above, the research seeks to add to the scant knowledge that seek to associate events and festivals to placemaking. Hence, in doing this, the research examines Chale Wote Street Art Festival in Accra, Ghana from a creative placemaking perspective.

Creative placemaking is one type of placemaking (Wyckoff, 2014) which was coined by Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa. Creative placemaking is a process where “... partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighbourhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities.” (Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa, 2010 p.3)

Chale Wote Street Art Festival is a contemporary arts festival organised by Accra [dot] ALT in the oldest districts in Accra. Accra[dot]ALT is a group of local creatives including “artists who fuse art with history and digital technology to create new, revisionist work.” (Olorunmaiye, 2018). By using forts with dark histories, the festival organisers re-appropriate historical spaces and to envision such spaces to new light and not with the dark histories that it represents. Chale Wote Street Art Festival is known for reliance on community assets, accessibility and high patronage from local and international audiences. The festival since its inception in 2011 has created an avenue for community members, local artists, international artists and tourists to celebrate different forms of art including street painting, music, dance, graffiti and films in Jamestown, Ussher town and across other spaces in Accra. In addition, the festival organisers provide vending spaces for businesses “in arts, crafts, food, drinks, fashion, design, technology, outdoor and adventure activities ...” (ibid. 2018).

In this regard, the research sees it as a form of creative placemaking initiative and hereafter, this problem statement is derived.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Events and festivals have been conceptualised from a place branding perspective leading to scant knowledge that associate events and festivals to placemaking.

METHOD FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM

To examine Chale Wote Street Art Festival from a creative placemaking perspective for the purpose of finding out its role in place shaping; how it contributes to the quality of the place it is organised, and in what ways the festival positively impacts residents.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main research objective is to find out the place making outcomes of Chale Wote Street Art Festival in Jamestown. In so doing, the research seeks to produce contextual knowledge to show that creative placemaking is beyond just using market strategies to attract people for profit gains. The research also looks at these other layers because, central to placemaking is the role of actors, the place they work and the power relations they must navigate in their contexts. Hence, the sub-objectives include;

1. To identify the role of bottom-up actors in creative placemaking.
2. To examine the role of place in influencing creativity.
3. To examine the role of institutions in influencing event planning.
4. To study the role of events and festivals in placemaking.
5. To identify the role of capital in event organisation.
6. To find out how Chale Wote contributes in diversifying experiences in Ghana.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is central in creative placemaking is the role of event organisers in planning and the role of places in influencing their activities. Hence, the research seeks to answer this main research question.

Q: How are the role of place and bottom-up strategies influential in the emergence and success of a contemporary street arts festival in Jamestown?

And more specifically the research looks at the following sub-questions to answer the main research question.

Q1: In what ways are the cultural assets and legacies of Jamestown applied in the production of Chale Wote?

Q2: What forms of capital do the organizers acquire by virtue of working in the place?

Q3: How has Chale Wote over the years shaped meanings and narratives about Jamestown?

Q4: How has the production of Chale Wote been propelled or constrained by institutions (formal and informal)?

Q5: In what ways has Jamestown benefited from this creative production?

Q6. How has Chale Wote contributed in diversifying tourism and tourist experiences in Ghana?

RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH

The research contributes to the already existing literature about the tourism experience of Ghana which for many years has been focussed on nature and heritage tourism (Adu-Ampong, 2018; Teye, 2000). The ramification of this is that it creates an image for Ghana as a destination for heritage and ecotourism and therefore attracting specific tourist typologies and investments. By using Chale Street arts festival, the research however, identifies and explores event tourism as another growing form of tourism in Ghana. By doing this, I am of the conviction that this research will expose Ghana as a destination for events thereby attracting tourists and investments in this area. In doing this, the research examines the prospects of event tourism in the country, how it contributes in diversifying tourism products and experiences; and most importantly, how event tourism can be used to solve some of the issues facing the tourism sector and destinations in the country. These problems include and are not limited to lack of

participation in decision making, repatriation of profits, high level of bureaucracy, unskilful labour and lack of access to credit (Akyeampong, 2009; Holden and Novelli, 2011).

Secondly, for theoretical relevance, besides filling the knowledge gap on the role of events in placemaking, the research contributes on the role of place, culture and institutions (formal and informal) in influencing individual creativity. Also, it examines the role of local actors in controlling tourist flows and experiences; as agents of change in context; and how their activities are influenced by their context. Hence, given the relativity of the activities of people and the space that they function in, literature on Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capital (1986;1990) will be applied as a theoretical lens in the study.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organised in six (6) chapters.

The first chapter gives a background to the study. Here, the research takes from a broader perspective of event tourism in the experience economy and its role in placemaking. Forward, I connect literature that approaches events and festivals from place branding because of its business application and not contributing to placemaking beyond just economic benefits. This leads to the problem statement, research purpose, objectives and questions.

The second chapter includes the theoretical framework and the literature review. The theoretical framework takes from Bourdieu theory of capital and habitus, theory of place and space to provide guidance in understanding how the event organisers are influenced by context and vice versa. There is also the review of literature from past research relevant to the subject matter. This includes literature on embeddedness that assumes that economic activities are socially constructed. This also connects to experience economy and the growing relevance of events and organisers in the experience seeking economy and narrows to the already existing literature that connects events and festivals to placemaking.

The third chapter encompasses the methodology of the study. This chapter also elaborates on the methods used for data collection, how they were used and the strategy of analysing primary data. It also draws the boundaries of the context and the research participants and the ethical considerations applied on the field.

The fourth chapter deals with the research findings from both primary and secondary data sources (semi-structured interviews, observations, tours, attending events, and secondary literature).

The fifth chapter focuses on the analysis of the findings and providing my own insights based on my observations and using the literature review as guidance.

Finally, the sixth chapter sums up the discussion part and provides recommendations for the sustainability of Chale Wote Street Art Festival.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The framework establishes a relationship between individual innate capacities (cultural capital), and the tangible and intangible assets of a place as catalysts for creative placemaking. Drawing from Bourdieu's theory of capital, the framework dwells on *Habitus* which forms the basis for explaining how society is organised. The relational aspect of place and space is also used to show the external influences of places and ideas.

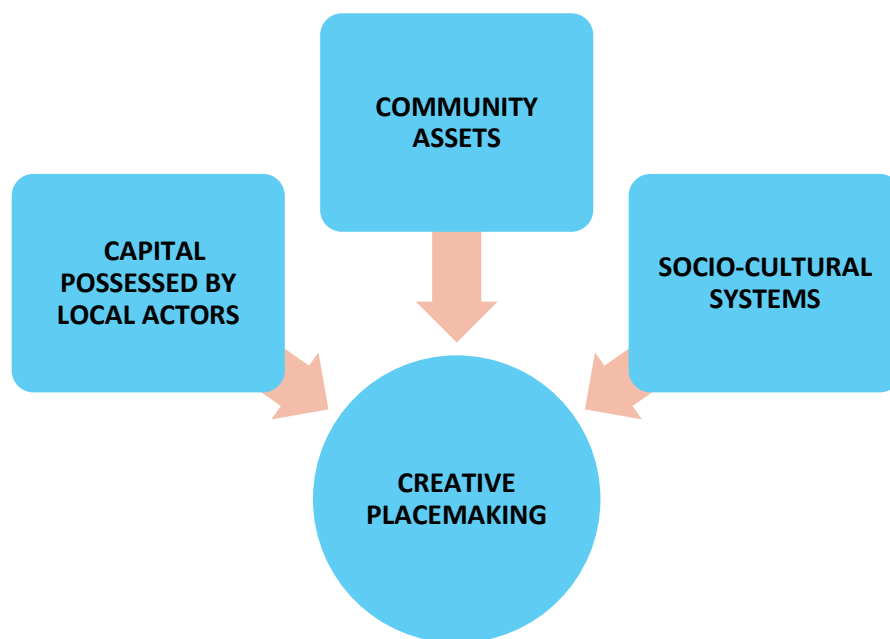


Figure 1 - Conceptual Framework. Credit: Author, 2020

KEY TERMS EXPLAINED

Creative placemaking: Creative placemaking is a process where "... partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighbourhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities." (Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa, 2010 p.3)

Capital: Capital according to Pierre Bourdieu is the foundation of social life. He identifies four types of capital (social, cultural, economic and symbolic). These forms of capital are either embodied by individuals or gained through our association with people in society (1986).

Social-Cultural Systems: These are the norms, values, ways of life and informal rules that govern a society.

Community Assets: These include the cultural, historical and traditional value that are peculiar to a place in the form of tangible and intangible legacies.

HABITUS AND CAPITAL

Rudowicz (2003) asserts that creativity is a cultural phenomenon where he identifies a dialectic between ideas and culture. In that, creativity is not just how people think but it is how their ideas are influenced by their immediate environment. Meaning that, individual creativity is influenced by the context in which creatives live.

In association, whilst structuralists will argue that human behaviour is influenced by universal rigid rules, existentialists however assert that the actions and inactions of people are influenced by individual subjectivities. While these thoughts assume a divide between human agency and societal rules, a French social anthropologist called Pierre Bourdieu however argues that the two do not have to exist as opposites but in unison where societal norms influence human agency and therefore influence how human beings in a place will coordinate their activities just like the clock. Explaining how a group of people with the same religion, nationality, ethnicity, education, social class and profession are inclined to behave the same way because of the existence of rules which governs their behaviour.

Here, Bourdieu asks “how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?” (Bourdieu, 1990a p.65). In that, “Habitus” which forms the basis of Bourdieu’s thoughts orders our predisposition to do things. Hence, our activities are constrained or propelled by the rules of society. Thus, different societies have different habitus which makes

them conform and act with a collective identity. And as individuals conform to these societal rules, they reproduce their habits, ideas, behaviours, norms, activities thereby strengthening the existing order. Hence, as a collective, the habitus determines capital in any society which in turn determines our status, contact and gains as individuals in society (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu identifies different types of capital in every society which include social capital, cultural capital, symbolic and economic capital. Capital for Bourdieu is the basis for social life and when we associate ourselves with a group in society, we gain access to their capital. Cultural capital for Bourdieu is the knowledge of a person and the material gains of an individual as determined by the habitus. The three types of cultural capital are embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital and institutionalised cultural capital. Social capital on the other hand is determined by the networked aspect of a person. It is determined by who a person knows and how powerful or influential they are. So therefore, the more people a person knows or the number of powerful people a person knows increases their social capital. Economic capital includes possessions with monetary value such as cash and property. Symbolic capital on the other hand has to do with status and is closely tied to the other forms of capital (social, cultural and economic). For instance, a person's prestige in society can be determined by how much money they have, who they know or what they know (Bourdieu, 1986).

Even though his spatial contributions are recently adopted in urban studies, Bourdieu's work however has come under criticism for being focussed on his experiences in French society and his experiences in Algeria making his thoughts seemingly suggest a static nature of place (Hubbard and Kitchin, 2010). Hence, the framework will also adopt concepts on the relational and networked aspect of place to show the progressive and influential aspects of creative placemaking. Thus, in trying to understand Chale Wote Street Art Festival and the activities of

local actors, we do not look at them in isolation. But we must connect how these aspects (place, politics and networks) relate.

NETWORKED ASPECT OF PLACE AND SPACE

The central argument to the relational approach to place defines place as an outcome of different processes, contestations and practices (Massey, 1994; Harvey, 1994; Soja 1980). According to Massey, “what gives a place its specificity is not some long-internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus.” (1994 p.28).

Different authors have used theories of scale, networks and positionality to describe how places may be connected to each other due to globalization (Latour, 1987, 1993, 1999; Castells, 1996; Shepperd. 2002; Pierce et al.,2011). However, “networks have recently risen to challenge scale as a way of conceptualizing geographies of globalisation.” (Shepperd 2002:316). Accordingly, network theory becomes relevant in explaining the spatial dynamics of globalisation. Scholarship and research about the politics of place is abound even though the approaches may differ (Massey, 2004;2005; Escobar 2001). On Doreen Massey’s *For Space* (2005), she argues that “the spatial is political” in that; first, space is a product of different interrelations, secondly, space is described as a sphere of heterogeneity, distinct trajectories and multiplicities and finally, space is always under construction due to the influences of different interrelations. This implies that by rethinking space, we see it as a bundle of social, economic and political interrelationships between people, institutions and systems.

Hence, Chale Wote Street Art Festival is approached as a space with different trajectories. Jamestown on the other hand is approached as a ‘spatial identity’ (Jongerden, 2018) due to the different meanings that people give it and on the other hand, because of the possibilities that the place provides for the success of the festival.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This part contains a review of scholarly literature that is relevant for this topic with a special focus on socio-cultural embeddedness, tourism diversification, place branding, destination image, and the role of events in the experience seeking economy.

SOCIO-CULTURAL EMBEDDEDNESS

One of the tenets of embeddedness ascertains that economic activities are a result of social interactions between actors and the context in which they find themselves (Polanyi, 1944). Therefore, this means that economic exchanges in society are socially constructed and not a given. This construction is owed to the specific features of place and the use of these attributes by people. Also, the application of the concept has gained prominence in food, agriculture and quite recently in the context of festivals to explain its relationship with place branding and endogenous developments in place at different scales (Donner, 2016; Vlasov et al., 2018).

In a broader sense, socio-cultural “embedding means attuning of entrepreneurial practices, and consequently of human activities, to local places as well as making global resources, including knowledge obtained in grassroots networks, work in local settings.” (Vlasov et al., 2018, p.388). This is used to explain the relationship that exists between economic actors and the context in which they work in. This also explains how social relations are propelled or constrained by informal institutions (e.g. traditions, customs) and formal institutions (e.g. Organisations, administrative systems) (Pike et al., 2000, p.3). In that, socio-cultural embedding “signifies the importance of where an actor comes from, considering the societal (i.e., cultural, political, etc.) background” (Hess, 2004, p.176). But these economic actors do not act in isolation without establishing social relations with other actors in networks and in other places. Thus, a latter extension of embeddedness by (Granovetter, 1985) is developed to include structural embeddedness which “describes relations between individuals or firms as

embedded in actual social networks”. This indicates how individuals, firms and societies at different levels interact in a “territorially bounded network of social relations” showing their interdependences in these wider networks (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p.1417).

Closely linked to this conceptualisation is how local places may play a role in economic activities by linking people, places and activities through networks. Here, places are areas constituted by different meanings and interactions as ascribed by people (Massey, 1994). Embeddedness cannot be conceptualised without discussing the context in which the social interactions are embedded in. For instance, in trying to understand the concept of embeddedness, we need to understand “who is embedded in what” (Pike et al., 2000, p.5). As indicated by (Hess, 2004, p.167), “doing this requires a fresh look at the nature of actors (who) and on the social and cultural structures involved (what)”. Therefore, the next aspect of the review discusses literature on the role of local actors in place making.

THE INCREASING RELEVANCE OF EVENT ORGANISERS IN THE EXPERIENCE ECONOMY

Experience economy was first used by Pine and Gilmore in 1998. In consumerism, the experience economy is used to explain how consumers now prefer paying for services that provide memorable experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). In this regard, due to consumer choice for experiences, many service providers especially in the leisure and tourism sector have put in place mechanisms to provide services that will provide different kinds of experiences for travellers. Event organization have become important in recent years due to its tendency to increase tourism in cities around the world and providing long lasting experiences which travellers seek. Events have increasingly been used as a competitive advantage by destinations across the globe. This is the more reason why event tourism feature in tourism policies for many countries in the world (Getz, 2013). Over the years, festivals have become part of the strategies used by destinations to diversify tourism products. As festivals have become

important for tourism promotion, so does stakeholders in event organization. The people involved in production of cultural and urban events such as festivals are important since they influence the outlook of place and are involved in bringing different meanings to place at different levels and scales. The activities of event organisers are important because firstly, as indicated by McNaughton and Gray (2017) and supported by Vlasov et al., (2018), actors embedded in place can identify locally situated needs and opportunities and “they also possess knowledge and legitimacy required to access resources necessary to [solve these problems]” (ibid. p. 380). Also, they have the skills of mobilising local communities to act on a common purpose (Berno, 2017). And as argued by Bourdieu (1993), these actors also possess some forms of capital that make them succeed in some settings more than others in the context of cultural production e.g. social capital, economic capital, linguistic capital and cultural capital.

THE ROLE OF EVENTS AND FESTIVALS IN PLACEMAKING

A relationship exists between embeddedness and place branding. As indicated by Donner et al. (2018) the three dimensions of embeddedness – the territorial, network and societal aspects helps us to understand place branding in the context in which they occur. Place branding is an aspect of place marketing (p.4). In this sense, it is a “marketing tool for place management” (Vuignier, 2016, p.9). It is associated with the use of marketing strategies to influence “...people’s ideas by forging particular emotional and psychological associations with a place.” (Eshuis et al., 2014, p. 154-155). Place branding takes place at different scales either at the city level (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005), national level (Fan, 2010), and or at the regional level (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2010; Kavaratzis et al., 2015).

Event organisation normally creates identity for a destination. Whereas place branding is a deliberate attempt to shape place with an intended meaning to attract people mainly for economic gains, place making usually starts with changing meanings of a community which are usually associated with the common goals of the community such as regeneration of urban

areas. Like in the case of regeneration of urban space in Senba, Osaka's historic urban centre (Kana, 2012). This assumption should not be misconstrued as cultural events and festivals or efforts of placemaking may also serve as avenues for commercialization and commodification of culture (Su, 2011). So, therefore, as these two concepts may be similar, it is important to note that placemaking unlike place branding is not always influenced by economic motives (Pederson, 2004). Place branding has its roots from place marketing. Here, place marketing has to do with selling the products and services that comes from a place and not the place itself. Established from a concept developed by Kotler et al (1993), strategic place marketing developed from the idea that place needs to be managed like business due to increasing competition from other places (Anholt, 2010) especially in tourism destinations. Place making for instance has to do with the valorisation of the tangible, intangible and temporal assets of a place (Rastoin, 2012; Perry et al., 2019).

Festivals are an example of place marketing strategies which results in placemaking. Festival studies has been identified as an academic field because of its key role in placemaking and urban development (Platt and Ali-Knight, 2018; Perry et al., 2019). Through a comprehensive case study of four cultural festivals with different strategies in Australia, Darrett (2003) has been able to identify that all these festivals are different because they reflect the "way of life of a place" and a "sense of community" shapes cultural festivals in the Northern Rivers region of New South Wales (p.49). The sense of community can be the support that the community shows for the festival which includes the community's participation in the festival. In this regard, people's attachment to place or their sense of community can be determined by their level of participation in community festivals (Teodori and Luloff, 1998). In addition, through this study by Darrett (2003) about festivals in the Northern Rivers region, community-based festivals have been identified to work for the benefit of communities they are organised. As indicated, festivals "... protect the natural environment, increase social equity, and provide a

vision for participants...” (Darrett, 2003, p.49). Festivals are events with placemaking tenets that lead to indigenous place-based development. This is “... a holistic and targeted intervention that seeks to reveal, utilize and enhance the unique natural, physical, and/or human capacity endowments present within a particular location for the development of the in-situ community...” (Mackey, 2010, p.2). In this sense, the place exists with its own forms of possibilities. But it takes certain actors with the needed knowledge and capital to identify and utilize these resources in place. But the activities of these actors are not also confined to the place but spread out through networks – linking the place with other places and actors who all influence its identity.

In relation, Platts and Ali-Knight (2018) defines grassroots festivals “...as those that originate from within a community and are place-based.” (p.262). In addition, “...there is no reason why festivity cannot contribute to placemaking as a strategic approach or as a community-led initiative as long as they are “of place” (ibid. p.264). This is because the authors argue that festivals at the community level have not been given the needed attention as they contribute to placemaking (ibid. p.262). In this sense, placemaking as an exercise is not only the preserve of top-down approaches but also, places can be shaped by grassroots community-led initiatives (Strydom et al., 2018, p.174.).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Kothari (2008), research methodologies are the various systematic steps that a researcher adopts in order to solve the research problem and the reasons why these steps are adopted in the scientific study. Researchers need to understand the assumptions underpinning these techniques and why they are suitable for a research problem as compared to others. Here, researchers do not only need to understand how to calculate certain indices and texts also, they need to know “... how to apply particular research techniques, but they also need to know which of these methods or techniques, are relevant and which are not, and what would they mean and indicate and why” (ibid. p.8).

The scope of the research methodology is broad and hence research methods is one dimension of a study’s methodology. A research methodology serves as guideline on which type of methods and the logic behind the choice of use of these methods in comparison to others on a realistic situation. (ibid). Hence, different researchers can choose to use either only qualitative, quantitative or a mixed method which is a combination of both the qualitative methods and quantitative methods as a design depending on the needs of their study (McCusker and Gunaydin, 2015).

This study adopted the qualitative research methodology by using semi-structured interviews and observations as tools for data collection. This is because, qualitative research aims at “...understanding some aspect of social life and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis...” whereas quantitative research relies on measurements with the aim of making generalisations out of the quantifiable responses from research participants (ibid.p.537).

RESEARCH DESIGN

In adherence to social constructivist approach, I acknowledge that knowledge production take place within society and not apart from it (Guerin, 1992). Hence, this study adopts a case study approach in order to produce knowledge at a point in time and at a specific geographical location and with specific participants. Also, this approach is adopted for a better apprehension of the research problem. In this case, the context in which the research situation is researched is very important. With case studies, the said social phenomenon to be studied, here creative placemaking in Ga Mashie leads to the revelation of the complexities of that single case and the circumstances under which the issues occur (Stake, 1995).

RESEARCH METHODS

This study belongs to the field of qualitative interpretivist approach. With qualitative study, researchers can give a thick description to the feelings, experiences and perceptions of research participants (Denzin, 1989). In relation to this, since people in society are given the ability to voice out what they think, qualitative study acts as a tool for researchers to identify and work with pressing societal issues in a context. Secondly, beside unravelling societal issues, in a qualitative study, a variety of methods can be used to find out about the deeper feelings of people and the research context as well. Here, descriptive methods are mostly used in data collection. These include participant-observation, unstructured interviews and direct observation (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011).

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE AND POSITIONALITY

In this qualitative case study, I acknowledge that research is both a reflective and recursive process (Ely et al., 1991, p.79) and that the production of knowledge takes place in the world and not apart from it. Also, in adherence to interpretivist ontological assumption that there is no objective reality (Weber, 1992), I believe that the research result is always influenced by

values, norms and subjectivities of the researcher, participants and context. And as such, I am aware of my own biases and subjectivities that might influence the outcome of the research. However, I believe that values and individual subjectivities are important for research. This does not mean that I intend to produce biased work but knowing these shortcomings of my approach will help me keep them in check. For instance, the research will be influenced by what I have knowledge of and what I do not know, my experiences, my values, and my identity. In relation to this, measures will be put in place to better manage these situations. For instance, triangulation of methods (interviews and observations) will be used to produce unbiased results. But no research is totally objective. So, trying to produce objective knowledge is to assume that research is value-free - 'an obscene and dishonest position' (Shacklock and Smyth, 1998, p.6).

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Two oldest districts in Ghana's capital Accra are chosen as the research context because of the culture and history and, as a result of their role in the Chale Wote Street Art Festival (see figure 2 below). Jamestown and Ussher town are two historical towns in Ghana which are inhabited by the Ga tribe even though the place is cosmopolitan due to urbanisation. These towns combined are also referred to as Ga Mashie which literally translates as 'home of the Ga'. From now onwards, Ga Mashie is surrounded by three busy urban markets (Agbogbloshie, Okaishie and Makola) and the Gulf of Guinea. Interestingly, culture is found in the city as the people still observe their traditional Homowo festival and still engage in subsistence fishing. Ga Mashie is argued to be the historical heartbeat of Accra and suitable for walking tours. The sites in the area such as James Fort, Ussher Fort, Brazil house, and the Deo Gratias studio are connected to other national tourist sites (Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, the Black Star Square, and the High Court) by the Cleland road (popularly known as High Street). At present, this area is also popular for the Chale Wote Streets Art Festival. This is an annual arts event that takes

place on the streets of Jamestown and Ussher Town. Hence, this setting is chosen to see its role in the festival and to find out how local actors use community assets to organise a street and arts event that attracts both local and international audiences.

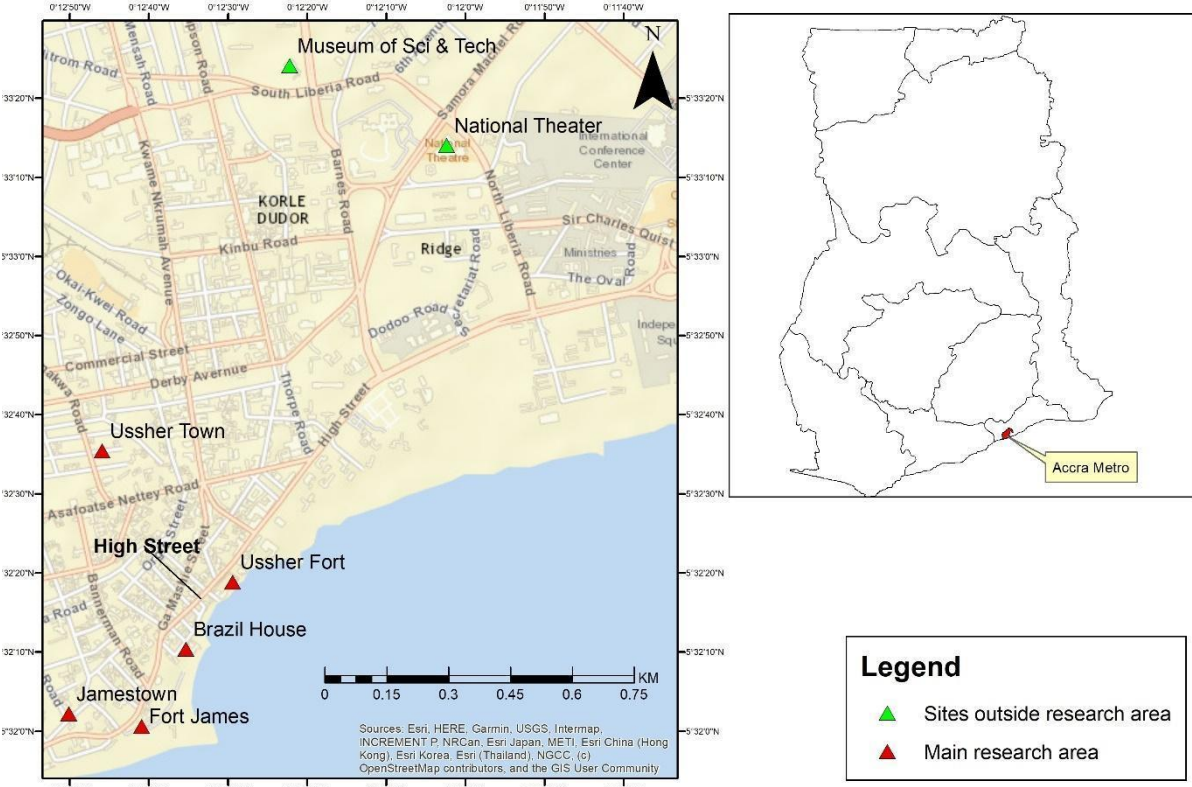


Figure 2 - Research Boundaries. Credit: Author, 2020

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

For primary source of data, the research used the views of four (4) major stakeholders and other participants below;

ACCRA [dot]ALT: Accra [dot] Alt is the organisation that produces the annual Chale Wote Street Art Festival. The group comprises an amalgamation of four (4) independent organisations – Redd Katt Pictures, Chaka Orleans Heritage Foundation, Dan Dano, and Mambo, and a local state agency Ga Mashie Development Agency (GAMADA). In depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with Hakeem Adam, Roland Sumani Seini (Mandiaya)

(see APPENDIX A) and Kevin Kekeli from Accra[dot]Alt who together with a lot of people are involved in planning Chale Wote Street Art Festival.

Hakeem Adam is a photographer, researcher, film director, and a cultural producer at Accra[dot]Alt. Aside working at Accradotalt, Hakeem also works at one of the partner organisations at Accra[dot]Alt (Dandano). Dandano is a digital platform for archiving African music, arts and films (Link address <https://dandano.org/>).

Just like Hakeem Adam, Mandiaya (researcher, photographer and film director) also manages one of the partner organisations that make up Accra[dot]ALT). Chaka Orleans Heritage Foundation is a non-governmental organisation aimed at documenting African histories into arts, photography, films etc. The latest production for the organisation is titled the forgotten kingdom which aims at redocumenting past histories, legends and stories from the northern part of Ghana (Instagram handle @ chakaorleans).

Kevin Kekeli (Art and Cultural Producer at Accra[dot]ALT) is a tertiary graduate who started at Chale Wote as an intern. While interning, he gained skills in photography, and social media marketing. Through Chale wote, he had the opportunity to attend other festivals. One of which is Nyege Nyege festival in Uganda (Instagram handle @ cultureaddict).

Main purpose for interviewing these representatives here was to find out the reasons why they were involved in starting the festival, why they are presently involved in organising Chale Wote, why did they choose Jamestown, what community assets they utilised and what forms of knowledge they possess that make their team (Accra[dot]Alt) succeed in this setting.

Ga Mashie Development Agency (GAMADA): This is a quasi-local state agency that promotes the development of needs of people of Jamestown and Ussher town. This agency was included as a major stakeholder to find out the role of local state institutions in the event.

NGLESHIE ALATA PALACE: The Alata palace represents one of the seven clans in Ga Mashie. This is the palace of the Alada people who are believed to have migrated from Nigeria in West Africa. A representative was interviewed here because of the role the palace played since the inception of the festival. This palace was also chosen to ascertain how informal institutions played a role in the festival. Here, the palace secretary, Nii Akwei Bonsu II was interviewed in his office at the palace on 12.09.2019.

MINISTRY OF TOURISM ARTS AND CULTURE, GHANA (MOTAC): This state agency was included in the major stakeholder map of Chale Wote for me to see the extent to which their collaboration was important for grassroots festivals. However, I could not get someone from the ministry to grant an interview since I was told no one had knowledge about the collaboration between the ministry and Accra[dot]Alt.

Others: Other research participants whose views were needed included residents, tour guides, tourists, artists and other participants that attended the festival.

DATA COLLECTION

The research used chiefly primary and secondary sources of data. In total, forty-seven (47) research participants were interviewed. This is the breakdown; eleven (11) major stakeholders were interviewed. Seven (7) of these participants were from Accra[dot]ALT and four (4) were from the other major stakeholders which included one (1) tour guide, the Executive Director of GAMADA, The caretaker of the Tourist Information Centre in Jamestown and the Palace Secretary at Ngleshie Alata Palace in Jamestown. Aside from major stakeholder interviews, seven (7) Artists were interviewed. During the festival (16th to 25th August) I interviewed twenty-three (23) participants/tourists/locals on the streets and after the festival, I interviewed six (6) locals about the impact of the festival to see post-festival impressions of locals. For the major stakeholders, semi-structured interviews were used to gain access to expert knowledge

concerning collaboration with Accra[dot]ALT. Table 1 below breaks down the interview data into figures.

INTERVIEWEE (S)	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
Accra[dot]Alt	Seven -7-
GAMADA	One -1-
Ngleshie Alata Palace	One -1-
Artists	Seven -7-
Street Interviews	Twenty-three -23-
Tour guide	One -1-
Residents in Jamestown	Six -6-
Tourist Information Centre	One -1-

Table 1 - Interview data in figures. Credit: Author, 2020

Two types of observation were used in the field. These included participant and non-participant observations. Here, the AEIOU observation framework was used to keep records of observable phenomena. This framework was developed by Mark Baskinger and Bruce Hanington to serve as tool for researchers to organise their observations of activities, environments and users in a context (Magare and Lamin, 2017).

Non-participant observations were used before the festival and after the festival. This was to help me find out about the differences in atmosphere at the research setting when the festival was not organised. This was also used in the research area to find out about the general characteristics of the area and the daily practices before the festival. This method employed here is important because it helped me to find out about the outlook of the place as it is, and how it changes during the festival. Also, non-participant observation after the street festival was needed to find out how the influences the festival had on the place and the people – for instance, do the people quickly get back to their ways of life afterwards.

Participant observations were used as a tool for me to record my experiences at the festival from 16th to 25th of August. This was needful because my experiences will also reveal some valuable information. I made notes of these observations as and when I attended any event.

To supplement the expert interviews, I briefly interviewed residents, tourists and artists during the festival and after the festival. I also followed up with post-festival interviews to ascertain how the residents felt about the festival and the possible ways they participated and the impacts of the festival on the community. I also included these participants so that their views will help me make recommendations for the sustainability of the festival. Consequently, this also adds to the relevance of this research – as contributing to the sustainability of a grassroots festival. In relation, tourists, artists and locals were interviewed on the streets during the festival to find out about their perception of the festival.

Firstly, residents were interviewed to find out about the extent to which they participated in the festival with the assumption that the organisers relied on local participation as a source of capital. Tourists views were needed to ascertain what mediums they used to find out about the festival; and the strategies used to attract the “tourists gaze” (Urry, 1990) for instance. Through tourists’ interviews, I wanted to find out how the organisers broaden their international audiences. In addition, I visited the Dutch Usher Fort in Ussher town to find out about the history of the site and to ascertain how these ‘living structures’ (Jongerden, 2018) may or may not have an influence on the festival. In addition to the visit, I interviewed the tour guide to find out about the local perspective of the festival and the role the fort played in its organisation. Also, I could not tour the James Fort because the site was closed for maintenance since it was in a poor shape.

In sum, while the primary methods used for data collection were observations, interviews (expert and street interviews), paying a visit to local tourist sites, attending events and art

showcases, the research used secondary sources from online publications and from literature review.

DATA ANALYSIS

The notes from the interviews and observations were compiled after the data collection stage. Codes were assigned to the data inductively. After further reduction, I derived themes which formed the basis of the analysis. After that, I also went ahead to see how these themes all come together by establishing relationships between and among them. In the analysis stage, secondary sources of data were also used to complement the interviews and to provide more meaning to the analysis.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Because the research relies on primary data which are opinions of people, some ethical methods were applied. Ethical methods used were; asking for permission before recording and member checking by research participants. Some research participants were sent a consent form to give their permission. They were also sent an information sheet to let them get acquainted with the research which they were contributing to. Also, afterwards, the participant's name was treated as anonymous unless they give permission for their names to be used.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

HISTORY OF CHALE WOTE STREET ART FESTIVAL

Chale Wote has evolved from a one-day event that took place on Highstreet in its first and second editions into an annual event which now invites over 50,000 people across the world and across many spaces in Accra. The first edition (6th July 2011) of Chale Wote was a one-day street event which took place from the lighthouse to the Kingsway building in Jamestown and Ussher town respectively. Whilst more than 1,000 participants attended the first event, over 4,000 people participated in the second edition (14th of April) in 2012. The first and second editions took place on the historical Cleland road which is popularly known as the High Street. Activities were “...street painting, sidewalk painting, graffiti murals, live music performances, a fashion circus, extreme sport stunting, experimental theatre, spoken word, art workshops and Installations” (Accra[dot]Alt, 2012).

However, subsequent events in 2013, 2014 and 2015 all differed from the previous two-year editions of the street festival as the number of days was changed from a one-day event to two days (see Table 2 below). While the number of spaces been used increased to include multiple spaces from the third edition of Chale Wote in 2013 onwards, in 2016, the number of days increased from 2 days to four (4) days where the street event was organised from 18th to 21st of August. Onwards, there were weekly celebrations on the 7th edition and 8th edition of Chale Wote Street Art Festival. The 2017 edition witnessed an inclusion of 11 locations and several arts galleries throughout the city of Accra, but this did not overshadow the main event on High Street in Jamestown and Ussher town. There were over 40,000 people in attendance in 2017 and over 50, 000 participants were expected to attend on the 8th edition. The new events which were introduced were the LABS – a mix of discussions at workshops, film screenings and disc jockeying. (Caleb Orunmaiye, 2018; Chale Wote Brochure, 2017).

Each annual Chale Wote (except the first) is associated with a main theme which Accra[dot]Alt use for planning of the event and the call for artists whose works resonates with the themes. Artists who are interested in the themes show interest in various events comprising exhibiting their arts, live performances, discussions, music and film screening on platforms created by Accra[dot]Alt. The table below shows all the nine (9) editions of Chale Wote so far and the associated themes and dates for the annual events.

EDITION	THEME	DATES	NUMBER OF DAYS
2011		16 July	1 day
2012	<i>“Outer-space” exploration</i>	14 April	1 day
2013	<i>Re-imagining African Folklore by creating exciting and futuristic versions</i>	7–8 September	2 days
2014	<i>Death: An Eternal Dream into Limitless Rebirth</i>	23–24 August	2 days
2015	<i>African Electronics</i>	22–23 August	2 days
2016	<i>Spirit Robot</i>	18–21 August	4 days
2017	<i>Wata Mata</i>	14 – 20 August	7 days
2018	<i>Para Other</i>	20-26 August	7 days
2019	<i>Pidgin Imaginarium</i>	14-25 August	12 days

Table 2 - Chale Wote Timeline and Themes for Annual Editions. Credit: Author, 2020

From the history of the evolution of the festival and the table above, ever since the festival began in 2011, the dates for holding the events have been different during the first to the third editions. But since the annual event in 2014 which took place on the 23rd to 24th of August, the festival has since been organised either the second or third week of August. A period which coincides with the traditional festival observed in Jamestown as part of the observations of customs and the local rituals of the Ga who reside in Jamestown and Ussher town – showing

how socio-cultural systems have effect on creativity of individuals (refer to findings on CULTURE AND CREATIVITY IN EVENT PRODUCTION).

IN FOCUS: CHALE WOTE STREET ART FESTIVAL 2019

The theme for 2019 Chale Wote was *Pidgin Imaginarium*. Pidgin is a form of English language that has its origins in the colonial past. Pidgin is a fusion of local dialects and English language to create a commonly understood language among natives. Thus, even though pidgin is spoken in different West African countries which were once colonised by the British, Pidgin in Ghana differs from that of Nigeria and Liberia. The theme for the latest edition therefore was based on the origins of pidgin and the circumstances under which a language was devised by locals who wanted to thrive during the era of the slave trade and colonialism.

The theme *Pidgin Imaginarium* connotes resistance to structures. In other words, the theme is about creating new ways to move forward through our imagination. The theme challenges people to think of what holds them back and using their creativity to break these barriers and not necessarily colonialism but other challenges that we are faced within our society currently either as individuals or a group of people. The theme was open to different interpretations. In an interview with some Accra[dot]Alt members, Hakeem noted that the theme is “... *just extending the metaphor of what pidgin is. As this malleable language form where everybody can create their own sort of code. And [as such] the whole idea was to be able to create these alternative knowledge bases or spaces where people can create new realities and give power to that.*” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). On the other hand, it also has do with finding local solutions to local problems because as asserted by Mandiaya that “*in addressing our own problems as a society or as a country, we really need to find those situations based on the circumstances and not lifting solutions from elsewhere to come and fit it into our own circumstances...*” (Accra[dot]Alt. 27.09.19).

The 2019 edition of Chale Wote was an 11-day celebration of arts in different forms which witnessed participation from over 160 artists from home and abroad. There was performance from musicians, DJ's, poets, gymnasts, film producers, lecturers, crazinists and a host of other creatives who helped in the co-creation of the event. Events for this year also included film labs, art showcases in galleries, diasporan procession, royal procession, twin procession, workshops, salons and the main street event on High Street. As indicated in the subsequent pages about the evolution of the festival from a street event to an event that utilises other spaces in Accra, the next findings will focus on the spaces that were used for different events in 2019.

CHALE WOTE: A PROJECT IN PROBLEM SOLVING

According to the members that I interviewed at Accra[dot]Alt, they chose Jamestown as a location for the festival because of the problems they identified in the place; bad public image, poor publicity due to lack of promotion of cultural and historical assets. And relative to this problem, a lot of people did not go to this place because the possibilities were hidden from public view. For the festival organisers this creative initiative will help to eliminate the negative tag that outsiders associate with the area as a place of poverty and unfriendly people. They also believe this will create opportunities for the people beyond what they are used to, that is, boxing and fishing. In Ga Mashie, boxing, schooling or football is not enough says Hakeem. And Mandiaya indicates that the solution lies in “...*projecting the people's history, culture and archiving them in different forms. Secondly, there is the need to project the people because, the people are important.*” (Mandiaya (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). Similarly, another member at Accra[dot]Alt chooses to describe the community project in Jamestown and Ussher town as “... *an exercise in problem solving.*” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

Over the years, these historical landmarks have faced deterioration. Instead of being preserved because of their historical and cultural value for the nation and Africans in the diaspora, these landmarks especially the physical historical infrastructure are now in a deplorable state. Whilst some of these historical buildings are facing depletion, some of them have been razed down for private development.

Two reasons were found to be a contributing factor to the poor nature of historical buildings. These are; nature of land governance and ownership and effect of unequal distribution of wealth due to economic decline some years back.

i. Land Governance in Ga-Mashie

The nature of land ownership affects rights over and governance of historical structures. Currently, different agencies (informal and formal state institutions) have stakes in land ownership and governance in Ga Mashie. Land in Ga Mashie is owned by few individuals, businesses and some portions are managed by the state (Razzu, 2005).

Majority of lands used to be owned by traditional rulers. These lands which is commonly known as “stool lands” are kept in trust by the leaders for the locals in the community. However, over the years, land ownership in Ga Mashie changes from sole traditional ownership to being owned by private businesses like the RAC from England and the Dutch West Indian Company. The land which were leased by local rulers to the British and Dutch soon became state property and state lands after the abolishing of the slave trade and the demise of colonialism. Currently, vast portion of the land is no longer in control by the traditional rulers. Businesses, organisations and private individuals can also gain access to the land through purchases from the traditional rulers.

For instance, the historical structures may be found on either stool lands like King James’ Court and Courtyard or Ngleshie Alata Palace and Mantse Agbona respectively. Some are also

managed by private organisations. An example of this is the Bible House in Jamestown which used to be a slave registration centre. In the 1990s, this building was used as a warehouse for the United Africa Company (UAC), this organisation was an amalgamation all European companies in the Gold coast (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018). Currently, this building is owned by a non-profit organisation called the Bible Society of Ghana hence the new name Bible House.

Also, most of these structures are also properties that are managed by state agencies like the case of the Lighthouse by the Ghana Ports and Harbours Authority (GPHA) or the forts which are now in the possession and oversee ship of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB). The different stake in managing these structures is not consented and different management systems (private, formal or informal) reflects the level of maintenance of these structures. Private ownership has been found out to be the better option. This can be corroborated by my observations. For instance, the Bible House which is privately owned is in a good shape compared to the structures in care by traditional rulers and the state agencies. However, private ownership is not also the ultimate solution because, private developers tend to pull down these structures instead of maintaining them.

Mr Tetteh a historian and author of the book *Jamestown, British Accra; Brief History, Luminaries and Landmarks* register his displeasure concerning the current state of the historical assets in Ga Mashie.

“All the lands are gone. The 71 villages are all gone. Now they [the chiefs] are selling all the lands and buildings here. The sea view hotel- the first hotel to be built in the whole of West Africa was sold to the Latter-Day Saints. They’ve sold all the rural lands and now they are selling the heritage sites.” (D.A. Tetteh (Tourist Information Centre) 11.09.19).

In addition, current state of colonial structures in Jamestown is also related to the lack of maintenance culture and a consented effort from these major actors to see to the maintenance of buildings that hold heritage and historical benefits for the nation. In relation to this context, some scholars have associated the lack of preservation to non-existence of public policy issues in restoration and preservation of these historical structures at the state level (Razzu, 2005).

ii. Economic decline in the 1960s

Also, the deterioration of colonial buildings in Ga Mashie can be attributed to economic decline in the area a few years after independence. The Jamestown harbour was abandoned after the second harbour in Ghana was constructed and commissioned at Tema in 1962 (see [Picture 1 below](#)). Jamestown which once saw a lot of transformation due to the concentration of economic activities lost this privilege and hence led to the place's economic decline. The economic decline resulted in less capital accumulation in the area leading to its deprivation. Currently Ga-Mashie is one of urban slums in Accra.



Picture 1 - Jamestown harbour (built in 1672) (Credit: Deo Gratias) versus now. Credit: Author, 2019

It is characterised so because of low access to sanitation, education and housing since few families have legal rights to land. The current situation in Ga Mashie is a classic example of how places are competing for capital. This is where there is disparate development in places due to unequal distribution of wealth across the world which creates inequality and affects our experiences of time-space (Massey, 1994).

An example of the existence of this problem of poor maintenance of historical structures is the state of decay of the Adawso House in Jamestown (see [Picture 2 below](#)). This building has featured in many case studies manifesting the poor maintenance of the historical structures (Razzu, 2005; Yeboah, 2008; Abass and Küçükmehtetoğlu, 2018). All these case studies indicate that the Adawso house (built in 1910 by Addo Vanderpuije) and other buildings has heritage value and needs to be saved since their salvaging will bring revenue through tourism. Even though most of the historical structures are in a state of decay, the area is still endowed with rich history and culture which is adopted in the production of Chale Wote.



Picture 2 - Adawso House in 1929 (Credit: Deo Gratias) Versus in 2005 Credit: (Razzu, 2005)

HISTORICAL VALUE OF JAMESTOWN AND USSHER TOWN

The Fishing Villages

Ga Mashie was inhabited by indigenous people called the Guans or Kpesi people. Soon a faction of the Ga tribe moved from their main setting in Ayawaso to settle on the coast and establish trade with the Europeans. The first Europeans to venture into Gold Coast were the Portuguese in 1482, the English in 1555, the Dutch (1598) and later the Danes in 1663. Ga Mashie is a part of an area which was known as old Accra. Old Accra included Ussher town, Jamestown and Osu. These areas were once colonies of the Dutch, British and the Danes respectively. By 1650, The English and Dutch had built trading forts to facilitate trade in the coastal region bordering present day Ussher town and Jamestown. It was through this external contact that, the original settlements which was just east of the Korle Lagoon soon “... *grew [into] the two oldest adjoining parts of the present Accra, namely, Jamestown and Ussher town.*” (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018 p.17)

Dutch Accra or Ussher town

This place gets its name from the Dutch fort which was built by the Dutch West Indian Company in the middle of 17th century. However, the local name is *Kinka*. The company had gained monopoly to trade with the locals on the Western Coast of Ghana. Before the establishment of the forts by the Dutch and later the British, the people traded with the Europeans in the sea. The Europeans will anchor their sailing ships in the sea and the people will use canoes and paddle to the ship and exchange. The Europeans brought foreign products including gun, gun powder and mirrors. The locals also traded these items with pepper, cola in addition to gold. After the discovery of the Americas, the fort was later used to engage in the sale of slaves from the Gold Coast to the new world. A trade which is popularly known as the Triangular Slave Trade or the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. (Richmond (Tour guide at Ussher Fort) 13.10.19). In the past, land was owned by traditional leaders in trust for the locals.

In an interview with D.A Tetteh, The Dutch West India Company secured land from the Ga leader Owura Mampong Kai for them to build the Ussher Fort in defiance to local protest. The fort was built in 1649 and named fort Crevecoeur. Its name changed from Crevecoeur to Ussher Fort after the British took over its administration from the Dutch in 1863.

British Accra or Jamestown

Just like Dutch Accra, Jamestown gets its name from the British fort that was built in 1642 by King James in 1642. Jamestown was an establishment of the Royal African Company (RAC). This was an English trading company. Through the issuance of a charter in 1660, the RAC gained monopoly over English trade with the whole of the Western coast of Africa. The RAC operated in the West African Coast with assistance from the English army and navy (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018). After many years of its operation in these areas, soon, the RAC

“...established forts on the West African coast that served as staging and trading posts and was responsible for seizing any English ships that attempted to operate in violation of the company’s monopoly. In the prize court, the King received half of the proceeds and the company half.” (Tetteh and Tuafo, ibid.2018 p.9).

The forts were under the administration of the RAC in Ghana includes; Fort William, Fort James, Fort Sekondi, Fort Winneba, Fort Apollonia, Fort Tantomquery, Fort Metal Cross, Fort Komenda and lastly, the Cape Coast Castle. Some of these forts were built by the RAC like Fort James in Jamestown. But take the Cape Coast Castle for instance which was originally a Portuguese trading post or fortress until its administration was soon taken over by the British in the 18th century.

In addition to the fort, King James built the governor’s court and the governor’s courtyard in Jamestown Accra and lived there whilst holding the position of the RAC governor. Currently, King James’ court has been turned into the Royal Palace for the Ngleshie Alata people in

Jamestown. In addition, the first coastal harbour and hotel - Seaview hotel was constructed at Jamestown as additional amenities to the fort (D.A. Tetteh (Tourist Information Centre) 11.09.19); Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018). These new amenities made Jamestown the economic nerve of the Gold Coast. It facilitated socio-economic transformation and paved way for the construction of Jamestown lighthouse, Jamestown customs, and Jamestown police and naval patrol units (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018).



Picture 3 - James Fort as it stands today. Credit: Author, 2019

Outcome of European contacts; tangible foreign architecture and luminaries

Beside the Europeans, in the past inhabitants had been in contact with other people from the northern parts of Ghana as far as Salaga in Northern Ghana (see [Picture 4 below](#)), the Ashanti, Akwamus and Fante. They also had contact with other African countries like Angola and Nigeria (Richmond (Tour guide at Ussher Fort) 13.10.19). Apart from the Dutch and English



Picture 4 - Salaga market in Ussher town. Credit: Author, 2019

influence, the residents of this place have also established contact with the Portuguese as early as in the 1400s. Due to this, Ga Mashie is now an outcome of different influences – from within and externally. This is because, no place exists in isolation and hence different kinds of knowledge, the ‘western’ and ‘indigenous’ shapes identity of place (Tilly, 2006). Currently, these two towns which were once fishing villages, and then due to external contact became separated as two distinct colonies is also known as Ga Mashie.

In the colonial era, Dutch Accra was ruled by the Dutch whilst Jamestown was under British Protectorate towards the end of the 17th century (D.A. Tetteh (Tourist Information Centre)

11.09.19); Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018). The influences from this contact can be divided into tangible and intangible assets of the place. The intangible assets are the socio-cultural developments due to the contact. The tangible assets are the physical infrastructural development. These are the forts, the lighthouse, Seaview hotel, the Jamestown harbour, King James' court and courtyard among others. There are also family houses and street names with European names indicative of Dutch and British presence in the area some time back.

The socio-cultural influences are noticeable in the form luminaries of mixed blood. Foreign names used by indigenes today speaks to the intermixing between the Europeans and the locals in the form of intermarriages. Here, the male European officers (mainly Danish, British and Dutch) married native people and gave birth to mixed children or "Mulattoes". Indicatively, *"today, many European names have been incorporated in the native traditional naming convention of almost all the existing native clans of Ngleshie Alata, Sempe, and Akunmajen of Jamestown"* (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018 p.26). Notable mixed families are Bannerman family, the Mills family, the Cleland family, the Bruce family, the Vanderpuijes and the Lutterodt's among others.

TRADITIONAL AND CULTURAL VALUE OF THESE URBAN TOWNS

The Ga or Ga-Adangme or Ga-Adangbe tribe is one of the major ethnic groups in Ghana. The Ga are found in six different towns in Accra. These include Ga Mashie, Osu, Labadi, Teshie, Nungua, and Tema. For the purpose of this thesis, the focus will be on Ga Mashie. They speak the language called Ga – which is interchangeable for the name of the tribe depending on the context.

The Ga dynasty in Ga Mashie

This dynasty was politically integrated by Wetse Kojo. It is made up of chiefs, kingmakers, nominators, Weku nukpai (family head), Asafo (the military), and Asofobii (members of the

military company). At the peak of the Ga political structure is the Ga Mantse (King of the Ga people) who resides in Ussher town. The *We* or family forms the basic unit in this hierarchy. All families have the family heads and they inherit property patrilineally. However, some scholars have argued that perhaps due to influences of globalisation such as acculturation and urbanisation the modern Ga family structure might have gone through some changes making “it to assume a variety of shapes, although it remains essentially patrilineal” (Kalu, 1981 p.353). For instance, “Original family compounds have been whittled down or carved up by the expanding city. Families are more widely spread in residences, and housing is a problem.” (ibid. p.57). In addition, the Ga political system is made up of clans which is an amalgamation of both Dutch side and the British side of the two towns.

Homowo Festival

The Ga-Adangme are also notable for the celebration of the *Homowo* festival amid the hustle and bustle in the city of Accra. Homowo in the local language means “*hooting at hunger*”. It is a time for reconciliation and socialisation among families and community members. Homowo festival is celebrated by the people of Ga Mashie (Jamestown and Ussher town) and other communities in Accra like Labadi, Teshie, Osu, Tema and Nungua. The festival is celebrated to thank the gods for a good harvest in the year and to pray for better harvest in the year to come. Before the celebrations begin, there is a ban on drumming and noise making in areas where the festival will be observed. Another aspect of the festival is the twin procession. On this day, all the twins in Ga Mashie wear white calico and taken through the whole town. The Ga believe that twins are a source of blessing, prosperity and good fortune and therefore celebrating them will bring good tidings to the Ga land and its people. The Royal Procession follows right after the day for the twins. On this day, Kpokpoi is sprinkled throughout Ga Mashie by the Ga Manste.



Picture 5 - Royal Procession during Homowo. Credit: Author, 2019

Traditional Livelihood in Ga Mashie

The people are engaged in subsistence fishing which is based on gendered division of rights and responsibilities in the control of aquatic resources. In Ga Mashie, the men usually go to the sea to catch fish whilst the women are engaged in fish mongering and sales. They also have informal institutions for the preservation of aquatic life. For instance, it is a taboo for the men to go to the sea on Tuesdays. However, these traditional caste systems are not enough for sustaining their main source of livelihoods. Increased population have put immense pressure on these marine resources leading to dwindling fish stock. This situation is also severe due to the lack of modern ways of fishing. The people still use handmade canoes with outboard motors. The use of light and smaller nets in fishing also endangers fingerlings.

The Institution of Boxing

The Gas in Ga Mashie are also notable for boxing. Ga Mashie and other cities where Ga are located such as Bukom has produced world renowned boxers like Azumah Nelson, D.K Poison, Ike Quartey and Joshua Clotey. The institution of boxing in Ga-Mashie has historical

antecedents. Boxing was introduced in the area to curb the local rivalry between residents of Dutch Accra and British Accra when the residents of the latter illegally crossed the border that separated the two colonial towns without the right documentation. Initially, street fighters were hired from another coastal village called Oshiyie to prevent people moving from the Dutch colony from crossing into the British half. Later, this resulted in establishment of a “free-for-all-fights” which popularly became known as “Odododiodoo”. This led to the establishment of public fighting arenas along the British-Dutch border and other popular places notable for boxing in Ghana such as Bukom and Akoto-Lante. Some of the fighting arenas include “Odi Asempa” and “Aa Legoi” (Tetteh and Tuafo, 2018).



Picture 6 - Source: The Guardian, Achimota School Boxing club, 1933, Credit: Deo Gratias

From the above, we learn of how the place could be useful in the festival. The next aspects are about how these assets are applied in the production of Chale Wote.

CULTURE AND CREATIVITY IN EVENT PRODUCTION

Past research has been able to establish that there is an interplay between culture of a place and creativity (Klausen, 2010). It is also well known that creativity is not based on only innate abilities of individuals, but people are influenced by the environment in which they work in. Hence, creativity is not independent of the social and cultural systems of places (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). Reasons for this two-way relationship between culture and creativity is that ideas of creatives working within a certain socio-cultural setting are influenced by these set of norms. Relationally, creativity is a cultural evolution whereby *memes* such as values, languages, ideas and norms are passed on non-genetically from one generation to another. Hence, instead of viewing creativity as a mental process, we are urged to think of innovation as a socio-cultural phenomenon that involves the individual and society (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999).

Working in a culturally rich destination, the organisers have been able to inculcate cultural activities such as the traditional festival called Homowo into their events. This was not the case for the first, second and third editions of Chale Wote. Homowo has been added as event of Chale Wote since the fourth edition and the dates of Chale Wote coincides with that of the traditional festival ([See Table 2 - Chale Wote Timeline and Themes for Annual Editions. Credit: Author, 2020](#)).

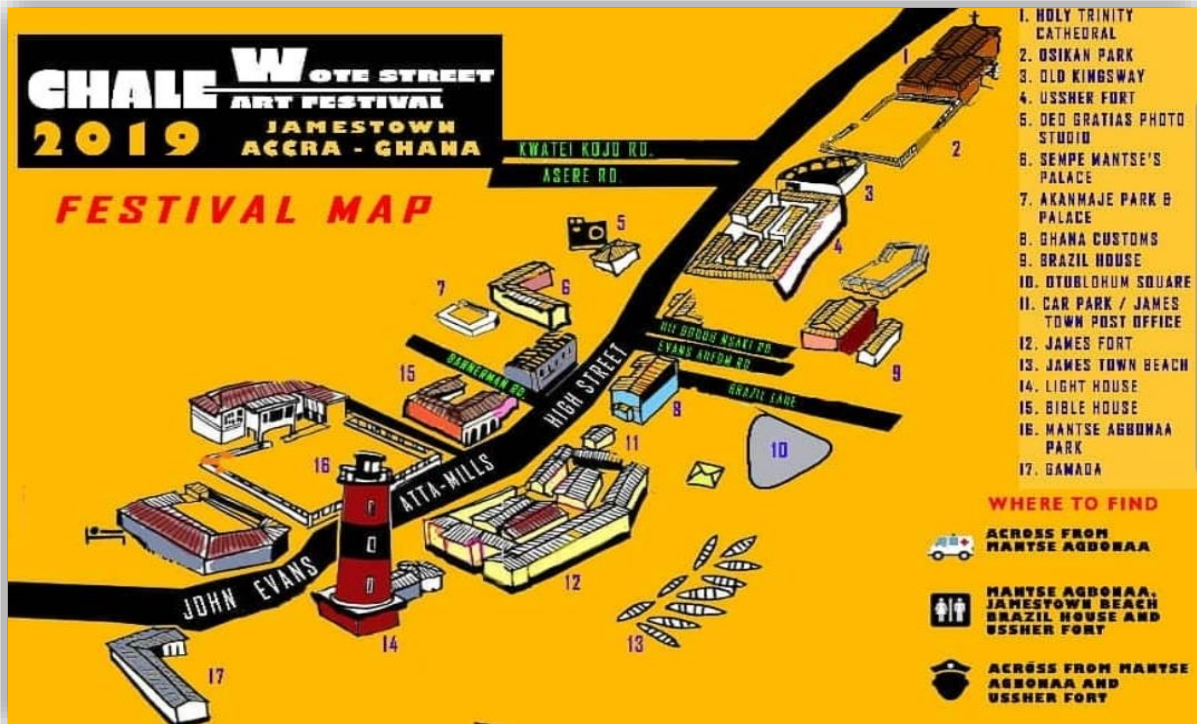
In addition, Ga – a language predominantly spoken in the area have also been utilized in this creative production. The name of the festival *Chale Wote* – a sandal or flip flop in Ga language is an example of how creativity is influenced by the ways of life of the people. The festival also adopts words like *shika shika* which translates as “money money” as name of their event that seeks to help artists exhibit and sell their works. This incorporation of aspects of the ways of life of the people in the place was one way to show how Ga Mashie and its ways had influenced Chale wote festival over the years. According to Kevin Kekeli from Accra[dot]Alt that;

“[He] believes that as an arts and cultural producer, [one] need to be aware of which ever space [they] are in. [And that] the place must be given the needed relevance. So, over the years, Chale Wote has been built around Jamestown and revolves around the Ga culture. So Homowo happens a week before Chale wote. It always does. And this is critical because it helps the producers to learn about Jamestown culture. You get to see what goes on during Homowo like the twin procession, the sprinkling of Kpokpoi.”
(28.08.19).

RE-APPROPRIATION OF HISTORICAL BUILDINGS IN PRODUCING CHALE WOTE

The findings from the observations and interviews with some members at Accra[dot]Alt points to the fact that the festival highlights and promotes the historical structures and monuments in Jamestown throughout the festival. These are; the forts, the main High Street, the Old Kingsway Building at Ussher town, Mantse Agbona (which was King James’ Courtyard), and the Jamestown Lighthouse. The festival revolves around the history of the place in that;

“Jamestown has always influenced the festival even from the beginning. Because the festival is built around Jamestown because of its rich history of slavery. Jamestown is always affecting the festival because anyone who comes to Jamestown checks the forts out. I feel even before slavery, Jamestown has been relevant and continues to be relevant because the festival is built around the fact that people come together during Chale Wote to do something. So, it is a call to action. A call for the people of Jamestown to get up and do something for themselves [...] I feel like Jamestown will continue to remain relevant for the festival. Because it is very difficult to find something similar.”
(Kevin Kekeli (Accra[dot]Alt) 28.08.19).



Picture 7 - Chale Wote Road map. Credit: chalewoteofficial,2019

The Forts (James Fort and Ussher Fort)

So, as a result of projecting the assets in Jamestown and Ussher town, the festival has been designed in a way that the culture and the history will be at the centre of attraction when people visit. The historical buildings especially the two forts in Ga Mashie has been re-appropriated into spaces for the arts festival. Mandiaya gives reasons why they bring on board the two forts in their activities during the festival. That if you take;

“... the James Fort for instance, it is never open. If you go there now, it’s not open. But it is open to the public during the festival. Like this year, it was opened to be used for the festival. These are things that have a lot of information, a lot of currency on its own. And we are re-appropriating such spaces.” (Mandiaya (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

He adds, using the forts makes them find new contemporary uses for them. In that they are beneficial to the community because the people will “... envision such spaces to new light and

not with the oppressive aspect as always been the thing.” (ibid.). Like the dark histories of slavery and colonialism the forts represents. For instance, in appropriating the spaces, the organisers use it for different arts performances during the festival. (Picture 8 below) depicts a performance by Stacey Okparavero (Nigeria). In relation to this year’s theme, Stacey’s performance (*Catharsis*) “*represents reconciliation, forgiveness, and mostly healing in the context of the historical significance of the space [Ussher Fort Prison].*” (Stacey Okparavero (Multidisciplinary artist and Curator) 11.03.2020). According to her, “*in reference to the space, [she] proposed catharsis so the audience can immerse themselves in the performance, experience catharsis and leave with a sense of healing and collective memory.*” (Stacey Okparavero (Multidisciplinary artist and Curator) 11.03.2020).



Picture 8 - Live performance by Stacey Okparavero inside the Ussher Fort. Credit: Author, 2019

In Stacey's words,

“the spot the installation stood [Ussher Fort prison], used to be the old playground of the prison – the only space I imagined, gave a form of solace to those who were held there. I wanted to recreate a safe space and transform its painful memory to something beautiful, with focus on oneness, a collective consciousness of our community.” (Stacey Okparavero (Multidisciplinary artist and Curator) 11.03.2020).

This strategy helps to promote the historical structures to people by organisation of different events that attract a lot of audience during the festival. The audience of the festival is diverse as they do not include just residents but other Ghanaians from all walks of life, international tourists and visitors from other African countries (see [Picture 9](#) and [Picture 10](#) below).



*Picture 9 - Outside Ussher Fort on any other day and Outside Ussher Fort during Chale Wote Street Art festival.
Credit: Author, 2019*



Picture 10 - Inside Ussher Fort any other day and Inside Ussher Fort during Chale Wote Street Art festival.
Credit: Author, 2019



Picture 11 - Mixed reality installation by Nando Nkrumah. Credit: nando_nkrumah, 2019

Aside promotion, they also adopt ways to maintain the outlook of the place. Inside the forts, the events that take place are only live performances by artists and exhibitions. The festival organisers do not allow paintings inside and outside the historical buildings. During this year's event for instance, Accra[dot]Alt had an Augmented Reality (AR) installation by one of the participating artists from the Netherlands. This was a way to re-appropriate the space but also to use it in a way that will not damage it in the years to come (see [Picture 11 above](#)).

The High Street

In the organisation of a festival that is highly noted for high turnout, space is something that is key to its success. The High Street plays this important role by absorbing a lot of people who come out to enjoy arts, creativity, music and culture (see [Picture 12 below](#)). The High Street is the principal street that connects Ussher town and Jamestown through to the independence avenue road, the high court, the Kwame Nkrumah mausoleum and other important state and historical spaces. It is on this street that majority of the festival revellers pour down in their numbers to witness and interact with different pieces of arts, live performances and music. This makes it arguably an indispensable space that is needed to host such an event with high turnouts giving the fact that this is where it all began. The High Street also makes it conducive for walking tours in Ga Mashie as it divides these two towns and connects the major historical buildings. By walking on the High Street, you will see Jamestown Lighthouse, King James' Court and Courtyard, the war memorial site for the Sargrenti War in 1884, the Brazil House. On this street, one can also locate the two major forts in Ga Mashie (Ussher Fort and James Fort) and right in the middle of these forts is one of the first photo studios built in the Gold Coast (colonial name for Ghana) the Deo Gratias. The street acts as a public museum during Chale Wote where different arts forms are showcased. This also makes the festival accessible to majority of people who might have the fear of walking into art exhibitions organised in closed spaces like museums and art galleries. This strategy also attracts a lot of young people

since they prefer open spaces to museums which they associate with boredom (Bartlett and Kelly, 2000). The uniqueness of the festival is because of this street and its importance to Chale Wote is indicated in the accompanying texts. Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) cites that;

“the very simple act of putting the thing on the street is extremely powerful because that street space is extremely unique. Like there’s also really no street in Accra or in Ghana like the High street. And that alone shapes the creation of the festival. Like the space available shapes who we can select, what they can do, what impact they can have. And that is another major way Jamestown helps curate or construct the event” (27.09.19).



Picture 12 - Festival revellers taking pictures on High Street. Credit: Author, 2019

Mantse Agbona

Mantse Agbona literally translates as ‘the kings palace’ in Ga language. This was formerly the courtyard of King James. This court and courtyard were built as accompanying facilities after the construction of the James Fort in the 17th century by the RAC.

Currently, Mantse Agbona serves as the palace of the King of the Ngleshie Alata people in Jamestown. The Ngleshie Alata people represents one of the clans of the Ga dynasty in Jamestown after they were integrated politically. Most times of the year, the courtyard is used by kids as a football field and for other ceremonies like funerals and royal durbars.

The courtyard also serves as a space in Jamestown that is used in the organisation of the street arts festival. This is the space that was previously used for the hosting the street jams where numerous DJs from across the world came to spin for the crowd. But in 2019, this was taken to the old Kingsway building. However, the courtyard also absorbs most people who are on the streets. Artists also make drawings on the walls of the courtyard. As a result, the paintings and murals for different years can be found on the walls at the park.



Picture 13 - King James Court and Courtyard (Credit: Deo Gratias) now Ngleshie Alata Mantse Palace and Mantse Agbona. Credit: Author, 2019

Jamestown Lighthouse



Picture 14 - The Old Accra Lighthouse in Jamestown. Credit: Author, 2019

This lighthouse was constructed in the 1835 by the Lighterage Company of West Africa as one of the infrastructures of the Old Accra Harbour Improvement Project. (Tetteh and Tuafu, 2018 p.45). With its visible red and white stripes, the Jamestown lighthouse is perhaps one of the most identifiable and most colourful historical landmarks in the area. The lighthouse also becomes visible because it exists in an area with no high tall buildings. The lighthouse is now in the care of the Ghana Ports and Harbour Authority and so it is not used for tourism activities because it in a deplorable shape. But this does not prevent people to interact with it during the festival. Even though the lighthouse has been closed by the Ghana Ports and Harbours because of the dangers that it might cause to people, but due to the street arts festival, it becomes a spot for people to take pictures.

The Old Kingsway Building

For many years Accra[dot]Alt used the space at Mantse Agbona to set their stage. But in 2019, this event was taken to Ussher town where the old Kingsway building is located. In 2019, a space for electronic music was set up by the art and cultural producers. Aside the electronic music, this space is also crucial because the organisers invite artists to paint murals which becomes the centre of interaction for audiences. Just like on the high street, there are live performances from cultural troops, acrobats and street dancers. A lot of people go inside this building to take pictures with the murals.



Picture 15 - Murals and performances Inside Old Kingsway Building during Chale Wote Credit: Author, 2019

Brazil House

This another historical building in Jamestown. The Brazil House is the ancestral home of the first African returnees from Brazil. These people are called the Tabom. The Tabom people liberated themselves from slavery in the 18th century and returned to Ghana. Currently, this

space is been revived by the Chale Wote festival. During the festival, this space is used to exhibit arts and serves as the working space for Accra[dot]Alt for their day-to-day activities all year round.

Other Spaces outside Ga Mashie

Chale Wote does not take place on only the street. The festival is highly noted for providing diverse experiences in other spaces other than the street. These are both private and public spaces that are open to everybody and as well receptive to new ideas. Chale Wote 2019 took place in other 9 spaces outside Ga Mashie. These include the Gold Coast Restaurant, Aboja Art and Culture Café, Deo Gratias Studio, Kukun, Nubuke Foundation, Jamestown Boutique, Tengan Heritage Foundation, +233 Jazz Bar & Grill, Africa by Design and Brazil House. Arts and performances, exhibitions, talk shows and salons were hosted by these locations during the two-week celebration of the festival. This was done to make “... *people to experience the other spaces in Accra other than Jamestown and Ussher town*” (Kevin Kekeli (Accra[dot]Alt) 28.08.19).

For them, bringing on board other spaces across Accra is indicative of the growth of the festival because Chale Wote used to be hosted in Jamestown but now it has spread to Ussher town and currently it is sweeping over the whole of Accra. Rightly so and in the words of the brains behind this successive nine-year production of Chale Wote.

“It’s a natural thing for the festival to expand. Because, one cannot put this much time, energy and effort into an idea and expect for it not to grow. It’s also a very cultural thing in that Ghanaians are community bias people. We are not individualistic. We like to involve other people in our vision. It’s also natural for us to reach out to people with similar visions and who are interested in the work and try to work with them...”
(Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

Museum of Science and Technology

Chale Wote 2019 began with *Chale Wote Film labs* at the Museum of Science and Technology for two (2) days. On the first day, there was a film screening. After every film screening, the film maker(s) are invited on stage to engage the audience in a discussion about the film. Audiences are also given the opportunity to ask questions concerning the films and documentaries. There was *You can hide Me* by Nii Kwate Owoo (Ghana)-A film documentary about stolen African Arts which are now in arts galleries in Europe (see [Picture 16 below](#)).



Picture 16 - Outdoor film lab at The Museum of Science and Technology (Credit: Author, 2019)

Other productions included a symbolism film by *Dineo Seshee Bopape* from South Africa, *C'est L'epoch* by Richard Kofi (Ghana/Netherlands), *Shortwave* by Hakeem Adam from Ghana, *Jwhonjovouchor* and the *Yiiii Kakai Voice of the Waste Masks* by Fofu Gavua (Ghana) and *Bottomless* by Helel Smith. Some films at the lab that bordered on broader issues of identity

search and return, experiences of Africans in the diaspora, African hair politics and sexuality, race and interracial marriage etc. *Atovlé* by Maureen Douabou (Ivory Coast), *Haven* by Kelly Fyffe-Marshall (USA), *The Secret Life of G's* by Adenike Oke, Caleb Femi (Nigeria/UK), *Bounty* Directed by Shyaka Kagame (Rwanda/Switzerland) and *The Robbery* by Malaika Clements, Amina Daniels and Kameron Lemon (USA).



Picture 17 - Figurative Coffin by Paa Joe and Jacob Tetteh Ashong (Ghana) on exhibition at Shika Shika: Credit:

Author, 2019

In order to help artists to get money for their creativity, the organisers of the annual event introduced the Shika Shika Art Fair in 2018. Shika means money in Ga language. So Shika Shika translates literally as “*money money*” - getting paid for their creativity. In 2019, the exhibition took place at the Museum of Science and Technology. On exhibition at the museum were paintings and wood art from eleven (11) artists from Nigeria, Ghana and Argentina. This platform gave these artists the opportunity to present and find buyers (local and international) for their works. It also provided other participants who preferred closed settings (like museums and gallery exhibitions) to open areas (like the street) the chance to choose. People could visit

without paying a fee at the museum on the exhibition days to witness and request to purchase the paintings and carved woodwork from artists' exhibition.



Picture 18 - The Observer by Amina Gimba (Nigeria) on exhibition. Credit: Author,2019

For this year's Pidgin Imaginarium, the Observer by Amina Gimba (see [Picture 18](#) above) is influenced by the graphic designer's thoughts which "depicts shared notions of personhood and being" (art gallery exhibition 22.08.19). As a graphic designer, her work "... specialises in simplifying everyday experiences into provocative art pieces..." (ibid.) through the application of different instruments and processes to bring her thoughts into reality. These include paint, ink, dye, colour, pencils, and design software.

The National Theatre

The program that took place here was the Northern Experience. What this event sought to do was expose audiences to the culture and arts of the people from the northern part of the country. For them, Chale Wote is about creating a platform to celebrate diversity and inclusivity. The forum invited creatives in Ghana who have their origins from the northern regions of Ghana to hold discussions concerning arts. In attendance was Chief Moomen a well renowned poet, playwright and producer of Wogbejeke. Faustina Ayambire Nsoh also shared with the audience during the discussion about the Sirigu Arts. As a participating artist, her works was also exhibited at the Museum of Science and Technology. One of her paintings (see [Picture 19 below](#)) is titled *Wisdom Dimension* as portrayed by a painting of an old lady.



Picture 19 - *Wisdom Dimension* by Faustina Ayambire Nsoh (Ghana). Credit: Author, 2019

The National theatre was also venue for a photography salon for participants who were interested in improving their skills or learning basic skills in photography. In attendance were a group that consisted mainly tertiary students who wanted to gain basic skills in photography and video making.

Kukum in Osu and Tengan Heritage Foundation at Adjiriganor

From the above, space is a critical asset which the festival relies on. Over the years, Chale Wote have sort to improve their works in cultural production. One of such initiative is bringing on board other spaces that share in their philosophies of creating the conducive environment for likeminded people in business to get a space to share their works or meet, collaborate and share ideas. For them, space is also something that is lacking in Accra. Hence, they need the help in any avenue that they can get the support from. Accra[dot]Alt sees the collaboration with these private spaces as “...*their own way of showing their support for the arts.*” (Kevin Kekeli (Accra[dot]Alt) 28.08.19).



Picture 20 Exhibition of African Sacred and Religious Arts at Tengan. Credit: chalewoteofficial, 2019

COLLABORATIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS

Chale Wote is a private organisation that relies on collaboration with interest groups for the growth of the festival. As such, the organisers are aware that it is great to broaden one's social network in order to succeed and achieve their vision. Hence, they believe that *“there is nothing wrong with working with people and institutions to further their vision”* (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt), 27.09.19).

They work with the media organisations, public bodies and knowledge bodies such as arts institutions, participant funding institutions and researchers.

However, my focus was on the nature of their collaboration with formal and informal institutions within and outside the research area. So, during the fieldwork, I focussed on the collaborations that Chale Wote has with local and state agencies and traditional institutions in Ga Mashie. These bodies include the Ga Mashie Development Agency (GAMADA), the Ngleshie Alata Palace, and The Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Ghana at the national level and the nature of the collaboration they have with these bodies.

GA MASHIE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (GAMADA)

GAMADA is a quasi-local state agency that represents the developmental needs of Jamestown and Ussher town at the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA). This agency was established in 2006 to help in steering the development in the Ga Mashie area through the implementation of the Ga Mashie 2015 Development Strategy which was adopted as a blueprint after the old Accra 2015 strategy. The work of GAMADA is around five (5) main thematic areas. These are local economic development, education, tourism development, environment and sanitation development and housing improvement. Under this new development strategy;

“Local economic development and tourism were to go hand in hand. Here, through interventions we bring attention to the local monuments in the community like the James

Fort, the Ussher Fort, the Brazil House and other notable buildings in the community.”

(Nii Teiko Tagoe (Executive Director (GAMADA) 12.09.19).

From the above, this local agency is interested in promoting the area and its historical assets. The vision of the agency which collides with that of the event organisers as they both share the same vision to use tourism to attract people and to ward off the negative perceptions that the area is associated with; as an area of poverty, unfriendly people and poor living conditions.

The Executive Director at GAMADA Nii Teiko Tagoe had this to say about the vision that he had for Ga Mashie and why he accepted the proposal of Accra[dot]Alt to organise Chale Wote. He stated that agency collaborates with Accra[dot]Alt in order “...to clear the misconception about this community as a no-go area. Most people have negative perception about this place. So, to boost tourism, you must clear all these negative perceptions to make the community friendlier for visitors and tourism to flourish in the community.” (Nii Teiko Tagoe (Executive Director (GAMADA) 12.09.19).

Festivals were identified as an area to achieve this end of making the area appealing to visitors. It was through this initiative at GAMADA that made Accra[dot]Alt approach the agency for them to organise a street arts festival. And from the interviews, Nii Teiko Tagoe reiterated that “all those other stakeholders at the national level, even not at the metropolitan level were not involved (Nii Teiko Tagoe (Executive Director (GAMADA) 12.09.19) when the festival began. And that it was the local agency that supported the festival from its humble beginnings.

GAMADA gave support to the organisers of the festival in the form of helping them use certain amenities in the area and deploying police to the area to help beef up security during the event. For example, during the festival, the main High Street is closed to vehicular traffic due to this support. The local state agency is also supposed to help with the sanitary conditions of the place during and after the festival.

NGLESHIE ALATA PALACE

This is the chief's palace of the Alata people in Jamestown. This represents one quarter or clan out of the 7 clans that makes up Ga Mashie. These clans are found in both Jamestown and Ussher town. In total, Ga Mashie has seven (7) main gates or clans or quarters. There are four (4) of these clans in Dutch Accra (Ussher town or Kinka) and three (3) of these clans are in Jamestown British Accra. The four (4) Ga clans in Dutch Accra are Assini, Abola, Gbese and Otublohum. Whilst Alata, Sempe and Akunmanjen are the remaining three (3) clans in Jamestown British Accra.

This palace was chosen because of the role that it has played since the festival began. As discussed in the subsequent aspects of the findings, this palace serves as one of the spaces that is used during the event. The palace represents the mouthpiece of the people in the Alata quarter of Jamestown. They also give meaningful information out to the people. During the early years of the festival, this palace played a major role in encouraging people to participate in the festival as indicated by the palace secretary *Nii Akwei Bonsu II* who also doubles as the chief of Naa Korley We. Another role that the palace plays during the event is to release the park (Mantse Agbona) for the organisation of the festival. He indicates in this quote that;

“they [Accra[dot]Alt] only come for the park and that is all. It is about time we must do a lot of collaboration whereby maybe they will extend the artwork to the palace or the palace will get more involved. As we speak today, it is only the release of the park for Chale Wote and that is all.” (Nii Akwei Bonsu II (Ngleshie Alata Palace) 12.09.19).

As shown above, Nii Bonsu is certain that the collaboration the palace has with the event organisers is mutual. In his words, the palace has witnessed the benefits that Chale Wote brings to the community. And that as a palace representative, he thinks it is time that they improve their collaboration whereby the palace will get more involved in supporting the festival. This is because he thinks only releasing the park for the festival is not enough support.

THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM, ARTS AND CULTURE, GHANA (MOTAC)

MOTAC is a state institution that was established in 1993. The task of the state agency is to promote tourism related activities in the country. These include and are not limited to the promotion of tourism destinations in the country. Over the years the ministry has been able to carve a destination image for the country as a place for heritage and ecotourism in the sub-region. As a result, Ghana's heritage sites and nature reserves attract tourists from South America, Europe and Asia.

For Hakeem and Mandiaya, the collaboration between Accra[dot]Alt and MOTAC is layered. In an interview, one of the representatives at Accra[dot]Alt acknowledged that *“it is great to have a state institution on its list of collaborators because to have a government institution backing a radical idea like this is magnificent.”* (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). Sometimes the fact that they have MOTAC on their list of collaborators also let them have negotiating power. For them this shows the level of influence that their initiative has garnered to the point of receiving support from the state. However, Hakeem and Mandiaya think this collaboration is just on paper because they do not see their organisation benefiting in any way and for them it is not a constructive partnership. For instance, as indicated by Mandiaya in an interview he indicates that *“Last year they [MOTAC] just fed off us and brought the president to come and just do political campaigning. This year, they used us to do a whole tour which we don't know anything about.”* (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). They also identify their collaboration with MOTAC makes the public assume that they are been supported by the government financially which they think mars their major tag as an independent body.

They also see a lack of synergy in the kinds of tourism to promote. That this state agency promotes motherland tourism that put more focus on locations and not the lives and experiences of people who live in these destinations. Like Hakeem indicates here that the *“motherland tourism”* that is promoted by MOTAC *“dissociates the people's lives here from the culture*

that they are trying to highlight. They talk about castles and food and others, but they never highlight the people.” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). For them, active community participation is needful because that is one way to measure impact of the festival on the people and their community.

In 2019, the government of Ghana raked in about \$1.9 billion of revenue from diasporan visits from the Year of Return initiative initiated by the state to get more visitors from America and the black diaspora (Asiedu-Addo, 2019). Whilst tourist arrivals are a good tool to measure tourism growth it cannot be used to measure the level of impacts in destinations due to unequal distribution of benefits from tourism (Cobbinah et al.,2017). While the organisers see this initiative to be important, they also think the state should focus on forms of tourism that highlights the people and encourages active participation for them to gain from tourism. In relation to this, some stakeholders recommend that national collaboration will contribute to its further growth since it will help Chale Wote assume a national character.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Community involvement in tourism planning is good for tourism development because it a way to measure impact and to recognize the level of input, interest and concerns of residents. However, full participation cannot be achieved without a participation plan that will aid in evaluation of impacts of tourism on the destination (Simmons, 1994).

As a community project, the organisers also rely on participation of the people since they have been identified as important to the event. This includes participation and support from not only residents but local authorities and the chiefs in the area respectively.

The people has also grown to accept the festival as their own. Their interest in taking part in the festival have grown over the years since the inception of the festival. For instance, in an

interview with the Executive Director of Ga Mashie Development Agency (GAMADA), Nii Teiko Tagoe indicated;

“Initially when we started, we had to organise meetings to sensitize the people to participate. Particularly the food vendors. But now, before the day for the festival, they will have already acquired their spaces so they can be part of it and benefit. So, we realise that the local community’s participation is increasing over the years. That is what makes it community driven festival.” (12.09.19)

The people are also aware of the usual organisation of events in the town so, they notice when there is a change in location. The residents of Jamestown for instance noticed a change in use of venues in 2019. And if they see any change in the organisation of the festival, they get weary. Aside making Ga Mashie popular to most Ghanaians and people outside Ghana, the people are aware of the numerous opportunities that the festival brings to their respective communities and as such they want it to stay the way it is. This is the perception of a resident of Jamestown about the idea of the festival organisers to move the 2019 main stage to Ussher town instead of using the space at Mantse Agbona like they usually do every year.

“Most of the time, they [the festival organisers] used to mount stage on the park at the palace. But this time around, they took it to Osikan [the old Kingsway building]. Seriously everybody knew that Jamestown was where the main event took place. But since they took it to Ussher town, a lot of people were still here. At first most of the people here were scared that they won’t sell because they took the stage to the old Kingsway building. But a lot of people were still here. And there was no space to walk.” (Bernard Nunoo (Bar tender, Jamestown), 12.10.19).

Active participation in economic activities is encouraged because they want to promote tourism that will focus on the people and not based on only historical buildings in the place. Because,

they believe the latter “...dissociates the people’s lives here [in tourist locations] from the culture that they are trying to highlight. They [the state] talk about castles and food and others but they never highlight the people. But for us, the people are at the centre.” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt), 27.09.19).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS ON THE COMMUNITY

This idea of promoting tourism which relies on active community participation have generated economic and social benefits for the people in the community.

One of the major objectives of the major stakeholders in Ga Mashie was to clear the negative tag of the place. Due to the festival, a lot of people troop to Ga Mashie in their numbers. Ga Mashie is now well known for the festival which creates a new meaning for it. So, for the Executive Director at GAMADA for instance, there is mutual exchange between the residents, the place and the festival organisers. Chale Wote has been able to improve the local economy of the place through the creation of ancillary jobs out of which the locals are really focussed on reaping maximum benefits. Because of this, Nii Akwei Bonsu II, Chief of Naa Korle We describes Chale Wote as “... a time for food vendors to reap in the maximum.” (Ngleshie Alata Palace (Secretary) 12.09.19).



Picture 21 - community participation through vending. Credit: Author, 2019

Chale Wote is notable for the high turnout of people on the streets for the celebration of many arts forms. This creates the opportunity for locals to set-up businesses in selling edibles and African print apparels (sewn into clothing, bags, hand fans, and purses) (see [Picture 21](#) above) are sold during the festivities and in high demand. Some residents (children and adults) also paint faces, selling face masks (see [Picture 22](#) below), vending food, staging performances such as acrobatics and street boxing. By doing this, they get paid for their activities.



Picture 22 - Sale of masks by children. Credit: Author, 2019

The festival has also created a situation whereby the historical structures in Ga Mashie are given the necessary advertisement they deserve. This has considerably improved the tourism situation in the area. Thus, Ga Mashie is reclaiming its identity as the historical heartbeat of Accra. It has also made Ga Mashie “... more popular and friendlier than people perceive it. It is also contributing a lot to tourism leading to development not only in Accra but Ghana in

general. A lot of Ghanaians in the diaspora always tie their visit to Jamestown (Nii Teiko Tagoe (Executive Director, GAMADA) 12.09.19)

In addition, Chale Wote has also improved the perception of locals about arts. They have been able to see the relevance of the arts in many forms and the benefits that they can gain from it. One of such is the creation of networking possibilities for the youth. One instance is the experience of Foster in Jamestown.

“Foster is an example of the power of the participatory aspect because of the festival. He met some artists from South Africa a few years ago and he got interested in photography. He has a career path from that, and he doesn’t have to look to just school or boxing now.” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

Before this interview with Accra[dot]Alt, I met Foster in Jamestown. He was introduced to me by a friend. Foster who appears to be knowledgeable about the history and culture of Jamestown gave me a tour during the *Haajia Yele Yeli* (twin celebration). This is the celebration of twins in Jamestown during Homowo festival ([see Picture 23 below](#)) On this day, Foster was my tour guide. He took me around houses where I could spot where twins are celebrated on that day. This gave me the opportunity to take pictures in some of the family houses we toured.



Picture 23 - Twin day celebration in Ga Mashie. Credit: Author, 2019

COMMERCE DOMINATING ARTS

During my field trip, a lot of people expressed displeasure in how residents are more interested in getting money from the festival instead of giving more attention to the arts. For instance, in an interview with Nii Akwei Bonsu II, Chief of Naa Korle We on Hansen Road and Secretary of the Ngleshie Alata Palace, he could not help but acknowledge the fact that the festival has brought a lot of economic benefits to the community since “... *there’s is always a spill over of people where economic activities stretches as far as where people can convene.*” (Nii Akwei Bonsu II (Ngleshie Alata Palace) 12.09.19). But he also expressed his displeasure in how the people are more fixated on the economic aspects and not the arts aspect. Because as he indicated, after all, “*Chale Wote is supposed to be a festival of the arts and must not be forgotten*” (ibid.). Perhaps, he expressed his discomfort because he thinks the people can

contribute to the festival and not only “putting up tables to sell” during the festive times. And that for the sustainability of the festival, he adds that;

“If Chale Wote has finally come to stay, then [locals] should look at the main aim of the festival - that is the artistic area. Because if it about vending food, [the locals] can sell always. But in order to promote the program, [he thinks] we should look at other things. We know people from various houses want to put something in front of their houses. One iced water, two food, three even creating spaces for urinal to take 50pesewas and 1 cedi. So, people take advantage to make sure they get something. So that is what I want the organisers to do. So that we don't just to create another market for local food.” (D.A. Tetteh (Tourist Information Centre) 11.09.19).

Quite on the contrary, the festival organisers think that the fact that the people choose to sell during the festival is ... *most apparent way of measuring the impact of the festival. Since one can directly see people making money. [and]... that doesn't mean that the art aspect is secondary. They [the locals] are extremely interested.* (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt), 27.09.19)

EXTERNALITIES AND SOCIAL EFFECTS

Apart from the benefits that the festival has on the community, the festival has also contributed in changing certain situations due to its spill over effect. Tourism externalities are the indirect positive and negative non-monetary impacts that an economic activity has on other parties who are not considered as direct benefactors. While the benefactors of economic spill overs maybe people, businesses and places, these can also be positive or negative (Helbling, 2010). Social effects on the other hand are the ways in which a phenomenon can change how people act and how they are used to doing things which has positive or negative repercussions.

The festival has been able to improve Ghanaian interest in arts. This is evident in so far, the large turnout for the festival. Through this, the people get to learn about the arts industry. For so many years now, Ghanaians have attached less importance and relevance to arts in general. Ghanaians don't celebrate talent. For us, talent does not bring food to the table. So, for so many years, Ghanaian parents have grown to detest the idea of allowing their kids express their talents in the arts. Majority of Ghanaians have this fixed idea about arts. But for the festival organisers, *"... arts itself is [not supposed to be] boxed into a rigid definition. And arts do not have to be in a closed space."* (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19). The organisers also believe the attitudinal change of Ghanaians towards arts in general is one of the impacts of Chale Wote. For them, this has made a difference because;

"... If you lived in Accra about 10 years ago, or 5 years ago at the max, the people's relationship with arts was very different. People consider it in a traditional context. Like when you have Odwira festival, Homowo, or like kente and all stuff like that. That's when people think about arts. And by the very simple act of taking that context out of the rigid structure of the traditional sense and then placing it on the street in an everyday communal space transforms the way people think about art." (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

Chale Wote provides this space which never existed before in the country purposefully for arts. And the fact that it is free is a huge advantage for artists in the country to exhibit their talent. This is better compared to renting a space in an art gallery which appears to be very expensive. In Ghana, people always view festivals in the traditional sense. But Chale Wote has offered a possibility for people in Ghana to see festivals from a creative placemaking perspective.

TOURISTS MOTIVATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Travel motivations are the factors that influences a person's need to visit a destination. While a person's motivation can be influenced by destination image, travel motivation is also influenced by personality, education, socio-cultural influences and level of income (Mimi and Cai, 2011). Culture have been found to be a factor that influences consumer behaviour through four different dimensions which include values, heroes, rituals, and symbols (Hofstede, 1997). It was found through mini interviews conducted on the streets that the destinations image had an influence on people choice to go to the festival. Participants attended the festival because it is organised in a community with a rich history, culture and traditions. And the fact that the festival is organised around these tangible and intangible assets of the community was one motivation for travel. The festival allows participants to experience a different culture and creates the possibility of escapism through immersion with a distance culture. The festival is peculiar for most people because of where it takes place. In an interview with one of the participating artists in 2019, he said that; *"The unique thing is that it incorporates the local rituals and culture and the accessibility. The parades are very important for this too."* (Nando Nkrumah (Artist) 26.08.19).

Huang and Hsu (2009) have found that revisit intentions are influenced by satisfaction from number of prior visits. Most people have gone to the festival more than once. Variety-seeking is found to have an impact on satisfaction of the tourists and influences their intentions to revisit this destination. Revisit intentions was found to be a factor that influenced the travel intentions of Chale Wote participants. This is because, Chale Wote offers alternative experiences through the provision of different programmes which tourists can choose from. These programmes include films, discussions, labs for education, arts showcase and processions in variety of spaces. These also influence the type of experiences that tourist will get from participation. These may include education, escapist, experience of aesthetic beauty and entertainment.

Another reason that motivates attending subsequent editions of Chale Wote is because there are different themes for every annual event. And this influences the travel motivations of tourists to revisit Chale Wote because, the yearly themes are different, and tourists may not be certain about what to expect from the event. For DJ Sensei Lo, a Disk Jockey from Nigeria. She attends the festival yearly; *“Due to its uniqueness. [And that] it has offered a great deal of experience especially because there is so much variety to pick from. From live art installations to film labs, dance and music.”* (Sensei Lo (DJ) 26.08.19).

The festival also creates a richer experience value through participatory mechanisms such as co-creation. Co-creation is the mental and physical involvement of people in an activity. Consumer or tourist experience is measurable by using the level of physical and mental participation in an activity (Prebensen et al., 2016).



Picture 24 - African Head Wrapping Salon at Chale Wote. Credit: chalewoteofficial, 2019

While co-creation invokes active participation, involvement also in turn informs satisfaction and re-visitation of events (ibid). Participants and artists are involved in the co-creation of the program and their experience through, head wrapping salon (see Picture 24 above), dance salon, graffiti painting (see Picture 25 below), discussions and live performances among others. These activities educate, entertain, and visitors experience cultural immersion as well as they get the opportunity to socialise with different people.



Picture 25 - Graffiti painting as a form of co-creation of experience (Author, 2019)

In addition, some people attend and exhibit their artworks at the Chale Wote festival because it represents a space where they can identify themselves with the audience. Also, they assume that the audiences in turn can relate with their works because they feel a sense of belonging as they can identify with the audience who may come with the same form of identity. Be it in race, ethnicity and their shared thoughts. People also feel sense of belonging due to the friendliness of the people. According to Ange Kayifa (Ivorian), “... *it's a good festival because you feel at home and inhabitants are already preparing to receive us.*” (Ange Kayifa (Artist) 26.08.19).

Chale Wote also provides an experience of spirituality and homecoming. There was a procession to celebrate the return of the first Africans in the diaspora to Ghana. This procession of return represented a form of homecoming to commemorate the arrival of the first Afro-Brazilians in Ghana (see [Picture 26 below](#)). Ghana has over the years been a destination for diasporan memory. For the Africans in the diaspora, these trips are a form of return that involves issues of race and identity. Two of these forts which are used in this case study have a dark history of slavery. They were once used as dungeons for slaves who were shipped to the New World but, today in Ga Mashie they are just a living memory of what happened in the past since people have devised new contemporary uses for them. While this aspect of the festival was to celebrate an aspect of African history, it also provided an avenue for the festival to reach out to another type of audience of Africans in the diaspora. This has provided an experience that is not just based on an experience of arts but for these people to get a feel of home, spirituality and returning.



Picture 26 - Day of Remembering Procession with African Diaspora. Credit: chalewoteofficial, 2019

CHALLENGES

For the organisers at Chale Wote, *“it is always great to collaborate. And there is nothing wrong with working with people in institutions to further [our] vision. But the only problem is the nature in which these things happen, and that is, Chale Wote’s issue with institutions”* (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19).

Over the years, Chale Wote have has problems with institutions. These institutions are both state and private bodies that use their brands to benefit from the event without consulting with the festival organisers. In Ghana, intellectual rights are violated even though there is a legal Act under Patent Act, 2003 (Act 657) supposedly to protect patents rights and the intellectual

property rights of people. The organisers also indicated that because government agency like the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MOTAC) in Ghana is on their list of collaborators, a lot of people think they get funding from the state. However, the relationship that the organisers have with MOTAC is quite inverse. They don't see any benefits in the form of funding which most people think they do. Here for instance;

“People think that the government has been giving us some money and it is not true. Like last year I heard the government gave some money. I was not there so I can't talk much about that. But this year I was there, and no government funding came in. So, government didn't support this year's festival. We had to pay the police ourselves. And they were not even enough so we had to get local guys to provide security for the event.”

(Kevin Kekeli (Accra[dot]Alt) 28.08.19).

Sometimes the government uses the platform of the organisers to promote their own political agenda. The country using its power to profit off their ideas. But they do indicate that having a state body backing the event works sometimes as it gives them a high leverage when they are on the negotiation table and hence is one of the reasons why they still have state agencies like MOTAC on the list of their collaborators.

Unfortunately, the festival has also been an easy target for private bodies who brand the event for their own benefits. Hakeem for instance think that these institutions take advantage of them probably because “... *it is very easy for institutions to get away with things in Ghana*” (Hakeem (Accra[dot]Alt) 27.09.19)

Apart from institutions, even though a lot of people have gained interest in arts, this does not speak same for their willingness to purchase goods and services by creatives. Many creatives face a problem whereby many people want their services for free. From my observations too, a lot of people are still reluctant to pay for Chale Wote products that help the organisation to

gain money. These products include the media accreditation pass and the souvenirs, photography pass for individuals. For instance, during the festival, I noticed that most people were using cameras without the pass which is issued by Chale Wote.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The answers for the main research question: *How are the role of place and bottom-up strategies influential in the emergence and success of a contemporary arts festival in Jamestown?* And the five specific research questions are provided in the discussion part of the write-up below.

THE ROLE OF THE PLACE; CREATIVE PRODUCTIONS AS PLACE-BASED

In association with Platt and Ali-Knight's (2018) idea that festivals are place-based, what makes Chale Wote unique is because of where it is organised. The area has historical structures, people, culture and traditions. Here, the unique culture and historical legacies in Ga Mashie are incorporated with creative arts which give rise to a unique event. The historical structures of dark histories of slavery in Ga Mashie are re-appropriated in a way that helps to bring new meanings to the town. Artists use the forts as spaces for performances to showcase their talent and to expose their works to a large audience. This is consistent with Macgonagle (2006) that finding new contemporary uses for these dungeons and the forts is a way to show how locals rewrite and own their stories and experiences.

Secondly, from the findings, we see how socio-cultural systems have an influence on creativity. This is because the festival began including Ga culture in Chale Wote after the third edition. For instance, the incorporation of Homowo festival after about 3 years of the festivals shows how places have also influences on ideas of local actors. This means that whiles actors are the active agents that effect change and meanings, places also have power over how people think and act.

IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL ACTORS AS AGENTS OF PLACE-MAKING

In this research, four importance of local event organisers have been found. These include how events are used by organisers to draw attention to problems in place; organiser' identification

of community assets which can help solve place-based problems; their ability to identify relevant partners for collaboration and introduction of new technologies in their vicinity using their social networks. One factor that distinguishes event organisers from other stakeholders based in place is that they can identify assets in a place where they are based and turn them into fortunes for the benefit of the communities in which they find themselves (Platt and Ali-Knight, 2018). The organisers were able to identify the problem of lack of promotion of community assets in Ga Mashie and through community-based arts project, they now draw people's attention to these structures while re-appropriating them in a way that resonate with new meanings, hope and contributes to the quality of the place.

Another form of expertise identified is in how they were able to identify the necessary stakeholders with whom to partner with to make their project a success. Hence, a local state agency Ga Mashie Development Agency (GAMADA) is first-hand approached by Accra[dot]Alt since they have similar vision to make Ga Mashie accessible to visitors. This also goes to show how local agencies (formal and informal) are relevant stakeholders in indigenous developments. Also, through this project, the festival draws attention to the poor nature of historical buildings in the area due to lack of maintenance culture, lack of state policies, nature of land governance in the area and the economic decline in the area in the 1960s. Finally, the festival introduces new technologies into the locality to help in safeguarding the buildings. For instance, instead of allowing artists to paint on the historical structures, the festival organisers used Augmented Reality (AR) Accra[dot]Alt to showcase paintings on the walls of the Ussher Fort. This shows another importance of events and bottom-up actors in the promotion of sustainable destinations (Holmes et al.,2015).

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN PLACE-BASED EVENTS

The data reveal two types of capital that Accra[dot]ALT rely on to succeed in their setting. These include the social capital, or their social network acquired from association with

community members and participants as well as cultural capital of the organisers. Cultural capital is defined by what we know as individuals. This is the innate capabilities in the form of the organisers level of education, skills in event planning and management and creativity. Our level of social capital on the other hand is determined by who we know. The data reveals that the organisers acquire the social capital of the place since they have been working in Ga Mashie for almost a decade. Social capital are the privileges we get as individuals due to our association with a group of people.

Ga-Mashie is a place with a sense of community which the festival organisers rely on. Ga Mashie is like a space on its own and quite distinct from the hustle and bustle of the city of Accra. Over here, there exists a sense of community. The people in the community know each other and they can tell apart a stranger from a resident. The people coexist and thrive in a space which I will term as *communal-privacy*. Here, the people go about their daily activities in open spaces where one can see what their neighbour is doing. But there are also boundaries as people respect the privacy of others without prying into what the other is doing. The uniqueness of this space created by the locals as they interact with others becomes another way in which the festival benefits from. Here, the people have come to accept the festival as their own and they want local retention of tourism facilities and resources in their area. Residents are aware of what goes on during the festival and they have developed positive attitudes towards hosting the event. They take pride in associating the event to their place because they see it as a good thing that is happening to them in the community. This sense of community that is embedded in Ga Mashie also drives local involvement in the festival as over the years local participation has been increasing. This is a result of social network at work. This is due to the association that Accra[dot]ALT members have established with the people hence broadening their social capital and giving them the legitimacy to operate in the area. It gives them legitimacy and acceptance in the community and provides the opportunity to use the community's facilities

such as the historical spaces. They also get local support from traditional rulers and local state agencies for their support and from the residents who are also indispensable in executing the event. Thus, this shows that creativity does not function independently from the socio-cultural systems of a place and individuals cannot function outside the norms of society. Thus, what comprises an individual is his or her innate abilities and the habitus which influences his or her thinking (Bourdieu, 1977).

ROLE OF EVENTS IN SHAPING MEANINGS OF PLACES

Places get different meanings over time because of different influences from different actors. Ga Mashie is now notable for a colourful street arts festival every year since the current actors want to use festivals to make the place popular. The problem which was identified in Ga Mashie had to do with lack of promotion of community assets due to negative meanings outsiders associated with the place. Indeed, the latter depended on the former. So, in order to bring people to the place, these negative misrepresentations had to go. Ga Mashie has been associated with poverty and unfriendly people. These misrepresentations have in a way clouded the good things that Ga Mashie holds as a place.

When one looks at the map of Accra, Ga Mashie can easily pass as a place with no assets due to lack of high-rise buildings. However, maps are just misrepresentations and does not show everything that exists in real life situation. And rightly so, contrary to these outsider views, Ga Mashie is a place where people are very friendly to visitors. From my experience, locals are readily available to give you directions around the area. They are also happy that more people are visiting their community and residents are willing to teach tourists about their culture. Hence, the festival has been able to carve a positive image for the place and more people visit Ga Mashie for events such as Homowo, Chale Wote and street boxing.

ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS (FORMAL AND INFORMAL) AND PARTNERSHIPS IN SUCCESS OF PLACE-BASED EVENTS

The growth of the festival is seen in the increase in participation, community involvement and inclusion of other spaces through new partnerships. Through the example of Chale Wote, we can learn that the success of events is not only sense of community and ownership and increasing number of participants, but we also see that the ability to bring on board new ideas leads to new partnerships which eventually open new doors for the event to flourish. By adding more events, Chale Wote has been able to attract more people who seek different experiences out of their film shows, live installations, processions, arts exhibitions and labs. From the findings, we see how for instance partnerships with public and private entities (e.g. include the private spaces they get to use) have helped Accra[dot]Alt to expand out of Ga Mashie and to other areas in Accra. So, we see Chale Wote growth from a street arts festival which takes place in one location to include other spaces.

In addition, whilst collaborations were a crucial aspect for the festival organisers to gain access to space, another important factor for the success of community-based events are publicity through social media. It is through this medium that event organisers use to pull together interested participants around the world. From the interviews, it appears that Accra[dot]Alt has mutual collaboration with local state agencies (GAMADA) as compared to partnership with national state bodies (MOTAC). Accra[dot]Alt and GAMADA have shared interests, plans and visions of promoting local development through festivals and broader aim of driving transformation and quality of place. GAMADA was the first state agency that the organisers were able to contact at the local level. Reasons for this is that, local state agencies function in place and hence are acquainted with the problems of their residents than the state that is high up there in the power hierarchy and have different ideas on tourism development. From the case of Chale wote, local support is very important for the success of place-based events and

local state agencies need creatives to identify problems and work out solutions together. This is because, local state agencies are acquainted with local problems and hence through collaboration with creatives they identify community assets together and use it to the benefit of the community.

IMPACTS OF PLACE-BASED EVENTS

The festival promotes socio-economic benefits through community participation in economic activities. Chale Wote represents people-centric tourism. The organisers promote tourism that does not rely on only architecture and historical buildings, but they also focus on reaping benefits for community members by encouraging participation. By far, local participation in economic activities have been the most apparent ways the people participate in the festival and one way to measure the impacts of the festival. The festival also gains from this participation. The people of Ga Mashie are also highly needed in the organisation of the festival. Accra[dot]Alt oversees the planning of the event, but the locals are not left out in the activities related to the organization. Whilst some people are involved in vending food during the festival, some of the people give logistic support for the festival, others also act as volunteers to assist in various aspect of the festival like in the provision of extra security.

Participation has also influenced the people in claiming ownership of the event. The festival has improved the local economy of Ga Mashie by creating jobs for locals and has created avenues for sharing of ideas and networking between people in Ga Mashie and people from other parts of the world. The graffiti that are painted on the walls does not lose their purpose after the festival. These graffiti paintings are used by video directors as filming locations for music videos at a fee. This leads to the employment of models for the filming where they in turn get money for their work. Furthermore, many young people have been able to identify their own career path in the arts because of the festival. Some young people in Ga Mashie now aspire to take up future careers in the arts.

In a broader sense, the festival has improved tourism in the area which leads to the creation of tourism related jobs. This has led to a lot of people taking up jobs as tour guides. Ga Mashie has arguable more tour guides than any other tourist areas in Ghana. They give different kinds of tours which is centred on the history, daily activities and culture of the community. These tour guides are usually knowledgeable community members who take the opportunity of booming tourism in the area to give tours to visitors all year round. In addition, through cultural exchanges, workers at Accra[dot]Alt have been able to get international exposure by visiting other countries to share their ideas and to participate in other festivals. There's also personal growth for people working at Accra[dot]Alt as personnel at Accra[dot]Alt become a jack at all jobs as they learn to do all kinds of tasks in the organisation.

ROLE OF PLACE-BASED EVENTS IN DIVERSIFYING TOURIST EXPERIENCES IN GHANA

From the findings, the destination image of Ga Mashie as a place of history and culture and variety seeking are major determinants of motivation to travel for the event. In addition, the festival provides different realms of experiences which includes and are not limited to education, aesthetic, entertainment, return, spirituality, socialisation and escapism. This is indicative of how culture is one important aspect of travel motivation, and why events have become sought after by many tourists around the world. How does this contribute in diversifying tourist experiences in Ghana?

Primarily, heritage sites in Ghana and anywhere else is associated with education on the histories of the sites. But the festival takes a heritage site and through value addition, a new tourist package emerges. At heritage sites, the history of the structure is always recounted to every visitor and suggests how the buildings are frozen in time due to the same story been told all over again. However, from Chale Wote, people do not only find out about the history of structures, but they also gain other experiences which are not limited to just education and identity seeking. Secondly, In Ghana, heritage sites usually attract few tourist typologies. These

are usually tourists with an interest in dark tourism or the American diaspora market who visit Ghana in search for identity and spirituality.

Through this case study, we see that tourists still had experiences that most heritage tourist have when they visit these sites. Through Chale Wote, we see how value is added to improve the tourist product and to open the possibility of attracting many tourists who may travel for education, cultural immersion, entertainment, to experience beauty of arts, or for socialisation. In relation to this, Chale Wote provides different audiences the opportunity to choose from either open-space or closed-space activities. Hence, the festival attracts younger people who prefer to be in open spaces like the streets as compared to closed spaces like museums. It also provides other people who will prefer more serene spaces a chance to choose.

In this regard, tourists attending Chale Wote do not only get experiences which are tied to the forts and slave dungeons, but they get the opportunity to be exposed to a myriad of experiences. In addition, event and creative tourism has been found as an emerging practice in Ghana that contributes to the tourism experience of the nation. Chale Wote Street Art Festival contributes to the tourism experience through the promotion of event tourism. Through Chale Wote, we see how creative tourism can promote places and involve community members which leads to place growth. We see how local actors have burst into the scene to control tourist flows through the addition of value to the place for a richer experience for tourists and community members. Most importantly, through Chale Wote, we see that tourism products which are place focussed has the role to improve the quality of place by drawing local and international attention to issues imbedded in place.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, beyond place branding, festivals have placemaking outcomes. Chale Wote is a classic example of a grassroots urban creative production that combines arts with culture and history to produce an event that is community-based and contributes to redocumentation of history and meanings of an urban town. By creating an event that centres on the experiences of locals, the case study shows the relevance of place, events and the activities of bottom-up actors. From this case study, we see how an event has been used to shape the meanings of a place from one laden with negativity into a positive image that attracts people globally. We also see how events are used to create a space for socialisation and networking between locals and non-residents and opening the place and its people up to many possibilities. From the case study we also see the relevance of event organisers as they can situate and revitalise community assets to redocument history in forms that show the progressiveness of places. We also see how event organisers influence tourist flows by producing packages that visitors seek. Accra[dot]Alt work towards promoting event and heritage tourism that drives growth and transformation in the community; and in the process, promotion of social and economic spill overs nationwide. In association, from the case study, the local actors volatize cultural and historical assets of place which diversify tourists' experiences from just education, return and spirituality to include a myriad of experiences that include, experiences of entertainment, socialisation, aesthetic, and escapism. Through this case study, we can find how activities of local actors are propelled by local and state institutions and from that we see how local state agencies may be more relevant than state agencies in the success of place-based events due to reasons such as shared ideas and visions; and acquaintance with local problems. Through this event, we can learn that modernity and tradition do not exist in opposition and, from the evolution of Ga Mashie, we know the city can also embody tradition and culture. Furthermore, the success of events is a result of where

place they are organised. In that, this case study shows how places are open to external ideas, and technologies. It also shows the inverse where places influence ideas of actors when they try to conform to societal norms, systems and ways of life of a community. This community project also shows how community involvement reveals the sense and identity of a place and goes ahead to show that local participation in tourism related activities leads to shared benefits. Moving forward, as people will hold intangible memories of the past, places represent the capsule in time and space that holds tangible assets of a people's history and heritage. Thus, human and inhuman assets (history, culture, traditions) of a place are instrumental in the growth of events. Through Chale Wote, residents have found new opportunities which were non-existent before. However, even though events like Chale Wote Street Art Festival is notable for high turnout, high tourist/participant satisfaction and community participation, the research finds that this will not be enough for its sustainability over many years to come. Community-based events like Chale Wote Street Art Festival should focus on how to sustain the legacies of the place and promote active participation from community members through education, skill development and involving residents in event planning. However, the latter will depend on the former since these participatory mechanisms will work if residents also recognise their roles and participate actively.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUSTAINABILITY OF CHALE WOTE

In relation to this conclusion, the following recommendations are provided below to contribute to the sustainability of Chale Wote Street Art Festival in the future. This is in line with the assertion made by Platt and Ali-Knight (2018) that, "... if there is already a community-led or volunteer-run festival happening successfully in your town, support it, nurture it and find out what they need to make it sustainable for the future – this might be skills development or in-kind support." (p.264).

i. Use the event to highlight the deterioration of historical buildings in the community

The findings indicated that Ga Mashie as a place was a major contributor to the success of Chale Wote. And more specifically, the historical buildings served as spaces which the organisers used for their events. The organisers initially identified the problem of lack of promotion of cultural and historical assets. Currently, the problem of unpopularity is no more imminent as many people now tie their visits to the area for Chale Wote, Homowo and for walking tours. But during the research, another problem was identified which has to do with poor maintenance of buildings. We also get to know that the festival organisers adopt sustainable practices in the form of; using Augmented Reality presentation as opposed to painting on the walls of the historical site and allowing only live performances in the forts. Even though these practices are good, the problem of deterioration due to lack of maintenance from major stakeholders persists. In relation to this problem, the festival should focus on promoting these stories of deterioration of the structures. As Chale Wote is a project in problem solving, the organisers can tap into the huge social network that they have to be able to reach out to stakeholders who will be willing to invest in their renovation. In doing this, more attention will be drawn to this situation and may attract the necessary help needed to safeguard the forts, the lighthouse and other structures from perishing like numerous buildings have.

ii. Applying a Structured Community Participation Plan to track Impacts

What was deduced from the research was that community participation is central in executing Chale Wote Street Art Festival and that socio-economic benefit were the most apparent way of seeing how the festival impacted residents. While the festival organisers have identified that community participation is good for improving livelihoods, they also need to adopt these three (3) participatory mechanisms that involves education, skill development and involvement of residents in the event planning which will help measure impacts, promote community ownership and addressing local concerns like retaining tourism activities in the area. This is because, locals were found to be focussed on reaping economic benefits by selling during the festival. A structured participation programme will steer involvement and help measure impacts in the areas of education for instance. Through this the event organisers can help in raising awareness about negative aspect of tourism and to come up with a solution to solve any emerging problem with residents. Secondly, in addition, there is no existing strategy to measure concerns and the level of skill development of community members. The festival organisers had skills which the people in the area lacked. They have cultural capital like their level of education, placemaking ideas, creative ideas, social media marketing, social network, producing and managing a cultural production. Since the organisers have human capital on how to produce an event, they can create a program that seeks to educate interested groups on the rubrics of a cultural production. Gaining the skills will help boost more participation by locals in the area of planning the festival. In relation to this, residents also had concerns about losing their ownership of tourism and its benefits to adjacent community because perhaps, they were not aware of the plans made by organisers which is proof of minimal participation in planning of the event. So therefore, the latter which is skill development of community members will create an avenue for community members to be involved in planning and can help manage concerns which may arise in the future.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

During data collection, I noticed that since I was working alone, I could not attend all events during the festival. Consequently, I could not be at all places at the same time. So, I attended specific events which I thought were important for my study. Therefore, future researchers should take this issue into consideration and by doing this, they could adopt my approach to covering events. Or better still devise ways that suit the needs of their research.

In addition, since this research is a thesis project that was completed within a stipulated time, this might have an influence on the findings about the impacts of the festival on the community. Further research can focus on long-term research that seeks to find out and measure long-term impacts of Chale Wote on the people of Ga Mashie.

Also, as part of my data collection plan, I decided to interview someone from the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MOTAC). Reason for this was to ascertain the nature of the collaboration between the state body and Accra [dot]Alt. However, I was not able to get the interview. By extension, researchers can add up to this study by studying the influences of state agencies on creative production in Ghana.

Finally, in the findings, it was found out that community-based festivals like Chale Wote encourages community participation and that residents benefited from the festival economically. This finding however differs from past research (Akyeampong, 2009; Holden and Novelli, 2011) that identify that most tourism destinations in Ghana (especially heritage and ecotourism sites) face the issue of lack of participation. Hence, another way this topic can be extended is through a comparative study of prospects of events tourism and heritage tourism/ecotourism on destination development (improving resident livelihood through participation) in Ghana.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR HAKEEM AND MANDIAYA (ACCRA[DOT]ALT)

1. What's this year's pidgin Imaginarium?
 - a. In what ways do you see Jamestown influencing/shaping the event?
2. From my observations, I saw a lot of Africans from the diaspora at this year's event. I will like to know if they are your main target audience.
 - a. To Mandiaya: You said there are some problems in Jamestown that you want to solve?
 - b. So, it's about changing perceptions people have about Jamestown?
 - c. About the economic benefit that the people get from the festival. Do you think the people are concentrating more on selling/the economic and not concentrating on the art aspect?
3. I will like to know from your perception what you think about the collaboration with the
4. In what ways do you both benefit from the collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism.?
5. How will you describe your collaboration of traditional rulers in Jamestown?
6. How will you describe the state's interest in the art over the years?
7. What made you to use the other spaces that you used this year?
8. How will you describe the network of Chale wote? / Who is part of the network and who is not part of it?
9. How do you personally contribute to this network/ what expertise do you bring on board?

GLOSSARY OF GA WORDS

WORD	DEFINITION
Alata/Alada	Means a person from Nigeria residing in Ghana
Ga	Ga/Ga-Adangbe, or Ga Dangbe constitutes one of the major ethnic groups in Ghana. Currently, the Gas live in the capital city of Ghana Accra in areas such as Osu, Labadi, Jamestown, Tema, Teshie and Nungua among others.
Ga Mantse	Means Chief of the Ga
Ga Mashie	Means home of the Ga people Also used to describe the amalgamation of two towns (Jamestown and Ussherstown) in Accra.
Kpokpoi	This is Ga food specifically made during the celebration of Homowo. It is made from fermented cornmeal, smoked fish and palm soup.
Ododiodoo	Was the war cry for a street fight in the colonial era.
Mantse	Means chief
Weku	Means family house
Weku Nukpai	Means head of the family