GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Volume 12, Number 2, December 2015

School of Social Sciences
University of Ghana, Legon

Ghana Social Science Journal

Volume 12, Number 2, December 2015

ISSN: 0855-4730

Published by the
School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities, University of Ghana,
Post Office Box LG72, Legon, Accra, Ghana
Telephone Number: +233-302-500179
Electronic mail address: socsjournal@ug.edu.gh

Production editing of this issue was undertaken by James S. Dzisah and Cynthia A. Sottie.

Printed by Yamens Press Limited, Post Office Box AN6045, Accra, Ghana.
Telephone Number: +233-302-223222/235036.
Electronic mail address: yamenspresslimited@gmail.com

Ghana Social Science Journal is indexed and abstracted in the ProQuest Periodicals Acquisition Databases, Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States.

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CHALLENGES TO THE BRITISH POLICY OF DIRECT TAXATION AMONG THE NORTHERN EWE OF GHANA

WILSON KWAME YAYOH[1]

ABSTRACT

Taxation is important in analysing the colonial economy and the functions of the colonial state. Historians often imagine a highly oppressive state forcing people to pay tax. But in the Ewedome region, the colonial administrators appeared weak. They were reluctant to push direct taxation too hard because they wanted to keep the peace and avoid protests or violent responses. This article extends the discussion of local influence on colonial policy to the little examined topic of taxation. It identifies what is special about Ewedome and describes how direct taxation was introduced, the concerns of administrators and reactions of the local people, and argues that this enables us to draw some important conclusions about the gendered and generational nature of responses to taxation and the surprising weakness of the colonial state.

Keywords: Colonial State, Direct Taxation, Mandates, Ordinance

INTRODUCTION

The region occupied by the northern Ewe of Ghana, popularly known as *Ewedome* (see map below), was part of the larger territory referred to during the British mandate and trusteeship periods as the Southern Section of British Togoland. The area is heterogeneous and witnessed a complex migration of people from all directions throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. It is made up of Ewes, Guans and the so-called Togo remnant groups, the Ewe being the dominant ethnic group.[2] Formal British colonization of the region started in 1922, eight years after the Germans had been defeated in the First World War and driven out of

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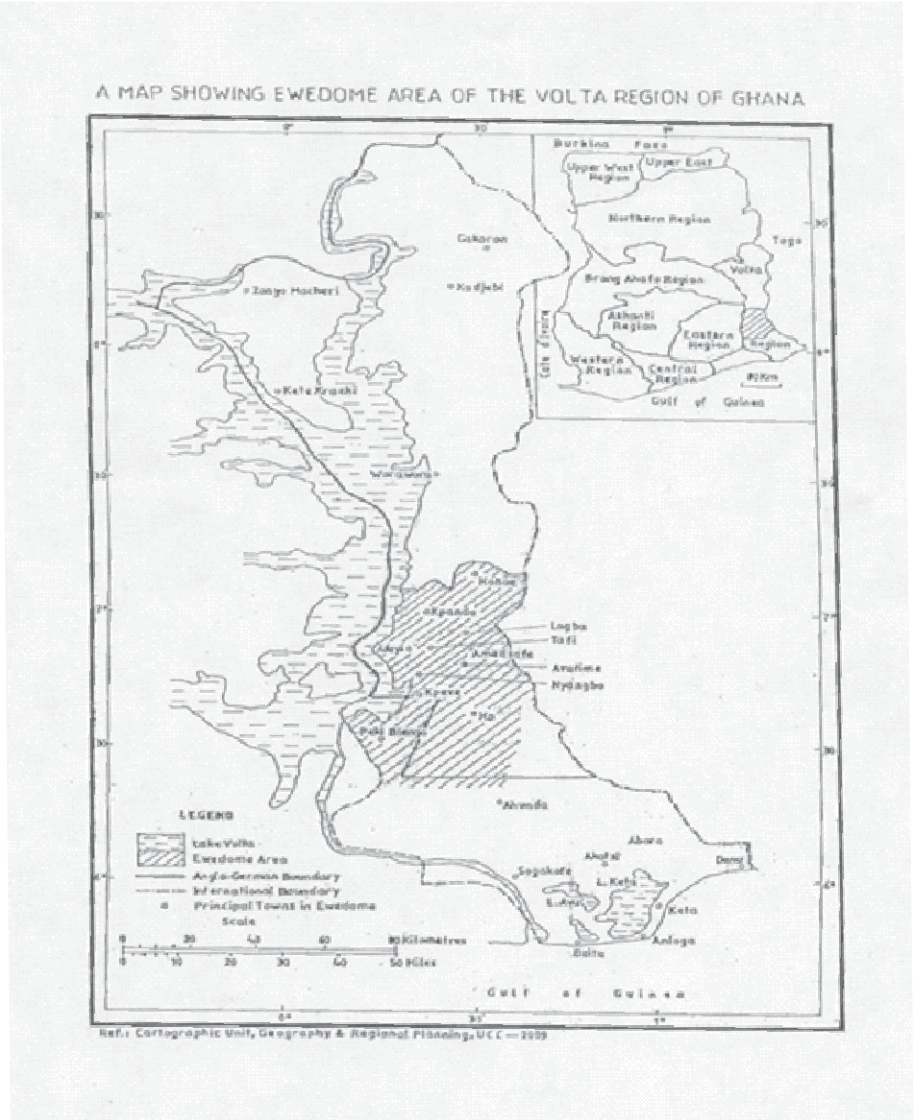
Togoland.[3] At the time the British took over, there was a conspicuous absence of 'big chiefs' as they existed in the Akan regions of the Gold Coast.[4] The problem was exacerbated when the Germans granted a tribunal to every chief and sub-chief.[5] The net result was the multiplicity of chiefdoms with a stupendous number of tribunals: 243 were recorded in 1920.[6] The desire to introduce a workable system of local administration in the area forced the British colonial government to bring together the existing small political units into large centralised states called Native Authorities (NAs)–Akpini Native Authority, Asogli Native Authority, Awatime Native Authority and Atando Native Authority[7]. These NAs, headed by paramount chiefs, had the power to run a system of local administration under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1932. As Hailey (1938) pointed out, the creation of states of sufficient size and population in British Togoland was done to allow the establishment of local government on a proper basis.[8]

Ewedome was the last British colony on the West African coast to implement the policy of direct taxation, although British colonial officials and historians stressed that direct taxation was central to indirect rule.[9] Direct taxation did not come into effect in Ewedome until 1945, after the NAs had taken the initiative to operate treasuries without the Governor's approval. Historians have become more interested in taxation in recent years because they recognise the importance of tax in analysing the structure and functions of the colonial state.[10] Moreover, the tax practices of colonial regimes retain a high degree of contemporary relevance, especially in a country like Ghana which is deemed to have achieved a successful 'democratic transition' in terms of national parliamentary and presidential elections, but which has not seen effective decentralisation of power to local government.



African Studies scholars have grappled with the question as to whether current difficulties in making local governments more accountable, more participatory, and more effective in delivering public services are the result of a colonial legacy (as espoused by Mamdani), or have more specific and recent origins.[11] Guyer observes that since independence, the

tax systems set up by colonial governments have all been abolished, particularly at the local level, following the demise of the NAs.[12]

Scholars of Ghana have done quite a lot of work on local government, including taxation, in the past ten years, but there had been a tendency to focus on the Akan areas where there are specific questions about the revenues arising from the renting out of stool lands for commercial farming, especially cocoa.[13] There is much less work on taxation in Ewedome, although Nugent has investigated some of the enduring disputes over the amalgamation of small chieftaincies, and taxation was an important element of these disputes.[14] Taxation in Ewedome deserves scholarly attention because the territory has some distinctive characteristics. The area has a much shorter history of centralised states; chieftaincy developed partly under Akwamu influence in the pre-colonial period, and chieftaincies remained small, headed by chiefs with limited means.[15] Therefore, stool lands and revenue are almost insignificant in this area, particularly when compared with Asante and Akyem, where huge revenues accrued from leasing out stool lands to mining companies and timber merchants. Moreover, cocoa was not produced in large commercial quantities in this region as compared to the Akan areas of the Gold Coast. It was after the 1920s that cocoa became the main export crop from the Southern Section of British Togoland. Even so, the bulk of the cocoa from the Southern Section was produced in Buem, Kadjebi, Ahamansu, Papase and Ampeyeo areas to the north of Ewedome. Most of the land in Ewedome was simply unsuitable for cocoa cultivation. Nugent presents a classification of cocoa growing areas in southern section of British Togoland which gives an accurate picture of how insignificant Ewedome was to the cocoa industry.[16] Thus Ewedome was relatively poor. British officials had noted in 1914 that the people of Ewedome spontaneously surrendered the large number of muskets with which the German government had armed them, because they were happy about getting rid of the Germans who had imposed a head tax on them. [17] As soon as the British took over from the Germans, they abolished the head tax and this sat well with the inhabitants. We need to know, therefore, how the NAs raised revenue in Ewedome.

It is also important to note that Ewedome within the larger British Togoland had a special status as a League of Nations mandated territory, and this complicates our understanding of colonial policies in the region. Although Ewedome consisted of the northern Ewe, it was actually part of the Southern Section of British Togoland. As a mandatory power, Britain had to administer the territory within the framework of international supervision and responsibility by a Permanent Mandate Commission (PMC). After the Second World War, the PMC was replaced by the Trusteeship Council under the auspices of the United Nations. Thus until the later part of 1949, colonial policies in the region came under complete and compact ordinances which were markedly different from those which applied to the Gold Coast.

Direct taxation has been associated with oppressive colonial regimes in the literature.[18] In South Africa, for example, it is quite clear that direct taxation was linked to land reform to make it difficult for Africans to continue to operate as independent agricultural producers and to push them into low-wage work for Europeans (on settler farms or in mines). In other parts of the Gold Coast, taxation was used as a way of getting Africans to do particular kinds of work. For example, in the Northern Territories, tax was initially payable either in cash or in days of labour, and this was how the colonial administration raised a labour force for roads and building projects. This continued into the 1920s. When government demanded that taxes be paid in cash, they effectively stimulated labour migration from poorer regions to other areas where people could earn cash wages.

Obviously, the above conditions did not apply to Ewedome because there were no settler farmers and no foreign-owned mines. So in this region, taxation was not used as a means of creating a low-paid pool of African labour for settlers. The article argues that objections to taxation cannot be read as straightforward opposition to colonial rule. Instead, they should be seen as a reflection of some distrust in so-called 'traditional' institutions of chieftaincy, but they also reflect some gender and generational cleavages that emerged within Ewedome society in the context of a colonial economy. The article thus advances the counter argument that critics of

indirect rule often overstated the power of the colonial state and overstretched the gullibility of rural folk.

THE COLONIAL ECONOMY AND TAXATION

The British imposed both direct and indirect taxation systems in their African colonies. Indirect tax took the form of import and export taxes and it was easier to impose and collect these kinds of tax (particularly in an economy which was largely dominated by peasant farming) due to high local demand for European goods. But indirect tax had limitations — it narrowed the tax net and generated less income for the colonial government. Direct tax, on the other hand, came in the form of income tax, poll tax or hut tax and it struck at the heart of the Native Authority system. Existing sources of revenue in the region were clearly spelled out in the 1932 Southern Section of British Togoland Ordinance and included profits derived from all fees and fines payable in respect of proceedings in native tribunals, market rents, dues, slaughter-houses and hunters' fees, palm-wine tapers' fees, and fishing fees, among others.[19] The ability of NAs to collect direct tax was indicative of how successful they could be in running a local government. But having a direct tax regime at the local level was also part of the 'civilizing mission', the goal of which was to bring colonised people into the world where direct taxation was found to be indispensable; and people realised that 'common goods', for example, infrastructure was built and law and order maintained using income from such taxes.[20]

In addition, it could relieve the local inhabitants from communal work on such projects as schools, dispensaries, wells and road construction, as such development projects could be executed with the portion of the tax which was retained locally. The Native Revenue Bill introduced in the Gold Coast in 1931 (but did not apply to Ewedome/British Togoland) was intended to enhance the capacity of Native States to build and maintain 'schools, hospitals, post offices, roads, drains, latrines and water supply'.[21]Second, colonial officers in the colony felt that direct taxation would provide chiefs, who should not be salaried officers of government, with proper remuneration for their work. It was observed that it was highly desirable that chiefs should receive a regular salary instead of being

dependent on court fees and other pickings, a system which, in the Gold Coast Colony, was said to have led to some perversion of justice and to gross abuse of power by certain chiefs.

Third, direct taxation could stimulate in the NAs a sense of their responsibilities to the communities entrusted to their charge.[22] Fourth, it would enable the NAs to carry out the functions of local government in a manner most appropriate to local needs and custom. [23]This was part of the British idea of what it meant to prepare the 'native population' to gradually assume the powers and privileges of self-government. We noted earlier that most of the treasuries in the Gold Coast Colony got a significant proportion of their revenue from rents and royalties drawn from mines and stool lands.[24] The absence of any such sources of revenue in Ewedome made a form of direct taxation, as a way of mobilising revenue, even more imperative. The absence of direct taxation, and thus lack of revenue, was deemed responsible for a lack of development. [25] From the onset of, and throughout their propaganda campaign, the British officials relentlessly emphasized 'local taxation for local needs' as the underlying principle for direct taxation, but this principle was to provide the grounds of appeal for the chiefs and their subjects.[26]The most important underlying factor in all of this was the depression of the 1930s, which led to a cut in the British colonial government's expenditure, and the colonies' adherence to the Forced Labour Convention of 1930 which put a severe strain on the colonial governments' resources and made direct taxation a necessary policy.[27] The Forced Labour Convention meant that the Road Ordinance, which gave the mandate to the colonial officers to call on the inhabitants to provide labour for the maintenance of roads, would have to be repealed. The cost of maintaining roads in the Gold Coast, let alone the mandated territory, at the time was estimated to be £150,000 under recurrent expenditure in the budget.[28] If the inhabitants were to be relieved of providing their labour for development projects, then money had to be found to pay for the cost of maintaining the roads for the growth of the cocoa industry. In addition, there was substantial reduction in revenue from imported foodstuffs owing to the increased cultivation of these food crops locally. In essence, whereas in the 1920s fear of protest diminished the will to introduce direct taxation, by the 1930s the rhetoric was much

more firmly on direct taxation as a means of 'modernising' the populace. In other words, direct taxation was not just about broadening the basis of taxation but also served to introduce a workable system of local government.[29] The success or otherwise of the NAs in the collection of direct taxes was to provide proof of the extent to which they could be used for establishing local government on a sound basis. Direct taxation within a system of indirect rule, then, was expected to have a kind of 'educative' function – it was increasing the responsibilities of chiefs, encouraging them to demonstrate their ability to 'develop' their areas by making use of more 'modern' means of administering people. Nonetheless, the idea of indirect rule and levying local taxes was a solution to the coloniser's dilemma: the United Kingdom was in post-war crisis in the early 1920s and a deep recession in the early 1930s. Indirect rule and direct taxation were solutions to these problems – they could reduce the burden of expenditure on the metropolitan government.

Added to the above was the League of Nations' resolution that the mandatory powers should govern their mandates in a manner that would promote the economic wellbeing and political advancement of the inhabitants towards self-government. Therefore by establishing NAs, it was envisioned that local inhabitants would be more willing to submit to a more or less direct taxation at the bidding of their chiefs rather than on the orders of colonial officials. Therefore, British policy made it clear from the onset that direct taxation would not be imposed by the central government but by the NAs acting in accordance with powers delegated to them by the Governor, and with the government's approval. A caveat to this provision, however, was that the Governor could impose a tax and arrange for its assessment and collection in the event of a NA in a particular state refusing to exercise the power conferred on it.[30] Despite this policy objective, the British officials decided to shelve the introduction of direct taxation in the mandated territory.

Until the 1940s, the colonial economy of Ewedome was entirely drawn from indirect taxation such as import duty, the export tax on cocoa, tax on cover cloths, drinks, and gun licences, among others.[31] The option of raising revenue through the introduction of either an income tax or poll tax

was not considered feasible in an area deemed to be so poor, and the documents show that officials planned to continue relying on indirect taxation until such a time that the economic condition of the territory had improved. [32] They were also probably rather cautious because of negative experiences from the introduction of direct taxation elsewhere in West Africa apart from Northern Nigeria (for example, Sierra Leone, SE Nigeria). [33] For some seventy years, from 1861-1931, there was no direct taxation in the Gold Coast, except the town rates levied in Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi under the Town Council Ordinance, and in Kumasi under the Kumasi Public Health Ordinance.[34]

In 1931, the Gold Coast press argued that the proposed introduction of direct taxation in British Togoland was an attempt to introduce a poll tax in disguise.[35] This was followed by the rejection of the introduction of income tax in the Gold Coast in 1931.[36] Even in 1931, some officials, having learned from the failure of the 1852 Poll Tax experiment in the Gold Coast, averred that an increase in import duties was an alternative to direct taxation, but such a traditional course of increasing revenue might prove an anathema to producers and importers and might not yield the expected revenue.[37] Particularly in Ewedome, the poverty, and thus the low purchasing power of the people militated against an increase in import duties. In 1921, the imposition of full Gold Coast Custom Import Duties in British Togoland had led to a decline in trade in the territory. [38] Several European firms which operated in the territory at the start of the mandate had been forced to close down on account of high import and export taxes which they had to pay in addition to charges at the Lome port.[39] Goods at Ho were reported to be expensive as a result of these taxes.[40] It is also on record that an increase in the import duty on spirits in the Gold Coast in the late 1920s led to a complete cessation of the purchase of gin and other spirits.[41] In Ewedome, the officers observed that the inhabitants resorted to the drinking of palm wine (a local drink extracted from palm trees) and its distillate, *akpeteshie*, instead of the expensive foreign liquor.

The duty on imported liquor (especially gin) was about 400% ad valorem while the duty on other articles attracted only 15%.[42] The substantial loss

of custom revenue as a result of the decrease in the purchase of gin could not be made up by simply increasing the duty on other articles, for that could destroy the trade in many commodities such as sugar, textiles and building materials which could not be classified in any sense as luxuries. It followed that the loss in customs revenue had to be made good either by export duties or by direct taxation. The former, apart from being an anathema to importers and exporters, affected only a small fraction of the populace, while direct taxation affected every inhabitant. Direct taxation was therefore the only viable option left for government. But the colonial government felt that propaganda was imperative if the troubles which occurred in other British colonies consequent on the introduction of direct taxation were to be avoided or minimised in Ewedome.

A far more important reason why the British officials adopted a cautious approach was the knowledge of difficulties the French government was experiencing in collecting direct taxes in French mandated Togoland. The Anglo-French boundary between the two territories had always been extremely permeable in terms of population flows. [43] However, the drift from the French controlled area to the British sphere became alarming from 1929 on, as a result of the introduction of direct taxation by the French.[44] To prevent people from moving into the British sphere of Togoland, the French government sought the assistance of the British government to rigidly control movement across the border.[45] The British government rejected the French proposal on the grounds that the frontiers between the British and the French areas were quite ill-defined in the sense that there were no natural features involved, and there were strong linguistic and cultural ties among the people on both sides of the border.[46]

A further attempt by the French to increase taxes and to prevent movement into British territory led to serious disturbances in Lome in 1933 where there was rioting and looting of shops by a mob of local inhabitants. [47] Although nobody was reported killed, considerable damage was done to property and even the lives of the staff of the British Consulate in Lome were threatened by the rioters. [48] It was obvious then that the exodus of people from French mandated Togoland into the British mandated area

since the coming into force of the mandate was due to the desire to escape not only conscription into the French army, but also direct taxation. The proximity to the border with French Togoland throughout the territory meant that it was not only the colonial administrators who looked sideways to see how tax was handled across the border; the people of Ewedome were also well-aware of this and could compare their experiences of taxation with those of neighbours on the other side. Clearly, the British officials could not be oblivious to the happenings across the border the likely implications in Ewedome and British Togoland as a whole.

Finally, the officials were confronted with a more formidable obstacle of a technical nature. The administrative officers were divided on the issue of whether the system of controlled finances should be applied within the framework of the 1932 Southern Section of British Togoland Ordinance or whether the provisions of the Native Administration Ordinance of 1939, which was operating in the colony, should be extended to the southern section of British Togoland.[49] We have to remember here that Togoland had always been regarded from the administrative point of view as a separate political entity. Furthermore, the 1932 ordinance was a complete and compact ordinance applying to the southern section only. The application of any ordinance from the Colony in British Togoland at this time would spread the laws and regulations over different chapters/jurisdictions. It would seem appropriate, therefore, that any proposed legislation relating to native administration finances which was reckoned to be essential to local government should be drawn up within the existing legislation controlling Ewedome and other parts of the southern section of British Togoland. Unfortunately, the 1932 ordinance provided very little for the native authorities to refer to for guidance with regard to financial administration.[50] Reliance on the 1932 ordinance could therefore place the NAs and the officers in an invidious position because some chiefs could abuse their powers and bring the whole policy into disrepute. Thus a new legislation dealing with the specific issue of financial administration had to be drawn up to establish treasuries properly and introduce a strict monitoring regime.

LOCAL INITIATIVE AT DIRECT TAXATION

In spite of seeming obstacles and negative evidence from the French territory, this idea of a treasury and direct taxation was readily embraced by the paramount chiefs. In 1935, when the extent of the NA areas began to take shape, Akpini and Asogli states passed state treasury bye-laws even before the coming into force of any laws by the colonial government establishing and regulating treasuries.[51] This was followed by a proposal from Avatime state to the District Commissioner in 1938 for the establishment of a state treasury and the imposition of an annual tax.[52] One division, Agate in Akpini state, welcomed direct taxation and showed its preparedness to pay even more taxes. When the District Commissioner visited Agate in 1943 to sell the idea of direct taxation to the inhabitants, the chief told him that the idea was not new to them; that they had, since the 1930s, ensured that all children had free primary education. The cost was borne through the payment of an annual tax which was generally approved by everybody in the division. Much to the surprise of the District Commissioner, the youth even indicated their readiness to pay £8 annually instead of the £6 which the District Commissioner had proposed.[53] Enthused by these developments, the District Commissioner wrote to the Commissioner of the Eastern Province (CEP) requesting that a form of financial assistance should be granted by government to those divisions which had to establish state treasuries.[54] Presumably, the District Commissioner wanted to be in a position to offer certain specific advantages to states which had taken the initiative to introduce direct taxation in order to encourage the establishment of treasuries throughout the territory. But the proposal was rejected by the Governor on the grounds that 'the grant of such concessions to native treasuries in Togoland would lay government open to a demand for similar concessions to such treasuries in the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories'.[55] Moreover, if government were to provide grants to NAs, it would be necessary to establish very definite measures of governmental control over such treasuries. The CEP was even more emphatic when he stated that:

> no form of Government subsidy should be given to any Native Treasury until such time as the Treasury is well established and

> has been working satisfactorily for a period of years, in other words when it has been shown that the native authority can be trusted to administer its funds for the good of State, or Division, as a whole, and the principle is understood, appreciated and supported by the local population.[56]

From 1938, the NAs continued to collect direct taxes and made deposits with the district treasury without prior approval from the governor.[57] Akpini state, for instance, made a deposit of £32-6-00, while Avatime state deposited £22-6-00.[58] These deposits consisted of money that accrued from tribunal fees and fines and levies. The most intriguing development was the establishment of a treasury in Kpando by a group known as the 'Kpando Asafo Union' in December 1938. This particular group, made up of an educated elite and the sub-chiefs of Kpando, collected taxes, market and lorry park fees and deposited them with the district treasury.[59] Within ten months, the group collected a total of £259-15-00.[60] But the paramount chief of Kpando stopped the activities of the Asafo Union and took over the collection of the taxes.[61] A similar situation occurred in Ashanti. The control of the finances of NAs was first mooted in Ashanti in 1923 when it was realised how mistrust, destoolments and so forth were caused by the misapplication and maladministration of stool revenues.[62] Therefore, the initiative on the part of the educated elites and the chiefs in Ewedome put the British colonial government under considerable pressure to revisit the issue of direct taxation and to educate the people on the value of a properly organised fiscal system.

But at this time, WWII and its fiscal consequences made it imperative for British officials to consider seriously the issue of direct taxation. Britain's economy was in a shambles as a result of its high indebtedness to the US and the massive destruction visited on her industries by Germany. [63] So constrained was Britain financially that it found it hard to meet the expectations of its own citizens, let alone to single-handedly provide for its colonies. After WWII, the British population elected a Labour Government that had promised to provide a broad range of publicly funded services - the establishment of a welfare state including a National

Health Services. This placed emphasis on the need for the state to lend support to less privileged communities and had a profound influence on the formulation of colonial policies after the war; indeed, a paradigm shift in development policy. Hitherto, the philosophy was that the role of the state was to promote private enterprises, but after WWII all this changed and people began to advocate direct state involvement in the provision of social services and improvement in the general standard of living, particularly in deprived regions and communities.[64] Reid shows how Britain pursued a number of interventionist policies to mitigate the economic impact of WWII on West African peasants.[65]

However, British Togoland, of which Ewedome was a part, did not benefit much from the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940. Although British Togoland shared a common budget with the Gold Coast and 'expenditures were allocated to the former not on the basis of its overall needs but on the basis of the parts of the Gold Coast with which it was administered', British Togoland was not a British colony.[66] Consequently, for the Togoland NAs to continue to render essential services and promote local government there was the need for the chiefs to realise their responsibility for managing the financial affairs of their states honestly and in the best interests of their people. In addition, the responsibility of all the inhabitants to contribute financially to the material progress of their divisions had to be institutionalised, a responsibility which could best be discharged through the payment of direct taxation.

After some debate, the 1932 ordinance was amended to ensure that treasuries were established in Togoland on a sound basis. The amendment became part of the ordinance and was referred to as 'Part 5-Native Administration Finances.'[67] Eventually, a nominal roll of all eligible tax payers was compiled by the end of 1944, paving the way for direct tax to be formally levied in 1945.[68] The ordinance was one of crucial importance and it may well be said to have marked the modest beginning of 'local government' in the modern sense in Ewedome.

The taxes were to be graduated, where and as far as circumstances would allow, according to the gross annual income of the individual. The

collection of the tax by chiefs was supervised by the DC, who should examine the native treasury books, to which he must be given access at all times, and as frequently as possible.[69] All revenue was divided into three equal parts: one for the state and two to the divisions in which it was collected. From the state's share all staff such as clerks, registrars, tax collectors, and the police were paid, as were mail carriers, where the agency or the postal agent's mail carriers served more than one division. [70] The decentralisation of financial administration was found to be appropriate based on experiences gained from the Gold Coast, where centralisation of financial administration at the level of the state council had resulted in misappropriation of funds.[71]

Each divisional council submitted what exactly it wanted to spend its own two-thirds on for approval.[72] By these means, administration costs were kept low and tax payers were assured that the bulk of their tax was spent within their area and not in the capital towns. It is important to note that part 5 of the 1932 ordinance made it clear that no taxation in any shape or form could be introduced except under a bye-law passed by the state council and approved by the Governor.[73] In addition, there had to be in every NA a finance committee to manage and scrutinise revenue and expenditure. The committee consisted of a chairman, treasurer and three other members appointed by the NA, provided that the appointment of the treasurer was approved by the District Commissioner. Three members of the committee were considered a quorum. However, many NAs had difficulties in handling the finances of the state in an appropriate manner, mainly because of lack of appropriately skilled persons who would exercise oversight in terms of maintaining accounts and preparing estimates. It had been this apparent inability of most chiefs to comprehend the very rudiments of financial administration that had led to the creation of a central treasury held by the DC on behalf of the chiefs back in 1932.

PROTEST AGAINST DIRECT TAXATION

In this part of the article, I intend to explore the northern Ewe reaction to direct taxation as a way of possibly enhancing our understanding of what people also thought about indirect rule. Protests against direct taxation started in Ewedome even before the coming into force of the Native

Administration Treasuries Ordinance.[74] As early as June 1937, 'youngmen' attempted to destool paramount chief Adza Tekpor V of Avatime for the decision by the state council to introduce an annual levy of 2/- for development projects in the state. They contended that the annual tax was a subtle means by the paramount chief to reintroduce the Head Tax imposed by the Germans. [75] As a result, the District Commissioner ordered the suspension of the taxes in that state.[76] It was difficult to convince the youngmen that the development of their divisions depended on direct taxation because the history of economic advancement in the Gold Coast showed that this was not necessarily the case.[78] Underlying this was colonial officers' unevenness and ambivalence towards direct taxation.

The protests by the youngmen against direct taxation should be understood within the broader context of growing discontent among the western-educated youth who began to question the privileged position of the indirect-rule chiefs. In the Gold Coast Colony the western-educated youth, who were increasingly frustrated by the political authority of chiefs, were responsible for many destoolment cases. [79] The abuse of power by Akan chiefs was also a major factor in the growth of a 'class' of discontented youth in the inter-war period. There appeared to be a surge of genuine popular discontent against the political role played by chiefs in local government. 80 This fits into Fage's analysis of how individual acquisition of wealth and education in the Gold Coast Colony had the possibility of weakening traditional authority.[81]

In 1944, when the imposition of direct tax was given colonial government backing, Avatime State Council re-introduced it.[82] This time, it was women who protested most strongly against the policy. In most of the states, women invariably bore the brunt of existing taxation. The female farmers had to pay tolls in order to sell their own produce in the market. Other women who owned stalls in the market and sold goods other than food also had to pay tolls. In fact, until the introduction of direct taxation, NAs derived a substantial amount of their revenue from market tolls. [83] With the introduction of an annual direct tax, therefore, the women felt they were being over-taxed. The point is that the whole NA system was an

all-male affair because the parameters of indirect rule inadvertently meant the absolute exclusion of women. In fact, in Ewedome, chieftaincy did not evolve with queen mothers, as was the case in the Akan areas of the Gold Coast Colony. It was only in the late 1940s that female chiefs began to emerge in the Ewedome region. [84]Thus the NA structure was essentially 'a citadel of male political power and domination'.[85] Leaders of women traders, also known as 'Market Queens', were at the forefront of the campaign. In 1951, the market queen of Saviofe was arrested and fined £15 for inciting the women-folk against the payment of the annual tax.[86] Further attempts at prosecuting other queens weakened the united front of the women. Nevertheless, the campaign by the women caused the revenue of Avatime state in 1950-51 to fall by £744.[87] Similar protests occurred in the Liati division of Akpini state and in Asogli state. The Asafo Company in Liati protested against the annual tax collection because they claimed their head chief did not seek their consent before assenting to the scheme establishing the collection of the taxes for the Akpini State treasury under the control of the Paramount chief of Kpini.[88]

Meanwhile, a divisional treasury had been in operation in Liati itself since 1938. [89]In Asogli state, the youth who were annoyed with their divisional chiefs formed themselves into a rate-payers' association so they could take control of the management of the finances of their respective divisions. Indirect rule operated on the assumption that chiefs were guardians of their own people, and thus the people's interest would be represented via the chiefs who were 'natural' and 'customary' rulers. However, the youth demands to be represented on taxation suggests that they were developing different ideas about how their interest ought to be represented. In fact, their contention was that there could not be direct taxation of commoners without political representation for commoners.

The rise of the youth against chiefs must be understood within the context of the development of cleavages in Ewedome society as a result of changes in human relations at the levels of the individual and the state. In addition, the horizon of the increasing number of western educated younger men and women had been broadened and they had begun to see things from a wider perspective than the narrow NA and chiefly enclaves.

The rising aspiration of the youth was reflected in the growing resistance to the payment of direct taxation and creeping disrespect for NA directives.

Protests against direct taxation did not come from the indigenes of Ewedome alone. Strangers residing within the region were more vehement in their opposition to the tax.[90] One of the consequences of the development of the cash crop economy under colonial rule was the creation of a comparatively mobile labour force. There was the problem of how to handle the presence of such large numbers of 'strangers' particularly from the French territory.[91] Avatime and Asogli states witnessed the emigration of large numbers of Kabres from the north of French Togo. Many of them moved to Ewedome in order to earn money to pay the taxes being demanded by the French.[92] They also wanted a better standard of living.[93] Naturally, one would expect that they could be allowed to naturalise and stay in the divisions in which they worked. But this was not always feasible, for they moved from one division to the other according to the demands of the labour market. In fact, the resolution adopted by the state councils in 1944 stated that any alien who had lived within the state for more than six months was obliged to pay the annual levy.[94] Yet, these strangers refused to pay tax to any of the divisions and this led, in some cases, to serious clashes between the indigenous people and the strangers.[95]

The idea of families raising a levy was not new among the people of Ewedome. There were instances where a family in a village occasionally raised a levy, not for any immediate specific purpose, but to supplement the funds which the head of the family held to be spent on what the family deemed necessary. But they objected to the direct tax because they felt that whereas in the case of an occasional levy the purpose was known before it was imposed, in the case of the annual tax how it was spent might be wholly out of their control. Apparently, there was a wide gap between the principle of acceptance of a levy for a specific purpose, sanctioned by custom, and the acceptance of a levy imposed and controlled by a NA headed by a paramount chief. In other words, the purpose of taxation was less specific than the purpose of a family levy, but it also involved people

in larger numbers and institutions on a much larger scale. Thus taxation was linked to the issue of trust. The people of Liati, for example, cited an instance where an amount of £25 lodged in the state treasury was allegedly unaccounted for by the paramount chief of Akpini state. When the DC visited Liati in 1945 to impress upon them to pay 6/ per male into the state treasury they replied,

> we have no confidence in the money methods of the Akpini state council, nor the paramount chief Dagadu, and firmly believe that the money raised from the 6/- taxes as suggested will be used to foster the aggrandisement of the paramount stool and the headquarters division to the injury of the petitioners and their divisions.[97]

The impression, whether perceived or real, was that taxes were going to benefit the paramount chief's divisions that housed the treasury. Therefore, other divisions feared they might not get from the treasuries as much as they put in. At the core of these series of protests was the erroneous association of direct tax with paying tax to a paramount chief of a NA as opposed to paying tax for use within their own division for a specific purpose. Although these kinds of debates around taxation are not particular to Africa, the protests were a manifestation of a longstanding emphasis on the 'localism' of African politics whereby people prioritised what was best for their village vicinity above what was best for any larger unit such as a NA area. The women were out there to point out their specific case where they already contributed considerable amounts in indirect taxation through their control of a great proportion of the retail trade and the organisation of flourishing markets at every main centre. In addition, their market tolls constituted a major source of revenue for Nas.

In Ewedome, as in other parts of the colony, NAs had the freedom to graduate the annual tax according to occupation or some other criterion that would take into account the ability to pay.[98] From the government's point of view, the introduction of some elasticity in the tax regime was one way of minimising protest.[99] In the Gold Coast Colony, where the tax was varied to bear a definite relation to the material conditions of the various

localities and to take into account the difficulties evinced by periodic price fluctuations, protest was minimal.[100] In Ewedome, the NAs overlooked this dispensation. Although chiefs paid a higher rate, a flat rate was applied throughout the states. [101] This certainly did not go down well with many divisions where the people felt that they were poor and therefore they should be allowed to pay a lower rate than their neighbours in the better endowed divisions. It is obvious, therefore, that a protest against direct taxation was not really so much a protest against 'the British' but an action based on a series of other more particular reasons.

ADMINISTRATION OF DIRECT TAXATION

Direct taxation meant more work for the local authorities: although government grants were introduced, their size was largely dependent on revenues raised.[102] Seven shillings and six pence was paid to each NA for every £1, that is a proportion of 7/8, collected in direct taxation during the years 1948-1949.[103] The onus therefore was on NAs to improve the efficiency of their tax collection to attract more government grants. Considerations that guided the disbursement of the grants were the expenditure of the NAs on personal emoluments, including allowances paid to customary office holders, honoraria to court members and allowances to postal agents.[104] In addition, there was a grant based on the population of the state. For example, in 1949 a grant of £1/-10-00 per hundred head of population was paid to each NA.[105] To ameliorate the burden on NAs with low population figures, special assistance was given to such states at the discretion of the Chief Commissioner of the Colony on the recommendation of the Senior DC. In 1950, for instance, Asogli received a special amount of £100 to enable it carry out repair works on its water tanks.[106] By the end of 1950, things had begun to stabilise, as the work and remit of the NAs had become better understood and protests against direct taxation had begun to wane. In the 1949/50 fiscal year, total revenue of Akpini State stood at £6,183 while expenditure was £4,740; Asogli State recorded £9,353 with a total expenditure of £9, 299; Avatime State's revenue was £5,221 and its expenditure was £4,997.[107] Indeed, most NAs increased their annual taxes considerably in 1950 and 1951 without much protestation. For example, in 1951, Avatime increased its rate for men from 6/- to 12/-.[108] Some of the youngmen in Avatime and Asogli who

had most violently opposed the operations of the treasury became most anxious to see it working well. [109] In the 1950-51 financial year, 39% of revenue for the NAs was made up of direct taxation, with court revenue comprising16 %, fees and tolls 14% and government grant 28%.[110] In 1949 the Native Authority Ordinance in the southern section of British Togoland was amended and it became possible for approximately one-third of the members of each NA to be individuals who did not hold office by tradition, and for members of stranger communities to be represented on the NA state councils. So it is reasonable to suggest that the NA reforms carried out in 1949 might have contributed to greater willingness of the inhabitants to pay rates than in previous years.[111] That these changes were made in 1949 was undoubtedly related to the rise of the CPP in the Gold Coast. The CPP served to articulate and to organise simmering discontent and frustrations of non-chiefly elements, both in the Colony and in the Trust Territory. From 1949, the young CPP-supporting nationalists, even in the Trust Territory, were reconciled to the idea of having well-ordered finances and maintained that they would rather see the CPP-led government than the chiefs assume complete control. This, coupled with the crystallization of Ewe national consciousness into political movements, 'speeded up the agenda for decolonization [and] provided the focus for the development of active local politics'. [112] The stage was thus set for the first phase of the process of decolonization, which involved the dismantling of the NA system of local government and the transition to the new local councils in 1951. The relative success chalked by the NAs in collecting direct taxation from the 1940s to the transitional period of 1951 set the tone for the design of rate collection in the territory. Despite their rudimentary accounting practices, financial records of the NAs were important in facilitating the transition into the new local councils.

CONCLUSION

Ewedome and the larger southern section of British Togoland was the last British colony on the West African coast to implement the policy of direct taxation, though the centrality of such a tax regime to the working of indirect rule was emphasized from the onset of colonialism. The British had long held the view that Ewedome was too poor to implement direct taxation. Historians often imagine highly oppressive colonial states,

forcing people to pay tax. But this paper has shown that in Ewedome the introduction of direct taxation was delayed because the colonial state appeared weak. It was reluctant to push direct taxation too hard because it wanted to keep the peace and avoid protests or violent responses. It is clear, though, that objection to direct taxation was not automatic or universal. Some areas within Ewedome demonstrated an awareness of the potential benefits of direct tax and were willing to pay it subject to certain reassurances about uses and transparency. Others were keen on tax than the DCs. Objection to direct taxation was also about new interest groups and reflected gendered and generation cleavages. This was the case with market women and women farmers in the emerging economy who were out there, not to defend a 'tradition' in which women did not pay tax, but to vent their frustration with being over-taxed. It was also the case with those who felt fear and anxiety regarding such taxation. Their aspiration was reflected in the growing resistance to the payment of direct taxation, in the concern that the chiefs would misuse their money, and in strangers' apprehension that they were being made to pay taxes for which they would not reap the full benefits as they did not 'belong' to the NA/division where they lived.

In this sense, objections to taxation cannot be interpreted as straightforward resistance to a colonial system. They reflect some distrust in so-called traditional institutions of chieftaincy, but they also reflect some of the cleavages that emerged within Ewedome society in the context of a colonial economy. The focus on Ewedome therefore shows that an examination of colonial policies on a case-by-case basis provides a clearer understanding of indirect rule than the broad narrative and generalized assumptions that much of the existing literature has so far presented.

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[2]Dennis Laumann, 'The History of the Ewe of Togo and Benin from Pre-Colonial Times', in Benjamin N. Lawrance and Francis Agbodeka (eds.), *The Ewe of Togo and Benin* (Accra, 2005), p. 17. See C. Painter, 'The Guan and West Africa Historical Reconstruction', *Ghana Notes and Queries,* 9 (1996), p. 58; E. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-Speaking People of the Slave Coast of West Africa: their Religion,*

Manners, Customs, Law and Language (London, 1890), ,p. 8; M.B.K. Darkoh, 'Note on the Peopling of the Forest Hills of the Volta Region of Ghana', *Ghana Notes and Queries*, 11 (1970), p. 9;Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Oxford, 1991), p. 226; Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (London, 1996), p. 20; Paul Nugent, 'A Regional Melting Pot: The Ewe and their Neighbours in the Ghana-Togo Borderlands', in Bejamin N. Lawrance and Francis Agbodeka (eds.), *The Ewe of Togo and Benin* (Accra, 2005).

[3] British soldiers occupied the territory from 1914 but officially, Britain became a mandatory power in the territory in 1922, following the final demarcation of the boundary between British and French Togolands and the conclusion of the terms of the mandate. Brown notes that 'sustained and significant [British] political influence on the area' started in the early 1920s. See David Brown, 'Politics in the Kpandu area of Ghana, 1925 to 1969: A Study of the Influence of Central Government and National Politics upon Local Factional Competition' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1977,p. 16).

[4]RAG/H RAO 134/2, Statement by Governor A. Ransford Slater to the League of Nations Permanent Mandate Commission October 1928: NA CO746/7, Annual Report to the Permanent Mandate Commission, 24-25 October 1938.

[5]NA CO746/7, Annual Report.

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]The processes of creating large centralised states among the northern Ewe have been discussed in Brown, 'Politics in the Kpandu Area', 11-26; Katherine Alexandria Collier, '*Ablode*: Networks, Ideas and Performance in Togoland Politics, 1950-2001' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2002), 21-25; Paul Nugent, *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens on the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands since 1914* (Athens, OH, 2002), 126-46; Benjamin N. Lawrance, 'Bankoe v. Dome: Traditions and Petitions in the Ho-Asorgli Amalgamation, British Mandated Togoland, 1919-39', *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), pp. 243-67. For the Tanganyika experience, see John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 319. It is important to note that Atando was an irregular Native Authority because it was a confederation headed by a president, not a paramount chief and the presidency was rotational.

[8] Hailey, *An African Survey*: *A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (London, 1938)

[9]Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (London, 1989), p. 206.

[10] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*: *Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 49-62; John Iliffe, *Africans*:

The History of a Continent (Cambridge, 2007), 203; Nugent, *Smugglers,* pp. 27-48;Benjamin N. Lawrance, '"EnProise à la Fièvre du Cacao"': Land and Resource Conflict on an Ewe Frontier, 1922-1939', *African Economic History*, 46, (2005); Ogbu U. Kalu, 'Poverty in Pre-Colonial West Africa: Perception, Causes and Alleviation' in Emmanuel KwekuAkyeampong (ed.), *Themes in West Africa's History* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 163-84; Allman and Parker, *Tongnaab*.

[11]Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

[12] Jane J. Guyer, 'Representation without Taxation: An Essay on Democracy in Rural Nigeria', 1952-1990, *African Studies Review*, vol. 35 (1992), pp. 41-79.

[13] Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-60* (Athens, 1999); David Apter, *The Gold Coast in Transition* (Princeton, 1958), pp.260-61; J. K. Nsarkoh, *Local Government in Ghana* (Accra, 1964); Ben Amonoo, *Ghana, 1957-1966*: *The Politics of Institutional Dualism* (London, 1981); Joseph R. A. Aryee, 'Decentralisation and Local Government under PNDC Rule', Gyimah-Boadi, E (ed.), *Ghana under PNDC Rule* (Dakar, 1993); Kwame A. Ninsin, *Ghana's Political Transition, 1990-1993* (Accra, 1996); Gareth Austen, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*: *From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807-1956* (Rochester NY, 2005).

[14]Nugent, *Smugglers*, 126-46.

[15]Akwamu was the most powerful Akan state in the Gold Coast in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1730, however, Akwamu relocated east of the Volta as a result of the defeat it suffered at the handsof Akyem kingdoms. From 1730-1833, Akwamu dominated Ewedome states during which period the latter adopted Akan chieftaincy system. For detail of how Akwamu influenced the socio-political transformation of many states in the Gold Coast and beyond, see F. G. Crowther, 'The Ewe Speaking People', *Gold Coast Review*, 2 (1927), 14; R. A. Kea, 'Akwamu-Anlo Relations, c. 1750-1813', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 10 (1969), p. 32; Michael Verdon, *The Abutia Ewe of West Africa*: *A Chiefdom that Never Was* (Berlin, *1983*), 10;1 Robin Law, *The Slave Coast*, pp 229 and 248; Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers* (London,1965), p. 56; Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change,* pp.32-5 ; K. Baku, 'Asafo in Two Ewe States', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 2 (1998), pp. 27-28; Lynne Brydon, 'Constructing Awatime: Question of Identity in a West African Polity, c. 1690s to the Twentieth Century', *Journal of African History,* 49 (2008), p. 29; Collier, '*Ablode* , p. 10; John Parker, *Making the Town*: *GaState and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, NH, 2000), p. 27.

Emmanuel Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*: *An Eco-Social History of the Anlo of Southeastern Ghana, c. 1850 to Recent Times* (Athen, Ohio, 2001), p. 41.

[16] Nugent, *Smugglers*, 55.
[17]NA CO 96/700/14 (Colonial Dispatch), 1931. The Germans introduced direct taxes in Togoland in 1907. See Arthur J. Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Colonial Rule* (Stanford, 1978), p. 77-78.
[18]Arthur J. Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany, 1884-1914* (California, 1879), p. 47-55; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.
[19] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/559 (Native Administration Ordinance to Togoland, Sources of Revenue for Native Authorities), 1932.
[20] Crowder, *West Africa,* p. 206.
[21]NA CO96/704/6, (Income Tax Bill), Gazette No. 71/1931.
[22]NA CO96/704/6. (Income Tax Bill), Gazette No. 71/1931.
[23]NA CO 96/700/14 (Memorandum on the Introduction of Direct Taxation in the Gold Coast Colony and British Togoland), 1940.
[24]RAG/H (Togoland Report), 1937.
[25]RAG/H (Togoland Report), Appendix A, 1940.
[26]See PRAAD/A ADM5/3/42, Native Administration and Political Development in Tropical Africa, 1940-42.
[27]Richard Reid, *A History of Modern Africa*, *1800 to the Present* (Oxford, 2009), p. 254.
[28]CO 96/700/14 (Sir R. Slater to the Secretary of State), 31 Oct, 1931.
[29]See extract from the *Gold Coast Times*, 8 October 1932, p. 5.
[30]NA CO 96/700/14 (Proposed Native Revenue Ordinance).
[31] NA CO 96/746/7 (General Statement by the Accredited Representative to the P.M.C.), 24-25 October 1938.
[32]League of Nations Permanent Mandate Commission, Provincial Minutes, 26 October 1928. It is important to know however that a poor colony like Nyasaland introduced direct taxation since its creation in 1891. See Iliffe, *Africans*, p. 196.
[33] NO CO 96/704/14, Colonial Dispatch, 1931; Crowder, *West Africa*, p. 475.
[34] Regional Archives of Ghana, Ho [Hereafter, RAG/H] (Gold Coast Confidential Report), 31 October 1931. Lord Hailey attributed the delay of direct taxation in the Gold Coast to 'a very slow development of the institutions which normally accompany the extension of administrative rule'. See Hailey, *African Survey*, p. 585.
[35]NA CO 96/700/14 (Governor of the Gold Coast to the Colonial Office, London), 16 August 1931.
[36]NA CO96/704/6 (Income Tax Bill, Gazette No. 71/1931).
[37] NA CO 96/700/14 (Governor of the Gold Coast to Sir R. Slater), 31 October 1931.
[38]NA CO 724/2 (Governor of the Gold Coast to the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.), 14 November 1922.

[39]*Ibid.*
[40]*Ibid.*
[41]Gold Coast Gazette No.69 of 1932.
[42]*Ibid.*
[43] See detail in Nugent, *Smugglers.*; Magaret Peil, 'Expulsion of West African Aliens', *Journal of AfricanStudies*, 9 (1971), p. 208.
[44]NA CO 96/691/10 (Control of Migration between Togoland and the Gold Coast, French Government to the Governor of the Gold Coast), 26 October 1929.
[45]*Ibid.*
[46] These notwithstanding, the British officials observed that there was only a negligible migration from the Gold Coast and the British sphere of Togoland, while the migration into British territory was significant. See NA CO 96/691/10 (Control of Migration between Togoland and the Gold Coast, French Government to the Governor of the Gold Coast), 26 October 1929; NA CO 96/691/10 (Governor of the Gold Coast to Lord Passfield), 26 October 1929.
[47]NA CO 96/710/6 (British vice Consulate in Lome to British Consul-General), Dakar, 28 January 1933. See also Benjamin N. Lawrance, '"EnProise à la Fièvre du Cacao": Land and Resource Conflict on an Ewe Frontier, 1922-1939', *African Economic History*, Vol. 32, 2003.
[48]*Ibid*; CO 96 710/6 (Petition, Leaders of Deutsch Togoland to the Governor of the Gold Coast), 16 February 1933.
[49] PRAAD/AADM 39/1/99 (Native Administration Treasuries, CEP to Secretary for Native Affairs), 4 December 1940.
[50]NAG/H (Native Authority Ordinance, Southern Section of Togoland), Section 35(2), 1932.
[51]NAG/H (Togoland Report), 1940.
[52] NA CO96/746/7, General Statement by the Accredited Representative to the 35th Session of the Permanent Mandate Commission at Geneva, 24-25 October 1938.
[53]RAG/H (Memorandum on the Administration of the Southern Section of Togoland), 1943. Agate was a tight-knit community on the Kpeve-Kpando trunk road. They derived their income mostly from the production of food crops to feed the major markets in the region.
[54]RAG/H C 229/36 (State Stool Treasury Subsidies, C.E. P., to Governor, Accra), 26 September 1936.
[55]*Ibid.*
[56]*Ibid.* (CEP, to the DC, Kpando), October, 1936.
[57]NA CO 96/746/7 (Statement by Accredited Representative to the 35th Session of the PMC in Geneva), 25 October 1938.
[58]NAG/H (Togoland Report), 1940.

[59]*Ibid.*
[60]*Ibid.*
[61]*Ibid.*
[62] PRAAD/AADM 39/1/73 (Control of Native Administration Finance), 1940.
[63] Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940*: *The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 36.
[64] PRAAD/D ADM 5/3/42, Report on Native Administration and Political Development in British Africa, 1940-42.
[65] Richard Reid, *A History of Modern Africa, 1800 to the Present* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 252-253; Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940; The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 31.
[66] For details on this financial administration of British Togoland, see NA CO96/827/61, UN Visiting Mission Report, 1950; NA CO 96/826/9, Colonial Development and Welfare Assistance, 1950.
[67] PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1057 (Memorandum on Native Treasuries in British Togoland), 29 January 1941.
[68] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/99 (Native Administration Finance, Memorandum on the Southern Section of Togoland), 1944.
[69] NA CO 96/746/7 (Statement by Accredited Representative to the 35th Session of the PMC in Geneva), 25 October 1938.
[70] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/594 (Togoland Mandated Area-Report to the League of Nations), 1945. See also NAG/H (Native Authority Ordinance Southern Section of British Togoland, Part V-Native Administration Finance), 1932.
[71]PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80 (Report of the Commission on Native Courts, Gold Coast), 1951, p.8.
[72]PRAAD/AADM 39//594 (Report to the League of Nations), 1945.
[73]NAG/H (Native Administration Ordinance, southern section of Togoland), 1932, Part V.
[74]NA CO 96/746/7 (Statement to the PMC), 1939.
[75] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/280 (The Awatime State, Destoolment of Head Chief), Case No. 142/32, June, 1937. The term 'youngmen' is a Ghanaian neologism which refers to the youth or commoners. They are known in Ewe language as *Soheawo.* They were not young by age, but young because of the social structure. In fact, they were the disposed group.See details about this term in Dennis Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946-1960* (Oxford, 1964), xiv.
[76]RAG/H DA/D 142/32 (Awatime Divisional Council to C.C. Lilley), 13 August 1937.
[77]*Ibid.*
[78]*Ibid.*
[79] Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, p. 34.

[80] *Ibid,* p. 33.
[81] Fage, *A History*, p. 416.
[82] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/334 (Native Administration Treasury-Awatime State, Protests against Annual Levy), 1944-45.
[83] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/446 (Quarterly Report, Ho Sub-District), 31 March 1951.
[84] See Lynne Brydon, 'Women Chiefs and Power in the Volta Region of Ghana', *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law,* 37-8(1996), 227-47.
[85] Quote taken from Beatrice Attah-Mensah, 'Gender and Local Government in Ghana: The Case of the 2002 District Level Elections', in Amposah and Boafo-Arthur (eds.), *Local Government in Ghana: Grassroots Participation in the 2002 Local Government Elections* (Accra, 2003), p. 139.
[86] Some of these market queens later became *Nyonufia,* literally meaning 'women's chief' but mistakenly referred to as Queen Mothers among Ewes. See Brydon, 'Women Chiefs', pp. 227-217.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/302 (Native Administration Treasury-Ho/Kpando District, Protest against Direct Taxation)., 1945.
[89] RAG/H ACC 226 (Petition, People of Liati, Fodome and Ewli to the Governor of the Gold Coast), 25 September 1945.
[90] PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1046 (Migration of People from the French Territory to the British Territory), 15 October 1945.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] NA CO 96/691/10 (Governor of the Gold Coast to Lord Passfield, Despatch No. 021), 26 October 1929.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/334 (Native Administration Treasury-Awatime State, Protests against Annual Levy), 1944-45.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] RAG/H ACC 226 (Petition, Liati, Fodome and Wli to the Governor), 25 September 1945.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Togoland Report of 1950, Corrections to paragraph 225.
[99] PRAAD/A ADM 39/5/42 (Report on Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa), 1940-42, p.6.
[100] *Ibid.*

[101]*Ibid.*
[102]NAG/H (Togoland Report, Corrections to paragraph 217), 1950.
[103]*Ibid.*
[104]*Ibid.*
[105]*Ibid.*
[106]*Ibid.*
[107]Table taken from NAG/H (Togoland Report, Corrections to paragraph 225), 1950.
[108]*Ibid.* Increase in the rate for women in Awatime for 1951 was put on hold due to protests by women. See PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/446 (Quarterly Report, Ho Sub-District), 31 March 1951.
[109]NAG/H (Memorandum on the Administration of the Southern Section of Togoland), 1949.*Sohewo* is an Ewe term for *Asafo* companies.
[110]NAG/H (UN Trusteeship Council Visiting Missing Report), December 1950. Figures were taken from NA CO 96/816/3 (Summary of the Togoland Report),
[111]1950, p. 16.
[112]NAG/H (Togoland Report), 1950.
[103] Quote taken from Kwaku, 'Tradition', 79. For detail on the emergence of Ewe nationalist groups, see D. E. K. Amenumey, *The Ewe Unification Movement*: *A Political History* (Accra, 1989),; Nugent, Smugglers, pp. 164-74.

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EXCAVATION AT KORMANTIN NO. 1 IN THE CENTRAL REGION OF GHANA

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ABSTRACT

Kormantin No. 1 lies on a hill approximately a kilometer north of Fort Amsterdam, Abandze. It was home to the local population at the time when Fort Amsterdam was occupied by the Dutch or the English from 1631 to1811. Excavation at Kormantin No. 1 has produced European, Japanese and locally-manufactured pottery, gun flint, glass bottles and beads, European smoking pipes, bricks and roofing tiles, metal objects, animal bones and mollusc shells. The site dates from the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth century, and the local pottery, similar to that excavated at Fort Amsterdam and other Akan areas, includes vessel forms that are regarded as indicators of Asante influence and presence on the coast. Trade with Europeans is attested by imported finds, and the subsistence economic lifestyle of the site's inhabitants as inferred from animal bones and mollusc shells was similar to that of the Europeans and residents of Fort Amsterdam who also depended on local resources for food.

INTRODUCTION

Kormantin No. 1 (05° 12′ 187″ N, OO1° 04′ 797″ W) is located 66 m above sea level on the summit of an isolated hill, approximately a kilometer north of Fort Amsterdam (Fig. 1). Kormantin was the settlement of the local people from 1631 to 1811 at the time when the Dutch or the English occupied Fort Amsterdam. Writing in 1701-1702, William Bosman ([1704]1967: 58) referred to it as "Great Cormantyn". He described the town as "so large and populous that it well deserves the name great" and estimated the population as "amounting to the number

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700 or 800, and sometimes 1000". Bosman also claimed that the inhabitants were either "mercantile traders" or "fishermen".

Kormantin was the original site of the first fort the English attempted to build on the Gold Coast to facilitate the shipment of enslaved Africans to the New World (van Dantzig 1980: 22; Agorsah and Butler 2008; 1). Although still inhabited, much of the old site on the hilltop is in ruins. The mud walls of the town contain fragments of potsherds, an indication that buildings have been erected on the ruins of an older settlement. Digging for alluvial gold by illegal miners has disturbed the archaeological record, and the site has been pillaged for valuable colonial trade items for sale to antique dealers. Portions of the hilltop not disturbed by illegal mining are the areas very close to buildings, a fenced garden of a retired policeman, a cemetery, and a refuse dump which was excavated by the writer.

Kormantin featured as a major contact point in the coastal trade activities that occurred among the three major kingdoms of Eguafo, Asebu and Efutu as well as the chiefdoms in the immediate interior (Agorsah 1975: 1993). Preliminary studies in 1999 and 2007 by Agorsah indicate that Kormantin embraced the slave trade and had access to abundant local and foreign trade goods and cultures, while serving as a rallying point and outlet for both the trans-Saharan and Atlantic trade (see Agorsah and Butler 2008: 1). Data from the site can therefore provide information on internal and external trade contacts and exchanges, migration routes, patterns of market traffic, the different groups represented in the colonial encounter with Kormantin and surrounding areas, and the impact of external trade on the local communities of Ghana.

Many of the early enslaved Africans sent to the West Indies were shipped from Kormantin and slaves from the Gold Coast were referred to as "Cormantins" or "Coromantese" (van Dantzig 1980: 22-23). As the "dispersal point for those passing through into the African Diaspora", Kormantin "becomes the starting point where the Diaspora cultural formation and bonding began and constitutes the location which we need to examine in our search for those cultural and population identities, the

issues of which weave through almost all discussions of the history and culture of …the African Diaspora" (Agorsah and Butler 2008: 14). Of particular interest to the writer is the dating of both the site and the lifeways of its inhabitants as well as the extent to which the cultural material from Kormantin bears resemblance to or differs from that of the nearby Fort Amsterdam, the residents of which traded with the inhabitants of Kormantin. Was the subsistence economic lifestyle of the Fort's residents different from that of the local inhabitants? Were the imported European goods from the fort any different from those sold to the local people? Was the local pottery used by the Fort's residents different from that used by the local population? What trade items found in the fort were also sold to the local population? In summary, the purpose of the excavation undertaken by the writer at Kormantin No. 1 was to obtain data for comparison with that obtained from excavations conducted by the writer at Fort Amsterdam in 2006 and 2008.

Another objective of the excavation was to establish the extent to which the pattern of trade on the Gold Coast can be ascertained from the recovered trade items . It has been claimed that the era after 1874, the year of the declaration of the Gold Coast as a British Protectorate, "marked the decline of African initiative in trading enterprises and the emergence of a foreign-dominated oligopolistic regime" (Reynolds 1974: 2-3). The European firms not only organized and managed the export of commodities from the Gold Coast mainly to Britain, but also controlled haulage and shipping (except the railways), the export trade from Britain, and the pricing of import and export commodities (see Buah 1998: 122-123). While it is impossible to prove the decline of African initiative in trading enterprises from the archaeological record, it is possible to prove whether or not the physical presence of trade items recovered inthe excavation in the period after 1874 indicates a preponderance of trade with Britain.

EXCAVATION AND FINDS

The excavation at Kormantin No. 1 was conducted from 16th to 27th June 2008. A 2 × 3 m trench with the length and width aligned on a north-south and on an east-west axis respectively was excavated at the hilltop site of

Kormantin No. 1, just south of the cemetery. The south-east corner of the pit was located 1.20 cm and 180° to the east of an abandoned pipe stand which, because it was firmly fixed in a strong concrete masonry structure, was used as a temporary bench mark.

An arbitrary level of 20 cm to a context was adopted. Excavation revealed that the trench was dug on a midden dating from the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth century. The trench attained a depth of 110 cm with 5 arbitrary levels. The soil in all the levels was a loose black humus soil (Hue 10YR1. 7/1 of the Standard Colour Soil Chart) which was underlain by a compact bright reddish brown sterile sub-soil (Hue 2.5YR 5/8) with quartzite stones of a type mined by the residents of the town for sale to building contractors. It soon became apparent that a pit, probably dug for mud for the building of houses, was used by the residents as a convenient dumping ground for their refuse. Such a practice is common throughout Ghana. Mrs. Grace Appiah (about 45 years old), a blood relation of the Chief of Kormantin No. 1 and the *Adontenhene* of the Mankesim Traditional Area, Nana Kwame Akyen II, confirmed that the excavated area was used as a refuse dump during her childhood days.

Potsherds, both European and locally-manufactured, were found in all the levels. Finds from the first level included polythene bags of types still sold in Ghanaian markets, European smoking pipe fragments, glass bottles and beads, a gun flint, a button, a glass stopper, animal bones, mollusc shells, and corroded iron objects. From Level 2 were found a glass bead, fragments of glass bottles, corroded iron objects, fragments of European smoking pipes, bones and shells of molluscs. Glass bottles and beads, corroded iron objects, European smoking pipes, bones and shells of molluscs were also found in Level 3. Similar objects as those found in Level 3 in addition to a brass *forowa* (a container made from stamped, incised and repoussé imported sheet and used for storing cosmetics, lotions, medicinal powders, gold dust, beads and cowry shells) were found in Level 4. In addition to similar finds from Level 4, Level 5 produced 2 broken pieces of yellow bricks and a granite grindstone.

The predominant finds were sherds of locally-manufactured pottery, 2,099 of which were recovered from the excavation. The fabric of some of

the potsherds is coarse while others have a fine-grained fabric. The sherds are well-fired and contain fragments of mica which were certainly part of the clay used in manufacturing the vessels. The colour of the inner and outer fabric is grey, black or brown. Some of the sherds contain fragments of quartz and what appears to be hornblende, a blackish shiny mineral. The shreds are similar in paste characteristics to the sherds excavated at Fort Amsterdam in 2006 (see Boachie-Ansah 2008: 42-46) and 2008.

Burnishing and red-slipping were unpopular and were applied to 18.8 % and 2.9 % of the sherds respectively. A total of 659 sherds (31.4 %) are decorated and the remaining 1,440 (68.6 %) are undecorated. As was the case with the sherds from Fort Amsterdam, grooving was the predominant decoration applied on the pottery. A total of 110 sherds constituting 16.7 % are decorated with single circumferential grooves while 485 sherds (73.6 % of the decorated sherds) are decorated with multiple circumferential grooves. Grooves therefore constitute 90.3 % of the total decorations on the sherds. The grooves were applied on rim lips, the inner and outer parts of rims, bodies and necks. Other decorations are single (0.6 %) and multiple (2.0%) incisions on rims, shoulders, bodies and necks; channelling (3.3 %) on rims, necks and bodies; triangular stamps (0.5 %) on bodies and rims; dot stamps (0.2 %) on a rim sherd; cord roulette (0.2 %) on a body sherd; what appears to be carved wooden roulette (0.3 %) on body sherds; a combination of grooves and triangular stamps (0.3 %) on a rim and on a neck sherd; a combination of grooves and dot stamps (1.8 %) on carinations, rims and bodies; a combination of grooves and rim lip notches (0.2 %) on a rim; a combination of single groove and cord roulette (0.2 %) on a body sherd; thumb impressions (0.2 %) on a body sherd, and a combination of multiple grooves and short incised lines (0.2 %) on a carinated sherd.

The pottery is predominantly characterized by vessels with flowing profiles. This is indicated by the fact that out of the total of 2,099 shreds, only 55 (2.6 %) are carinated. Jars (i.e., vessels with constricted necks, everted rims and spherical bodies) and bowls (i.e., hemispherical vessels with everted or incurved rims) constitute 55.2 % and 44.8 % of the total vessel forms respectively. The jar forms consist of vessels whose everted rims curve smoothly at both interior and exterior and with a rim diameter

ranging from 16 to 28 cm (Fig. 2: a); vessels whose everted rims curve smoothly at the exterior but sharply in the interior and with rim diameter ranging from 20 and 50 cm (Fig. 2: b); vessels characterized by everted rims which curve sharply at the exterior but smoothly in the interior (Fig. 2: c) and with rim diameter ranging from 20 to 40 cm; vessels characterized by everted rims which curve sharply at both exterior and interior to form the neck and with rim diameter ranging from 20 to 48 cm (Fig. 2: d); a vessel with a rim which curves sharply in both the interior and exterior profile to join the neck and with a pronounced ridge immediately below the shoulder and a rim diameter of 30 cm (Fig. 3: a); vessels characterized by corrugated or straight necks that are vertically aligned to the everted rims (Fig. 3: b-c) and with rim diameter ranging from 22 to 45 cm; and vessels with rim diameter ranging from 20 to 46 cm and with everted rims which curve sharply to join the neck, and a carinated body (Fig. 3: d). The presence of the last vessel form in Elmina from 1873 onwards corresponds to an increasing presence of the Asante in the coastal town (DeCorse 2001: 122). The vessel form appears earlier in Asante and its later appearance on the Kormantin coast at a time of increasing presence of Asante on the coast, together with the oral traditional claim that the inhabitants of Kormantin obtained their pottery from the Asante-speaking areas to the north (Agorsah and Butler 2008: 13), would seem to support the view that the vessel was introduced from Asante.

The bowl forms include open vessels whose rims curve smoothly at the exterior and sharply in the interior and with rim diameter ranging from 22 to 40 cm (Fig. 4: a); vessels characterized by incurved rims with squared, rounded or beaded rims and with rim diameter ranging from 22 to 36 cm (Fig. 4: b-c); vessels with incurved rims, carinations, or ledges (Figs. 4: d-e, 5: a) a variant of which (Fig. 5: a) is similar in shape to a European tea pot and may have been copied from a European prototype; a vessel with an incurved rim, an almost straight-sided body wall and a flat base (Fig. 5: b); cup-like vessels probably copied from European mugs and with a rim diameter ranging from 16 to 20 cm (Fig. 5: c); open vessels with rim diameter ranging from 18 to 36 cm and with rim diameter wider than body diameter (Figs. 5: d, 6: a-d, 7: a); and an open vessel with a straight rim and a beaded rim lip (Fig. 7: b). The bases are flanged (Fig. 7: c) or flat (Fig. 7: d).

Also found in the excavation were European and Japanese potsherds. Table 1 below shows the distribution, dates of manufacture and countries of origin of some of the European and Japanese pottery from Kormantin.

Table 1: Distribution of European and Japanese Pottery from Kormantin No. 1.

Type and Description	Date and Origin	Provenience	No. of Sherds
Creamware sherds probably from a chamber pot; decorated with annular bands of black, white and light yellow.	c. 1785 (Hume 1976: 126). c.1780-1815 (DeCorse 2001:153). Probably England.	Level 2 Level 3 Level 5 Total	1 8 5 14
Pearlware sherds from bowls, plates and dishes and with cut - sponge stamped floral and geometric designs in blue, red, green and brown.	c. 830-1873 (DeCorse 2001:153). Probably Netherlands.	Level 2 Level 3 Level 4 Level 5 Total	5 35 2 4 46
Pearlware plate fragments in underglaze, transfer -printed blue 'willow' and zig - zag wooden fence and Chinese 'Pagoda' pattern.	c. 1790-1840 (DeCorse 2001:153). Probably England.	Level 3 Total	3 3
Pearlware soup plate sherds in underglazed blue and white transfer-printed designs with English country scenes and floral and leaf motifs.	c. 1780-1880. Probably England.	Level 3 Total	3 3
Pearlware plates and dish cover fragments with red, brown, grey, green and light blue transfer-printed floral and geometric motifs and a medallion.	c. 1795 -1840 (South 1977:212). Probably England.	Level 2 Level 3 Level 4 Level 5 Total	12 29 1 7 49
Pearlware deep soup bowl fragments with painted multiple linear border lines along the rim and rim edge.	c. 1795 -1840 (South 1977:212). Probably England.	Level 3 Total	8 8
Pearlware soup plate fragment with moulded feather -edge painted in blue.	c. 1780 -1830 (S outh 1977:212). England.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Pearlware deep bowl and plate fragments with linear designs or broad bands of coloured slip in blue, greeny grey or coffee colour around the rim or body.	c. 1790 -1830 (DeCorse 2001:153). c. 1790 -1820 (South 1977:212). England or France.	Level 3 Total	5 5

Pearlware English water jug fragments with painted floral and gold designs.	c. 1748 -1848 (Twitchett 2002). England.	Level 2 Level 3 Total	2 27 29
Whiteware sherd with annular/banded designs of white, black and blue coloured slip.	c. 1790 -1840 (Lewis 1999:188). DeCorse (2001:153). England.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Whiteware plate fragments in flown blue transfer and hand - painted, blurred floral decoration (mid-19th century export ware).	c. 1840 -1873 (DeCorse 2001:153). England.	Level 2 Level 3 Level 4 Level 5 Total	3 5 1 2 11
Whiteware plate sherds marked **NEAPOLITAN**, a style name of some pottery made in Staffordshire in the late 19th century	Late 19th century. England.	Level 2 Level 3 Total	1 1 2
Whiteware plate sherds marked **DOULTON** and **BURSLEM,** the latter the name of a town in Staffordshire.	Early 20th century. England.	Level 3 Total	2 2
Whiteware plate sherd marked **ENGLAND**.	Probably early 20th century. England.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Whiteware bowl sherd marked **BEXLEY**.	Probably early 20th century. England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Rhenish salt -glazed jug (krug) fragment with incised comb lines, geometric designs and cobalt blue decoration.	c. 1650 -1750 (DeCorse 2001:153). c. 1700 -1775 (South 1977:210). Westerwald, Rhineland, Germany.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Stoneware light -brown salt - glazed storage jar fragments with incised decoration.	c. 1840 -1900 (DeCorse 2001:153). Germany or England.	Level 2 Level 3 Total	1 1 2
Stoneware brown salt -glazed bottle fragment with everted rim and used as container for ink and blacking.	c. 1820 -1900 (South 1977:210). c. 1820 -1873 (DeCorse 2001:153). England	Level 3 Total	1 1
Japanese export porcelain bowl fragments; enamelled and polychrome and decorated with oriental scenery, fruits and leaves. One sherd marked **MADE IN JAPAN**.	c. 1920-1930 Japan	Level 2 Level 3 Level 4 Total	1 6 1 8
China-porcelain moulded doll heads with sloping shoulders, light brown hair and bright pink cheek.	c. 1800-1902 (Blakeman& Smith:1983:30). England or Germany.	Level 3 Total	1 1

European smoking pipes were recovered from Levels 1, 2, 3, and 5. A total of 112 pieces of pipe stems and 24 pipe bowls were found in the excavation. Of the 24 bowls, only 4 were complete and the remaining 20 were broken pieces. Many of the pipe stems are undecorated. Decoration on the stems comprises a series of open circles and rouletted motifs consisting of denticulated square-like and sub-rectangular impressions achieved by the use of a cog-like instrument and arranged circumferentially around the stems (Fig. 8: e-g). One pipe stem from Level 1 is marked with the figure **15**. All the decorated pipe stems are Dutch. Two of the complete bowls have a rim diameter of 2.5 cm, and the remaining 2 have a rim diameter of 2.3 cm. One complete erect pipe bowl was found in Level 1, and 3 others were found in Level 3. An almost complete bowl with an estimated rim diameter of 2.5 cm was also found in Level 2.

The diagnostic pipe bowls (Fig. 8: a-d) are all erect and are devoid of the delicate cog-wheel denticulation that is found on the bowl rims of eighteenth century Dutch pipes from Fort Amsterdam. A few of the pipe bowls have unbroken spurs. One of the broken, erect pipe bowls from Level 1 (Fig. 8: a) has a spur and is marked with the letters **FR** surmounted by 3 floral designs on the side of the bowl facing the smoker. The initials **FR** may stand for Francis Russell Jnr. whose initials have been found on a pipe bowl which also has the initials **ER** representing Edward Reed, a pipe maker from Bristol to whom he was apprenticed till 1698 (see Oswald 1975: 86, Fig. 15: 11, 157; Walker 1975 : 172). According to Oswald (1975: 86), Francis Russell Jnr. must have produced pipes until at least c.1725. However, as rightly pointed out by Calvocoressi (1975a : 197), the presence of an individual's name on a pipe does not necessarily limit the date of its production to his lifetime since a pipe maker's descendants usually operated after his death and used the same marks as their ancestors. The pipe with the **ER** mark (as well as all the complete erect bowls) is similar in shape to nineteenth century pipes with erect bowls and probably dates to that century.

One of the broken bowls from Level 3 made of reddish-brown clay is characterized by fluting or ribbing which extends to the rim. Coloured clay pipes are relatively rare and generally confined to nineteenth century

products (Walker 1975: 166). Another fluted bowl (Fig. 8: d), white and erect, and measuring 3.5 cm high was found in Level 3. It is decorated with oblique incisions or dashes aligned vertically on the side that faces the smoker and at the back of the bowl directly opposite the side that faces the smoker. Calvocoressi (1975a: 198) has assigned a nineteenth century date to a probable British pipe from Accra with similar dashes. Pipes with fluted bowls begin c. 1770 (Oswald 1975: 111) or from the later eighteenth century (Walker 1975: 183). The fluting extends from 2 cm below the rim lip to the broken stem. The pipe type is similar to the type illustrated in Walker (1975, Plate XXXII: d) and is typical of nineteenth century pipe bowls. One pipe bowl fragment, also from Level 3, has what appears to be a crowned **L** on the base of the spur, and the letter **S** and the Gouda coat of arms on the two sides of the spur. A crowned **L** is a Gouda mark dating from 1726 to 1925 (Duco 2003: 152). Finally, one broken bowl from Level 5 is marked with what Dr. Jerzy Gawronski (personal communication, February, 2009), Head of the Archaeology Division, City of Amsterdam, has described as an "epiphany or thelfth day candle" on the base of the spur, a Gouda coat of arms surmounted by the letter **S** on the left side of the spur, and another Gouda coat of arms on the other side of the spur. Dr. Gawronski maintains that the candle mark is a Gouda pipe mark in use from 1715-1755. The **S** is an abbreviation for "slegte" meaning "ordinary". Dutch pipes with these marks were made in the second half of the eighteenth century (Calvocoressi 1975a: 196). The bowl is forward drooping and is a Dutch smoking pipe of the period after 1750.

Also found were 2 broken pieces of Dutch bricks and 1 lower grindstone of granite from Level 5 and 1 cream-coloured gun flint from Level 1. Glass beads from the excavation include 5 yellow, 1 purple, 3 blue, 4 white, 1 light blue, and 1 brown nineteenth century machine-pressed, Prosser (mould) beads in use by 1840 (Francis Jr. 1994: 58). These were recovered from Level 1. Many of such beads were made in Bohemia and France. Other beads from Level 1 include a "Dutch Blue" bead of the eighteenth century; a brown, cylindrical bead, probably an imitation of a coral bead; a brown Venetian cane bead of a type illustrated by Francis Jr. (1994: 114) and described among the early European beads traded to North America and West Africa; and a locally made (Ghanaian) powder-

glass bead similar to the ones illustrated by Francis Jr. (1994: 106). A single light yellow nineteenth century Prosser (mould) bead was also found in Level 2. From Level 3 were recovered 2 light yellow and 1 light blue nineteenth century machine-pressed, Prosser (mould) bead and a single nineteenth century Venetian millefiori bead in green, yellow, brown, white, and pink colours.

Also found in the excavation were European glass bottles and bottle closures. Table 2 below shows the distribution, dates of manufacture and countries of origin of the bottles from Kormantin No 1. They include bottles for intoxicants, mineral water or carbonated drinks, toiletery, as well as culinary and medicine bottles.

Table 2: Distribution of glass bottles and bottle closures from Kormantin No. 1.

Type and Description	Date and Origin	Provenience	No. of Sherds
Intoxicant bottles Dutch case bottle with square face, applied slanted collar and seamline running through body to lip. 1sherd marked**…ELCHER,** a J.J. Melchers' mark	After 1910 (van der Sloot 1975). Holland.	Level 2 Level 3 Total	1 1 2
J.H. Henkes case bottle with stork seal mark. A fragment with a **G** probably comes from one of the liquor bottles exported from Holland in the 19th century.	J.H. Henkes Company (founded 1824), exported liquor to W. Africa c. 1850 (van der Sloot 1975). Holland.	Level 2 Total	2 2
Neck fragment of English cylindrical wine bottle with flattened collar below rim	c. 1889 to present (DeCorse 1998:45), or from 1860s onwards (Switzer 1974:24), or after 1802 (Beck 1973:38). England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Neck fragment of English cylindrical bottle with slanting collar and double V-tooled string collar finish, used as container for ale.	In vogue in the 1860s (Switzer 1974:16) and made c. 1820 - 1930 (DeCorse 1998:44). England.	Level 1 Total	1 1

Neck fragment of English beer bottle with seamline through the body to below the collar	Early 20th century. England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Neck fragment of English beer bottle with seamline through the collar to the lip.	Early 20th century. England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Mineral water/carbonated drink. Base fragment of English acqua "Hamilton" bottle with pointed base.	Became popular in later half of 19th century (Hedges 1989:12; Green 1978:13). England.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Base fragment of English acqua glass cylindrical bottle with rounded base.	In vogue from the 1890s to the early 20th century (Blakeman& Smith 1983:70). England.	Level 2 Total	2 2
Neck fragment of transparent, pale, bubbly, long-necked, cylindrical, straight-sided, English bottle with ceramic closure fastened with copper wire clip	Late 19th to early 20th century. Exported to British colonies (Per. Comm. between David Jones & L.B. Crossland, 2009). England	Level 3 Total	1 1
English cylindrical bottle with long neck, of aquamarine coloured glass, and with a V-tooled single ring along the neck. Identified as **mloyo**(meaning "scented oil") bottle by elderly women in James Town, Accra, and used as an additive to shea nut butter for use as body lotion.	Common on late nineteenth century coastal sites in Ghana (Pers. Comm. with L.B. Crossland, 2009). Probably late 19th to early 20th century. England	Level 3 Total	1 1
Opaque glass cylindrical vial blown in two-piece mould with a patent lip at neck terminus. Identified by Malian and Nigerian traders in Makola, Accra, as **Sasarobia Scented Oil bottle.** Identical to **Six Flowers Perfumed Oil** still found in many parts of West Africa and imported from Bush, Boake and Allen, London.	Probably from late 19th century to the present (Pers. Comm., L.B Crossland, 2009). Probably England or France.	Level 3 Total	1 1

Triangular six -sided perfume bottle.	Early 20th century. Probably England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Rectangular bottle with 4 sides and embossed **LAVENDER**.	Probably 19th century. Probaly England or France.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Four-sided rectangular plain glass bottle embossed on one side **RICHTER & …I/THUR.**	Probably 19th century. Probably France.	Level 1 Total	1 1
Short cylindrical bottle with 4 spiral twist threads to fit a metal cap; probably Vaseline pomade container.	19th century. England or U.S.A. Vaseline production started in England c.1868 and in the U.S.A. c.1881. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wki/Robert_Chesebrough).	Level 1 Total	1 1
White ointment jar with screw top and single spiral twist thread to fit a metal cap.	Probably early 20th century. Probably England or France (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 3 Total	1 1
Short cylindrical, blue -milk ointment bottle with two spiral twist moulds to fit a metal cap.	Probably early 20th century. Probably Engl and or France (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland,	Level 3 Total	1 1

Culinary bottles Catheral-shaped, with diagonal coils on the shoulder. It is described as a Cologne bottle, sauce container (Munsey 1970: 152), pepper sauce container (Switzer (1974:57); "Cape Coast toiletry" bottle or sauce bottle (DeCorse: 1998: 34). "Cape Coast toiletry" suggests the perfume it contained was popular and patronized in Cape Coast. Likely to have been used as both culinary and toiletry bottle.	c. 1880 -1900 (Munsey 1970: 152) or c. 1820 -1830 (DeCorse 1998: 34). Probably England (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 2 Total	1 1

Dish-shaped, clear glass bottle blown in two -piece mould, with wide orifice raised staves enclosing round bosses; could be a sauce or body cream bottle.	Late 19 th century to early 20 th century (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 1 Total	1 1
Sauce or condiment bottle with flared lip	19th or 20th century. Probably England (Pers. comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 2 Total	1 1
Preserve/fruit jar bottle with wide orifice and thickened collar band.	Early 20th century (Pers. comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 2 Total	1 1
Amber glass bottle with thick collar and flattened lip; probably a sauce or pickle container	Early 20th century. England (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 2 Total	1 1
Medicine/chemical bottle Rectangular bottle with 4 sides, fitted collar, smooth bulbous lip; embossed **DAVIS PAIN KILLER.** Quack medicine first marketed in the U.S. in 1840 by Perry Davis; gained popularity after the 1849 cholera epidemic (DeCorse 2001: 148).	Embossed version produced after 1854 (DeCorse 2001: 148). U.S.A.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Fragment of Sloan's Liniment bottle. Liniment invented by Dr. Sawer Sloan of Ohio.	Production began c. 1903 (http//en.wikipedia.org/wki/Earl_Sloan).	Level 1 Total	1 1
Long-necked narrow, cobalt blue cylindrical bottle with burst-top; probably container of castor oil; popular on the Gold Coast as a purgative	Late 19th century. England (Pers. Comm., L.B. Crossland, 2009).	Level 2 Total	1 1
Long-necked, narrow, clear glass bottle with burst-top, probably container for castor oil.	Late 19 th and early 20th century. England	Level 3 Total	1 1
Plain glass bottle with 12 vertical panels and screw top; embossed **ATWOODS BITTERS;** formerly made by Moses Atwoods of Georgetown, Masachussets, U.S.A.	19th century to present. U.S.A. and England. The modern bottle is marked **Atwoods Vegetable Physical Laxative Bitters,** presently	Level 2 Total	1 1

	manufactured by J.R.B. Enterprises Limited, Ashwell, Herts, England, successors to International Chemical Company Limited.		
Short, cylindrical, white milk ointment bottle with 2 border grooves at the flat base and below the lip, and a single spiral twist to fit a metal cap.	Early 20th century. England or U.S.A.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Bottle made in two -piece mould, with an attached patent at the neck terminus; shape of rim suggests a stopper as a lid.	Early 20th century Probably England	Level 1 Total	1 1
Possible ointment bottle blown in two -piece mould, with a cylindrical body and neck and a single bulbous ring along the neck; likely to have been stoppered with cork.	Probably 19th century. Probably England.	Level 3 Total	1 1
Cylindrical bottle with two spiral threads to fit a metal cap; probable container of Kruschen Salt, a purgative made of magnesium sulphate(hrrp//www.cqout.com/show.asp?), popular on the Gold Coast and still sold in Ghana today	Nineteenth century to present. England	Level 2 Total	1 1
Cylindrical white -milk bottle with three spiral threads to fit a metal cap; probably an ointment bottle.	Probably 19th century. Probably England.	Level 2 Total	1 1
Ceramic and glass closures Ceramic closure attached to wire clip and used as lid for straight-sided cylindrical mineral bottle. Similar closures found at Frederiksgave Plantation at Sesemi near Accra (Bredwa - Mensah &Crossland 1997).	c. 1874-1890s (Green 1978: 68). England or Continental Europe.	Level 2 Level 4 Total	2 1 3
Glass, "club" sauce closure with flat top devoid of a depression. A similar	Late 19th to early twentieth century (DeCorse 1998: 50).	Level 5	2

closure has been found at Ladoku (Boachie -Ansah 2002: 16).	England or Continental Europe.	Total	2
Glass ball stopper with a ground shank devoid of a press mould mark.	c. 1745 (DeCorse 1998: 50). England or Continental Europe.	Level 3 Total	1 1

Also found in the excavation was a white metal button from Level 1. The iron objects, all from Level 3, are corroded and consist of 3 fragments of what appear to be barrel braces, 3 nails, a padlock, and a fragment of European-made cast iron pot (known in the Akan areas as *dadesēn,* meaning "iron pot"). Barrel braces were used for bracing, strengthening and securing wooden barrels which were used for transporting palm oil or as containers for imported pig feet from Europe. They have been found in excavated contexts at the Brockman plantation site (Boachie-Ansah 2007b: 556) and at Ladoku (Boachie-Ansah 2002: 18, Fig. 9c).

Cuprous objects consist of a bent or curved cylindrical rod from Level 3, what appears to be a handle of a cuprous container from Level 2, and fragments of an Akan *forowa*, a container made from imported European brass sheet and used for storing cosmetics, lotions, medicinal powders, gold dust, beads, cowry shells and items of adornment (Cole and Ross 1977: 64). The *forowa,*recovered from Level 4 is cylindrical in shape as can be inferred from the concentric pieces joined by riveting. The surface of the fragments is decorated with repoussé, incised and punched designs. The incised designs are in the form of chevrons; the punches are arranged in the form of triangles, and the repoussé designs appear in the form of two relief circumferential bands. *Forowa*are art works that were produced from around 1780 until about 1930 (Ross 1983: 54).

A coin, engraved on one side with the head of Edward VII and what appears to read FID. DERIND. I, E…DWARD VII, DE…GRA, and the other side with 1910 and HALF…E…NNY and the figure of a woman sitting and holding a staff, was recovered from Level 2. It is a half penny coin of Edward VII (1901-1910). Various overseas currencies were brought into the Gold Coast in the second half of the nineteenth century, but in 1890 foreign silver dollars and gold dust were demonetized. From the 1890s onwards, British silver coins replaced other overseas

currencies, and in 1901 nickel coins of the denomination one penny (1d), half penny (½ d) and one shilling (1s) were introduced (Boahen 1975: 100). This was followed by the establishment in 1912 of the Gold Exchange Standard for British West Africa which in 1913 issued its first British West African coins of the values of two shillings (2s), one shilling (1s), six pence (6d) and three pence (3d). In 1916, the Board issued the West African Currency Notes in the denominations of one pound (£1), ten shillings (10s) and two shillings (2s). The Bank of West Africa, formed in 1894, established branches in Accra and Kumasi in 1897 and 1908 respectively. The Colonial Bank (now Barclays Bank) was established in 1917.

The banks were exclusively owned by British companies which were firmly linked with their home country and the currency issued by the Gold Exchange Standard for British West Africa was closely tied to the sterling. The currency was exchangeable both locally and internationally, and the local financial system and credit network of the Gold Coast could be directly related to that of the colonial centre. It was therefore easy to use local revenue to purchase items such as heavy machinery from Britain. It was also easier for the foreign British companies to access loans that were not easily accessible to African traders (see Harrison, Ingawa and Martin 1974: 485-545). The coin recovered from Level 2, and associated with several artifacts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, came in at the same time when the colonial administration was involved in restructuring and transforming the Gold Coast economy from subsistence to monetary, colonial economy controlled by the British administration and trading firms to the advantage and benefit of shareholders abroad (see Boahen 1975: 101).

A seal made of lead was found in Level 2. The seal was probably affixed to imported cloth from Europe. Also from Level 2 was found a dark brown slate pencil measuring 6.1 cm long. A total of 952 mollusc shells were found in the excavation (see Appendix 1). Of these, 876 (92.0 %) are marine, and 76 (8.0 %), all *Achatinaachatina*(collected for food from floors of dense forests), are terrestrial. Among the molluscs are those collected for food or known to be edible. These constitute 61.1 % of the molluscs. They are *Achatinaachatina*; *Ostreadenticulata;*

Cardiumcostatum; Thais callifera; Donaxacutangulus; Tivelatripla; Oliva acuminata; Cymbiumcymbium; Cardiumringens and*Cardiumkobelti*. Other mollusc shells include *Murex saxatalis*; *Gadiniaafra; Triphora; Lithophagaaristata; Tympanotonusfuscata; Cypraeamonita* (used as currency) and*Cypraeastercoraria.*

As many as 913 (95.9 %) of the mollusc shells found at Kormantin No. 1 were also found in excavations conducted by the writer in 2006 (see Boachie-Ansah 2008) and 2008 at Fort Amsterdam. These consist of shells *Cypraeastercoraria; Oliva acuminate; Cymbiumcymbium; Ostreacostatum; Lithophagaaristata, and Murex saxatalis.* Altogether, 99 bones were recovered out of which 29 were not diagnostic (see Appendix 2). The condition of the bones was such that it was not possible to identify the majority of them as specific species. A total of 31 (31.3 %) bones are bones of bovids; 11 (11.1 %) are bones of *Pisces;* 27 (27.3 %) are *Aves* and the remaining 1 (1.0 %) is a cheliped of a crayfish. Eight of the *Aves* bones are bones of chicken. The *Pisces* bones include both marine and freshwater species. Among the freshwater fish bones was a single dorsal fin bone of the catfish species of *Eutropiusniloticus.*

DISCUSSION

The finds from the excavation date the excavated area of Kormantin No. 1, at the earliest, from the mid-eighteenth century to the twentieth century. The presence of polythene bags of types still used by Ghanaians is an indication that residents of Kormantin No. 1 dumped their refuse on the site until quite recently. The only artifact which could have been brought to the site in the seventeenth century is a fragment of a Rhenish salt-glazed jug from Level 2, with incised lines and geometric designs of a type dated by DeCorse (2001: 153) to c.1650-1750. As the date indicates, even this fragment of pottery could have been brought to the site in the eighteenth century. Besides, Rhenish stonewares were treasured and kept as heirlooms, and may have been dumped on the site long after the original owner had acquired it. This is supported by the fact that European ceramics of the late eighteenth century were associated with the find.

Also of eighteenth century date are the Dutch smoking pipe stems and particularly the Dutch pipe bowl from the bottommost Level 5. As already indicated, this pipe with a Gouda pipe maker's marks, fragmentary as it is,

is similar in shape to Dutch pipes after 1750, and the maker's mark on it indicates that it is a Dutch pipe of the second half of the eighteenth century. It is likely that many of the erect undecorated pipe bowls and stems are nineteenth century British pipes. Dutch pipe stems are characterized by rouletted motifs and many undecorated pipe bowls and stems found in several places in Ghana are probably of nineteenth century British origin (see David Calvocoressi 1975a: 198-199).

David Calvocoressi (1975a: 195-196) has noted that mass production and importation of cheap European pipes in the eighteenth century led to the collapse of the local pipe industry (see also Ozanne 1962). The local pipe producers could not compete with foreign companies which produced pipes, particularly the British, who intensified their trade with the Gold Coast after the departure of the Dutch from the country in 1872. Ozanne (n.d.: 1) has aptly commented that the further a settlement lies from the coast, the less the chance of obtaining evidence from documents or from imported wares. Being closer to the ports, coastal settlements had easy access to European imported wares, and with the importation of mass-produced smoking pipes from Europe, the local pipe-making industries in the coastal areas of Gold Coast may have declined earlier than those in the hinterland. Imported pipes were cheaper and affordable on the coast than in the hinterland. It is for this reason that locally-manufactured pipes were rare in the Accra area (Ozannen.d. 33) and at Elmina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (DeCorse 2001: 6, 71, 166). No locally-manufactured smoking pipe was found in the excavation. On the other hand, indications of acculturation and reliance on European imported goods can be discerned in the archaeological record as the numerous European imported goods from the excavation testify.

The locally-manufactured pottery found in the excavations at Kormantin No. 1 and Fort Amsterdam is very similar. Both sites are characterized by pottery with mica and hornblende in the inner and outer fabric. The sherds of both sites are predominantly decorated with grooves on rim lips, inner and outer parts of rims, necks, shoulders and bodies of vessels. Other decorations common to both sites include channelling, multiple and single incisions, triangular and dot stamps, rim-lip notches, a combination of grooves and triangular stamps, and a combination of grooves and dot

stamps. Vessel forms such as jars with everted rims and globular bodies, jars with everted rims and straight necks, bowls with incurved rims (with or without carinations or ledges), and open hemispherical bowls are common to both sites. Fort Amsterdam was abandoned in 1811 (Lawrence 1963: 245) or 1816 (Ward 1958: 175, footnote). The evidence from the excavation at Kormantin suggests that the locally-manufactured pottery, similar to that used at Fort Amsterdam from the eighteenth century to the second decade of the nineteenth century, persisted in the Kormantin area well into the twentieth century.

Vessels (Fig. 3: d) that clearly indicate Asante influence and presence on the coast (see DeCorse 2001: 121-122) are among the Kormantin ceramic assemblage. These vessels constitute 5.3 % of the jars and 2.9 % of all the vessels from Kormantin No. 1. , and were associated with the nineteenth century reddish brown pipe bowl with fluting and with a probable nineteenth century erect pipe bowl. There were many Asante traders on the coast, particularly at Elmina in the nineteenth century (Brukum 1985: 34; Coombs 1963: 1; Yarak, 1986: 34). In 1806, Asante warriors invaded Fort Amsterdam and occupied it when searching for two renegade Assin chiefs, Kwaku Aputae and Kwadwo Otibu, who had shown disrespect to the *Asantehene* (the King of the Asante) and killed his messengers (Ward 1958: 147). Asante invasion of the coastal regions of the Gold Coast in 1806, 1811 and 1814 had forced the British and the Dutch to recognize Asante supremacy over the coast. The Fante area was formally incorporated into the Asante Empire and was placed under the rule of Asante governors (Ward 1958: 159-160; Claridge: 1964: 279). Asante suzerainty over the coast must have led to the influx of Asante traders on the Kormantin coast.

Aside from wars, trade also enhanced the movement of people from the interior to the coast. Oral traditions collected by Agorsah and Butler (2008: 13) claim that almost all the ceramic supplies of Kormantin came from the southern Asante-speaking areas to the north of Kormantin. The pottery just described may be artefactual evidence of Asante influence and/or presence in the Kormantin area. This is supported by the fact that the pottery, found earlier in Asante, and characterized by angular profiles and carinations (in contrast to the pottery with gently flowing profiles

from the coast), made its sudden appearance on the coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (DeCorse 2001: 116, 121-122).

As a matter of fact, interaction between the hinterland and the coastal areas of the Gold Coast cannot be properly understood and appreciated outside the context of trade. Trade items imported from the Gold Coast and sold in the Americas, Europe and the West Indies included enslaved Africans (Marees [1602] 1987: 51-52; Bosman [1704] 1967: 70-78; Daaku 1970: 9-11, 19, 21-23, 27, 47; Reynolds 1974: 5-15, 92); palm oil (Dickson 1971: 121, 143, 144-150; Buah 1998: 57; Reynolds 1974: 58, 92); lime juice (Daaku 1970: 47); corn for slave ships (Reynolds 1974: 63, 92; Curtin 1964: 69); Guinea grains (malaguetta pepper) (Reynolds 1974: 92-94); red pepper and tortoise shell (Dickson 1971: 80, 122-123; Reynolds 1974: 58, 62-63, 92-94); rice, coffee, gum copal, beewax and camwood (Dickson 1971: 122-123; Reynolds 1974: 62), and products of craft industries (Carnes 1852; Dickson 1971: 96-97).

Trade items traded to Africans by European (and American) traders included copper and brass basins, kettles, cotton cloth from India, the East Indies and Europe, glass beads, corals, gunpowder muskets, tobacco, smoking pipes and alcohol (see Marees [1602] 1987: 44-46, 189-194; Carnes 1852; Daaku 1970: 38-39; Dickson 1971: 105; Reynolds 1989: 43; van Dantzig 1978:28, 36-37, 43-45, 52, 77, 113, 127, 138, 159). Europeans also brought cotton cloth, leopard skins, beads and slaves from Benin, Ijebu and other parts of southern Nigeria, and cloth from the Ivory Coast to be exchanged for gold on the Gold Coast (Daaku 1970: 24; Reynolds 1989: 43). They also brought such goods as beads and cotton cloth from Allada and the Cape Verde Islands to the Gold Coast (Daaku 1970: 24). In addition, European traders were actively involved in the lucrative local salt trade on the Gold Coast, particularly in the eighteenth century. European traders often provided credit to salt producers who paid their debts with salt which was sold by the Europeans to traders from the hinterland (see Daaku 1970: 26).

In the early stages of the trans-Atlantic trade, trade goods from Europe were exchanged for commodities imported from the Gold Coast in addition to gold which was the currency on the coast (Carnes 1852; Daaku

1970: 21; Reynolds 1989: 43; van Dantzig 1978: 161; Pereira [1892] 1937, 177-178; Dickson 1971: 105). In other words, the Africans purchased goods with what passed for currency (in this case gold) and trade goods (see Reynolds 1989: 43). This means that trade based on the use of currency was supplemented by the barter trade. At the end of the seventeenth century, this kind of trade was replaced by what was labelled as "commodity currency", the "ounce trade", or "sorting" (Daaku 1970: 36-37; Reynolds 1974: 13-14, 1989: 44). In the eighteenth century, Africans were reluctant to part with their gold. This was partly because the slave trade hindered peaceful pursuits such as gold-mining, and gold became scarce. The new trade system came to replace the old system and provided a basis of exchange on a one-to-one ratio. Commodity currency (i.e., the ounce trade or sorting) was expressed in ounces and ackies (one-sixteenth of an ounce). The goods used to purchase trade items were not quoted in regular currency but in commodity currency which "permitted the exchange of goods for a variety of goods on a one-to-one ratio" (Reynolds 1989: 44). The value of goods paid for trade items was known as an ounce or a piece. As the value of goods rose, the goods that made up the "ounce" or "piece" correspondingly increased.

European manufactured goods, priced higher above gold, were quite expensive as they were always in great demand. The selling price of goods on the Gold Coast was twice their cost price in Europe (Daaku 1970: 36). The mode of trade encouraged the transportation of all kinds of goods from the interior to the coast since goods served as currency. Middlemen and porters were essential for the conduct of such a trade. "The Akani", probably Akan-speaking peoples in the Pra-Offin-Birim basin (see Daaku 1970: 146-147) including the Assin, and most of the important trading nations like Denkyera, Fante, Akwamu, Asante and Akwamu acted as middlemen (Daaku 1970: 144-148; Dickson 1971: 106-107; Reynolds 1974: 15). Trade brought quite a number of porters and merchants from the interior to the coast. Added to this was the credit system that developed in the trade and that was extended on both sides. African traders advanced European traders goods and Europeans also supplied African traders with goods well ahead of payment (Daaku 1970: 42-43; Reynolds 1974: 14-15). This meant that traders to whom credit had been extended were obliged to keep trading until their debts were settled.

Trade therefore enhanced interaction between the hinterland and the coast, and it is in the context of such interactions that cultural changes as that seen in the ceramics can be understood.

The inhabitants of Kormantin played a prominent role in the trade between Africans and the Europeans in Fort Amsterdam. Writing in 1701-1702, William Bosman ([1704]1967: 69) commented that any time there was disagreement between the Kormantin people and the Europeans in Fort Amsterdam, the latter were denied needed provisions by the former, and traders from the hinterland were also prevented by the former from trading with the occupants of the fort. The Kormantin people therefore played the role of middlemen between the traders from the hinterland and the Europeans on the coast. The similarity of the pottery from Kormantin and Fort Amsterdam suggests that the inhabitants of Kormantin supplied the pottery from the fort. The same can be said of the shellfish whose remains have been found in the fort. As already indicated, similar molluscs were eaten by the inmates of the fort and the people of Kormantin.

Among the items of trade sold to the Europeans at Fort Amsterdam and at Kormantin were enslaved Africans, ivory and gold (Daaku 1970: 19, 47; Reynolds 1974: 44, 1989: 47, van Dantzig 1978: 56, 190-191). Canoes, needed by Europeans for inter-town communication as well as for trade, and which the Kormantin people were adept in building (Daaku 1970: 103; Reynolds 1974: 45), were probably among the items sold to the Europeans.

It is well known that enslaved Africans from Kormantin "were highly regarded by the English and usually sold at a higher price than those from other regions" (Mannix and Cowley 1975: 17; see also Reynolds 1989: 46). Described as "haughty, ferocious, and stubborn", they were often the leaders of slave mutinies (Long 1774). They were feared in French Haiti as trouble makers, and the Jamaica House of Assembly, commenting on a series of revolts during the middle of the eighteenth century, reported that "all these disturbances … have been planned and conducted by the Coromantin Negroes who are distinguished from their brethren by their aversion to husbandry and the martial ferocity of their dispositions"

(Mannix and Cowley 1975: 17; see also Gardner 1971: 132-146). In 1765, a committee in Jamaica suggested a tax of ten pounds on each Kormantin slave to discourage their importation (Mannix and Cowley 1975: 17). Despite this, slaves were imported, particularly after the abolition of the trade when slaves became scarce and expensive and were imported illegally into Europe, the colonies and the Americas. As Reynolds (1989: 46) has rightly observed, "as demand and cost of slaves increased, planters could no longer afford the luxury of choice". In January, 1817, Sam Kanto Brew, a slave trader and the chief connection in the slave trade between Asante and the coast (who also maintained secret contacts with inland rulers in order to obtain slaves to sell to slave ships), managed to supply the Spanish ship, *La Fama Africana,* with 500 slaves at Kormantin (Reynolds 1974: 44). Despite attempts by the British Governor to stop the illegal slave trade, the Spanish ship succeeded in departing with the slaves.

Bones of domestic cattle constitute 7.7 % and 22.8 % of the bones from the 2006 and 2008 excavations at Fort Amsterdam respectively. However, not even a single bone of domestic cattle was found in the excavation at Kormantin No. 1. In the seventeenth century, Barbot (1732: 215) noted that sheep and cattle did not do well on the west coast but abounded on the Accra coast from where they were exported to the west coast of the Gold coast. This being the case, it is likely that transporting cattle on foot would have made beef very expensive to the local inhabitants of the Kormantin area. On the other hand, wild game, whose bones are probably represented in the unidentifiable bovid bones, could be hunted or trapped by all and sundry. Beef had to be purchased by those who could afford it. European inmates of Fort Amsterdam could easily bring cattle or beef by ship from the Accra coast, or from neighbouring West African countries. Beef from Europe could also have been brought by the Europeans as salted meat.

There are clear indications that in the past Ghanaian potters copied some European ceramic and metal vessels (see Ozanne 1962: 65; Posnansky 1973a: 6, 1973b: 156; Garrard 1980: 179-180; Crossland 1973: 61-62, 253, Fig. 5: D, 1989: 30-31; Boachie-Ansah 1985: 53-57, Fig. 10: c, 1986: 168-169, Fig. 31: c, 2007a: 95-97, Fig. 11: b, 2009: 455-481; Effah-Gyamfi 1974: 204, 210, Fig. 6: A-C, 1985: 127, Fig. 31 c:12 ; Bellis 1972:

171, Fig. 14: D; Calvocoressi 1975 b: 153-164). Earthenware copies of European ceramics and metal vessels provide artefactual evidence on the impact of maritime trade on the local population. They indicate that the vessels were common or attractive enough to have aroused the attention of potters who copied them in response to new demands and perhaps to consumer preferences and expectations stimulated by contact with the outside world (Boachie-Ansah 2009: 480). The probable earthenware copies of European metal and ceramic vessels found in the excavation (see Figs. 4: a, 5: a, 5: c) and the copy of a European plate found in the 2008 excavation at Fort Amsterdam (see Boachie-Ansah 2009: 445-481) demonstrate the appreciation and admiration of the local people for some of the European trade items.

Trade with Europeans on the coast is attested by the numerous glass liquor, medicine, mineral water, toiletry, and culinary bottles as well as by the glass closures, imported smoking pipes, imported glass beads, iron nails, and European and Japanese pottery. Glass bottles used as containers for castor oil, liniment, Davis Pain Killer, Atwoods Jaundice Bitters, Krushen salts, and ointments testify to the dependence on western medicine for the treatment of diseases. Most probably, the local inhabitants of Kormantin played the role of middlemen and became agents through whom some of these imported items, together with marine fish, known to have been an important commodity in the Kormantin area, reached the hinterland. Trade items from the hinterland probably included pottery, which Kormantin traditions claim came from the southern Asante-speaking areas to the north (Agorsah and Butler 2008: 13), snails from the forests to the north, foodstuffs, locally-manufactured powder-glass beads of a type found in the excavation, which the Krobo to the north-west were adept in making, and locally-manufactured brass vessels (*forowa*) of a type from the excavation, which are known to have been expertly produced by the Akan in the hinterland, particularly the Bono and Asante.

Some of the imported trade items from the 2006 and 2008 excavations at Fort Amsterdam were also found in the excavation at Kormantin. These include English pearlware plate fragments decorated in blue transfer-printed “willow” patterns; Dutch pearlware bowls decorated with cut

sponged-stamped floral and geometric designs in green, blue, and purple; English pearlware plate fragments with painted multiple lines on rims; English pearlware with transfer-printed foliar designs; English creamware plate fragments with "royal" pattern decoration; Rhenish stoneware jug fragments with incised cobalt-blue, geometric designs; German and English stoneware storage jar fragments with grey, salt-glazed surfaces; Dutch smoking pipes of the period after 1750; gunflints; and nails.

Case bottles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and eighteenth century Dutch "onion" bottles found in the 2006 and 2008 excavations at Fort Amsterdam were completely absent at Kormantin No. 1. Also present at Kormantin No. 1 but absent at Fort Amsredam were Chinese export porcelain and nineteenth and early twentieth century whiteware sherds. The single slate pencil from Level 2 and the white metal button from Level 1 suggest the existence of European education and the adoption of western dresses. The association of these objects with predominantly nineteenth century European ceramics, bottles, bottle closures and glass beads suggests a nineteenth century date for the objects. As DeCorse (2001: 149) has rightly commented, European education, which before the nineteenth century depended on the work of individuals, was undoubtedly regarded as very useful by many Africans, for it facilitated trade. During the nineteenth century, schools with European-style curricula became quite common on the coast.

Reynolds (1974: 15-16) has rightly commented that "the role of the coastal states acting as liaison between European traders and those of the interior resulted in the emergence of a broker class through whom inland traders had to operate in their dealings with Europeans". The brokers, many of whom were found around all the European settlements, knew the trading language (Daaku 1970: 96-114). Many of those who could read and write became brokers. Writing on the growth of literacy on the Gold Coast in the middle of the nineteenth century, Brodie Cruikshank ([1853]1966: 261-265), a scots merchant who arrived on the Gold Coast in 1834, held office as a magistrate for many years, and became a Lieutenant-Governor in 1853-4, remarked that schools of the Wesleyan Missionary Society had nearly a thousand students and graduated

hundreds of "tolerably educated" people who were scattered over the country. These western educated people earned a living by writing and interpreting letters, acting as secretaries to chiefs, interpreting written orders for goods from the hinterland to merchants on the coast, and writing the cases of clients to courts to avoid misinterpretation by court interpreters. It is likely that a port town like Kormantin had a considerable number of western-educated people who acted as brokers and offered services to the illiterate population, and the slate pencil together with the nineteenth century stoneware which could have functioned as a container for ink may be regarded as artefactual evidence of early European-type education.

Boahen (1975: 96) has observed that the list of items imported into the Gold Coast in exchange for natural products (including slaves) did not change in the period up to 1939. This seems to be confirmed from the excavation. European ceramics, liquor, cuprous objects, beads and smoking pipes found in the excavation are known to have been important trade items right from the inception of the Atlantic trade. Many of these items were traded to Kormantin up to the twentieth century.

An interesting observation is that almost all the excavated European trade items which date to the period after 1874, the year the Gold Coast was declared as a British Protectorate, were imported from England (see Tables 1 and 2). This supports the view that with the declaration of the Gold Coast as a Protectorate and with the consequent establishment of a foreign-dominated oligopolistic regime and a colonial economy with institutions closely linked to the colonial master, the country became dependent on its colonial master (see Reynolds 1974: 2-3). The excavated finds throw a little light on the lifeways of the inhabitants of the site. They subsisted on land snails brought from the forest areas to the north; marine molluscs and fish from nearby lagoons and the sea; chicken and meat of bovids (probably including both domestic and wild). These supplied their protein needs. The grindstone suggests meals prepared from pulverized vegetables or from ground maize. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century about the coastal areas of the Gold Coast, Brodie Cruickshank ([1853] 1966: 274-275) commented that bread was made from ground maize (Indian corn) baked in plantain leaves and that "dried fish forms

their chief relish for their vegetable diet". The sauce and preserve/fruit bottles suggest that European imported food and delicacies were patronized. Schnapps (used in religious and marriage ceremonies), wine, beer and mineral water imported from Europe were also consumed.

The lead seal was probably affixed to Manchester cloth which was popularly sewn as a traditional costume or cover cloth. The metal botton from Level 1 suggests that European dresses were patronized at Kormantin. Cruickshank ([1853]1966: 281-284, 294), after describing the traditional costumes worn by men and women on the coast in the middle of the nineteenth century, mentioned that "they [the traditional costumes] are being largely encroached upon by a growing taste for our European style of dress". Kormantin, a port town with educated brokers, most likely had people who craved for European dresses. The excavated beads are the items for body ornamentation. According to Cruickshank ([1853] 1966: 283) both sexes made "use of beads and gold as ornaments for the neck, wrists, and ankles". The toiletry bottles indicate that people were concerned about their physical appearance and took care of their skin. They used pomades and perfumes. The observant Cruickshank ([1853] 1966: 283-284) remarked on how people took care of their physical appearance as follows:

> Their fine smooth skins are, indeed, their principal beauty, and they take care to preserve them carefully. Their habits are cleanly. They wash their whole persons once, if not often, during the day, and rub their skins over with a little pomatum and other unguents, which are so thoroughly absorbed by the friction, as not to leave any unpleasant greasy appearance. This is found to be a very necessary preservative against the hard, drying action of the sun.

The gun flint suggests the existence of muskets which were displayed (sometimes with other war-like accoutrements) on the walls of rooms and audience halls of many of the coastal dwellers (Cruickshank [1853] 1966: 291, 293). In addition to being used in warfare, muskets were also used in hunting and it is possible that some of the animal bones represent game shot with muskets.

CONCLUSION

Many of the trade items found at Fort Amsterdam were also traded to the local inhabitants of Kormantin No. 1. The subsistence economic lifestyle of both the local inhabitants at Kormantin and the inmates of Fort Amsterdam was, to a large extent, similar. Similar locally-manufactured pottery and molluscs were found at Fort Amsterdam and Kormantin No. 1 whose inhabitants probably supplied the subsistence needs of the Fort. The consumerist nature of the present-day Ghanaian economy can be seen in eighteenth to twentieth century archaeological record at Kormantin in the form of imported trade goods from Europe and the Orient. These trade goods and items related to literacy testify to aspects of change resulting from global encounters between the Ghanaian coast and the outside world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Ghana/Denmark Archaeology Project for funding the research at Kormantin and Fort Amsterdam; to Nana Kwame Akyen II, *Odikro* (Chief) of Kormantin, for his hospitality and for permission to excavate the site; to Mr. L.B. Crossland for analyzing the glass bottles, European and Japanese pottery; to Mr. Prince BuerteyLarweh who assisted in the excavation; to Mr. B.M. Murey for analyzing the bones and shells, and to Mrs. Grace Appiah for helping to get permission for the excavation. The assistance rendered by the above-named is deeply appreciated.

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Appendix 1
Analysis of Shells
By
B. M. Murey
Site: Kormantin No. 1, 2008

Level	Element/Description	Count	Genus/Species	Habitat	Comment
1	Shell	18	*Ostrea denticulate*	Mid to upper shore	Collected for food
1		5	*Cardiumringens*	In mud, washed up	Edible
1	"	35	*Cardiumcostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Edible
1	"	31	*Achatinaachatina*	On dense forest floor	Collected for food
1	"	1	*Murex saxatalis*	Offshore, washed up	For dyeing cloth
1	"	15	*Thais callifera*	Shallow waters. Estuaries	Collected for food
1	"	16	*Donaxacutangulus*	On beaches after low waves	Collected for food
1	"	3	*Gadiniaafra*	On rocky shores	
1	"	21	*Tympanotonusfuscata*	Mangrove, lagoon, estuaries	
1	"	7	*Triphora*	Shallow waters, pools on shores	
1	"	4	*Lithophagaaristata*	On rocks or inside of gastropods	
1	"	85	*Tivelatripla*	Mid shore to below tide level	Collected for food
1	"	16	*Oliva acuminata*	Offshore, estuaries	Collected for food
2	Shell	19	*Achatinaachatina*	On dense forest floor	Collected for food
2	"	6	*Tivelatripla*	Mid shore to below tide	Collected for food
2	"	4	*Donaxacutangulus*	On beach after low tide	Collected for food
2	"	12	*Cardiumcostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Collected for food
2	"	2	*Ostreacostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Collected for food
2	"	7	*Cymbiumcymbium*	Under sand below tide level	Collected for food
2	"	2	*Triphora*	Shallow waters, pools on shores	
2	"	12	*Tympanototusfuscata*	Mangrove, lagoon, estuaries	
2	"	1	*Oliva acuminata*	Offshore, estuaries	Collected for food
3	Shell	13	*Donaxacutangulus*	On beach after low tide	Collected for food
3	"	1	*Cadiumkobelti*	Offshore, washed up	Edible
3	"	16	*Ostreadenticulata*	Mid to upper shore	Collected for food
3	"	26	*Cardiumcostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Edible
3	"	15	*Achatinaachatina*	On dense forest floor	Collected for food
3	"	2	*Oliva acuminata*	Offshore, estuaries	Collected for food
3	"	3	*Thais callifera*	Shallow waters, estuaries	Collected for food
3	"	96	*Tympanotonusfuscata*	Mangrove, lagoon, estuaries	
4	Shell	7	*Achatinaachatina*	On dense forest floor	Collected for food
4	"	2	*Cardiumkobelti*	Offshore, washed up	Edible
4	"	11	*Ostreadenticulata*	Mid to upper shore	Collected for food
4	"	98	*Cardiumcostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Collected for food
4	"	12	*Donaxacutangulus*	On beach after low tide	Collected for food
4	"	1	*Thais callifera*	Shallow waters, estuaries	Collected for food
4	"	121	*Tympanotonusfuscata*	Mangrove, lagoon, estuaries	
4	"	1	*Cymbiumcymbium*	Under sand below tide level	Collected for food
4	"	4	*Oliva acuminata*	Offshore, estuaries	Collected for food
4	"	1	*Cypraeamonita*	Under rocks	Used as currency
4	"	12	*Triphora*	Shallow waters, pools on shores	

5	Shell	11	*Donaxacutangulus*	On beach after low tide	Collected for food
5	"	57	*Cardiumcostatum*	Offshore, washed up	Collected for food
5	"	1	*Cardiumringens*	In mud, washed up	
5	"	1	*Oliva acuminata*	Offshore, estuaries	Collected for food
5	"	7	*Thais callifera*	Shallow waters, estuaries	Collected for food
5	"	8	*Triphora*	Shallow waters, pools on shores	
5	"	102	*Tympanotonusfuscata*	Mangrove, lagoon, estuaries	
5	"	4	*Achatinaachatina*	On dense forest floor	Collected for food
5	"	1	*Cypraeastercoraria*	Under stones, rocks ledges and sandy bottomed pools	
5	"	4	*Cardiumkobelti*	Offshore, washed up	Edible
5	"	12	*Ostreadenticulata*	Mid to upper shore	Collected for food

Appendix 2
Analysis of Bones
By
B. M. Murey

Site: Kormantin No. 1, 2008

Level	Element/ Description	Count	Gnaw marks	MNI	Burnt	Charred	Butchery marks	whole	Fragment	Total	Genus/Species
1	*Boneshaft*	6							6	6	*Bovida*
1	*Rib*	1							1	1	
1	*Calcaneum*	1						1		1	"
1	*Metatarsal*	2		1					2	2	"
1	*Ulna (proximal)*	2							2	2	"
1	*Teeth (premolar)*	2						1	1	2	"
1	*Nondiagnostic*	2							2	2	*Unknown*
1	*skull*	2							2	2	*Pisces (fresh water sp.*
1	*Cheliped*	1			1				1	1	*Crayfish*
1	*Radius*	1							1	1	*Aves – gallusgallus*
1	*Tarsometatarsus*	1							1	1	" "
1	*Femur*	2							2	2	" "
1	*Procoracoid*	2		1					2	2	" "
1	*nondiagnostic*	1							1	1	" "
2	*vertibra*	2						2		2	*Pisces*
2	*Tarsometatarsus (distal)*	1							1	1	*Aves*
2	*radius*	3						1	2	3	"
2	*tibiotarsus*	1							1	1	"
2	*boneshaft*	2		2			1		1	2	*Bovida*
2	*Tooth (premolar)*	1						1		1	"
2	*Metatarsal (distal)*	1							1	1	"
2	*humerus*	1							1	1	"
2	*Tibia*	2		1					2	2	*Unknown*
2	*Ribs*	2							2	2	"
2	*nondiagnostic*	14							14	14	"

3	*Vertebra*	3		2				3		3	*Pisces*
3	*Vertebra*	1							1	1	*Bovida*
3	*Boneshaft*	3				1			3	3	"
3	*nondiagnostic*	3							3	3	*Unknown*
3	*Radius*	1							1	1	*Aves*
3	*Tarsometatarsus*	1							1	1	"
3	*Ilium*	3							3	3	"
3	*Ulna (proximal)*	1							1	1	"
3	*boneshaft*	1							1	1	"
4	*Femur (proximal)*	1							1	1	*Aves(gallusgallus)*
4	*Vertebra*	2						2		2	"
4	*boneshaft*	2							1	2	*Bovida*
5	*Nondiagnostic*	6							6	6	*Unknown*
5	*Boneshaft*	5							5	5	*Bovida*
5	*Phalange*	1							1	1	"
5	*Vertebra*	3							3	3	*Pisces*
5	*Dorsal fin*	1							1	1	" *(Eutropiusniloticus)*
5	*Femur (distal)*	1							1	1	*Aves*
5	*Sternum*	2							2	2	"
5	*Procoracoid*	1						1		1	"
5	*boneshaft*	1							1	1	"

Aves – Bird, Includes both domesticated and wild species. Domesticated species identified is ***Gallus gallus.***

Pisces-Fish, This includes both marine and fresh water species. The catfish species of *Eutropiusniloticus*was positively identified.

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Figure 8 – a-d. 19th century smoking pipe bowls
e-g. Dutch smoking pipe stems

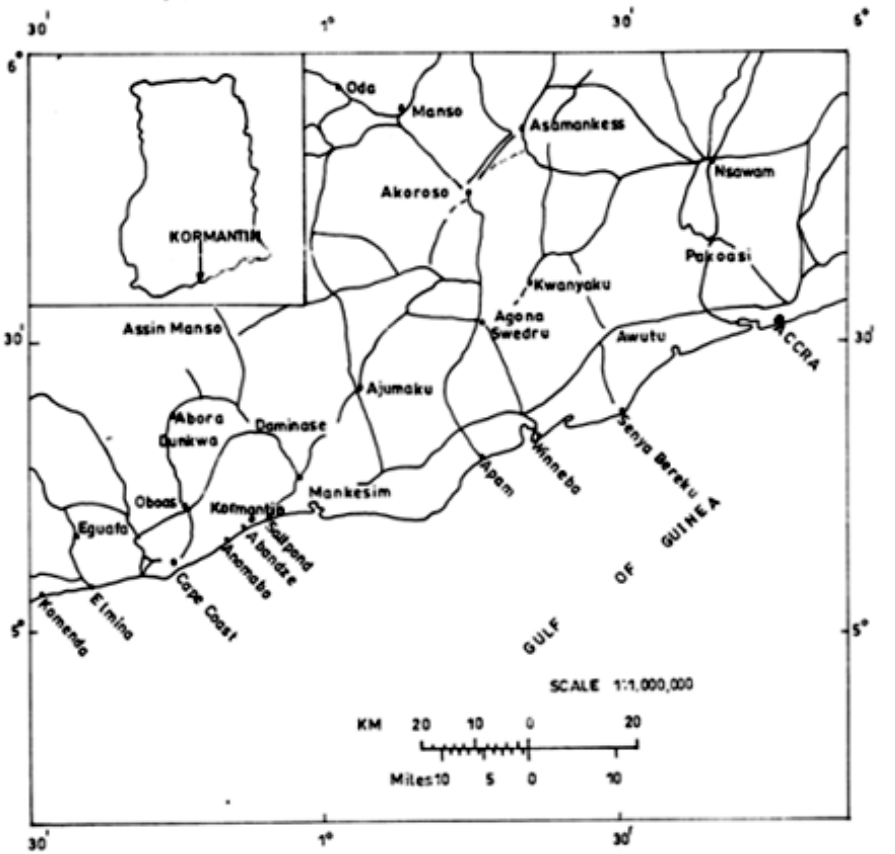

Fig 1 map showing the location of Kormantin No. 1

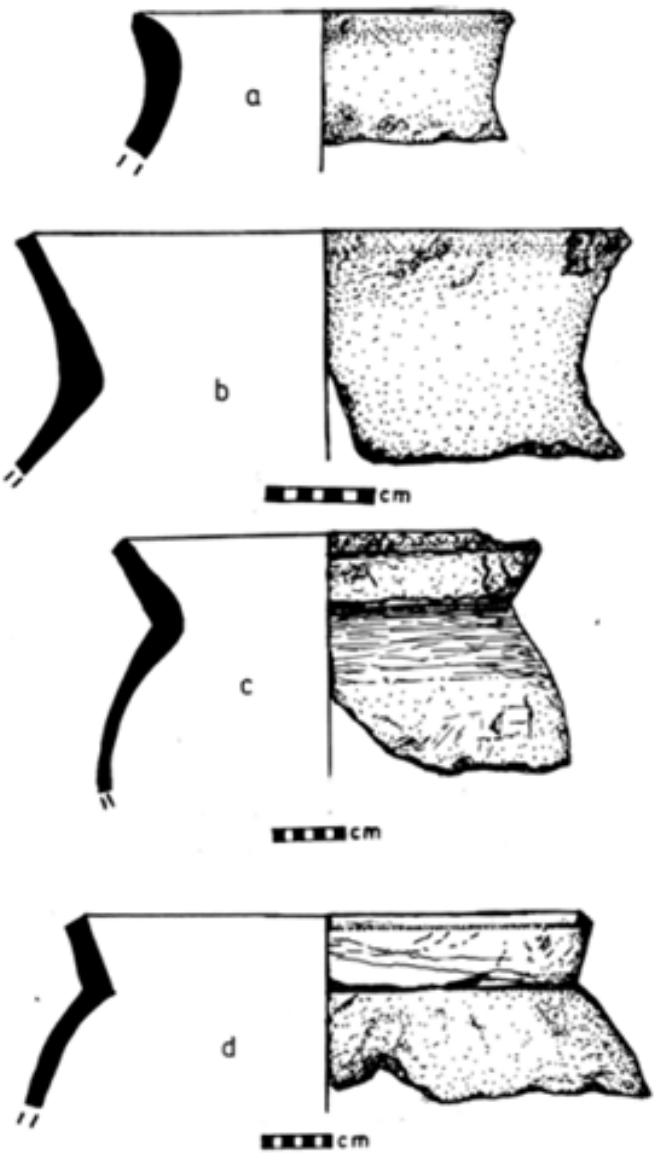

Fig. 2 – Jar forms of Kormantin No. 1 pottery

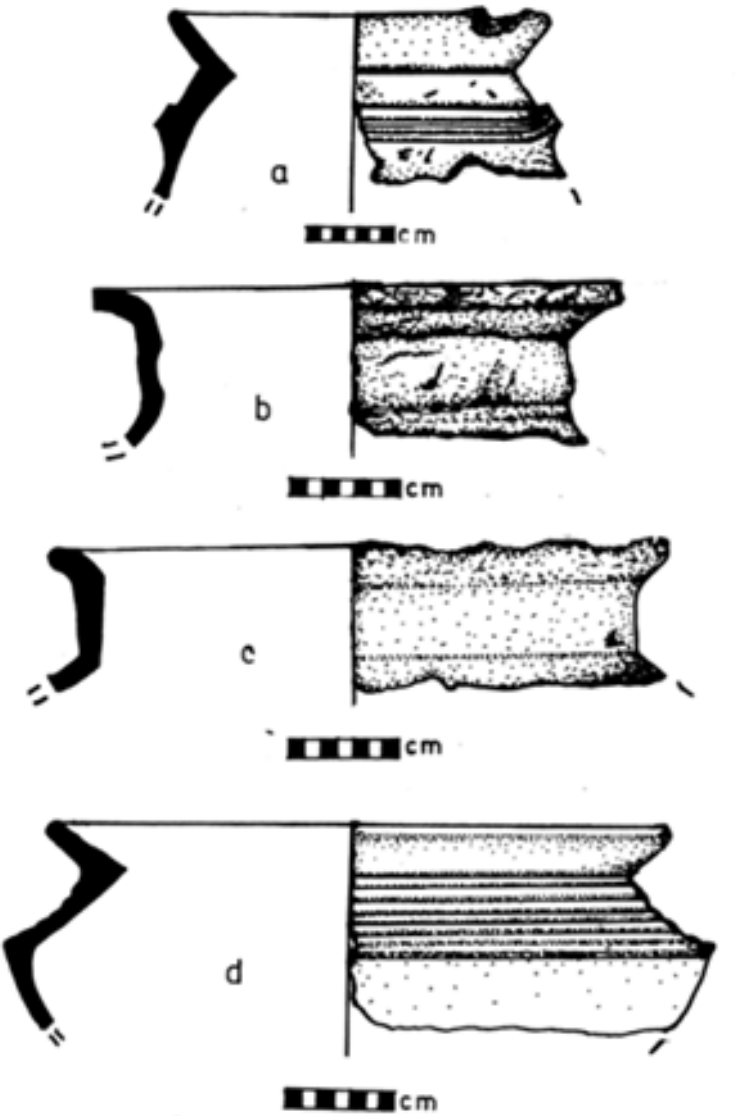

Fig. 3 Jar forms of Kormantin No. 1 pottery

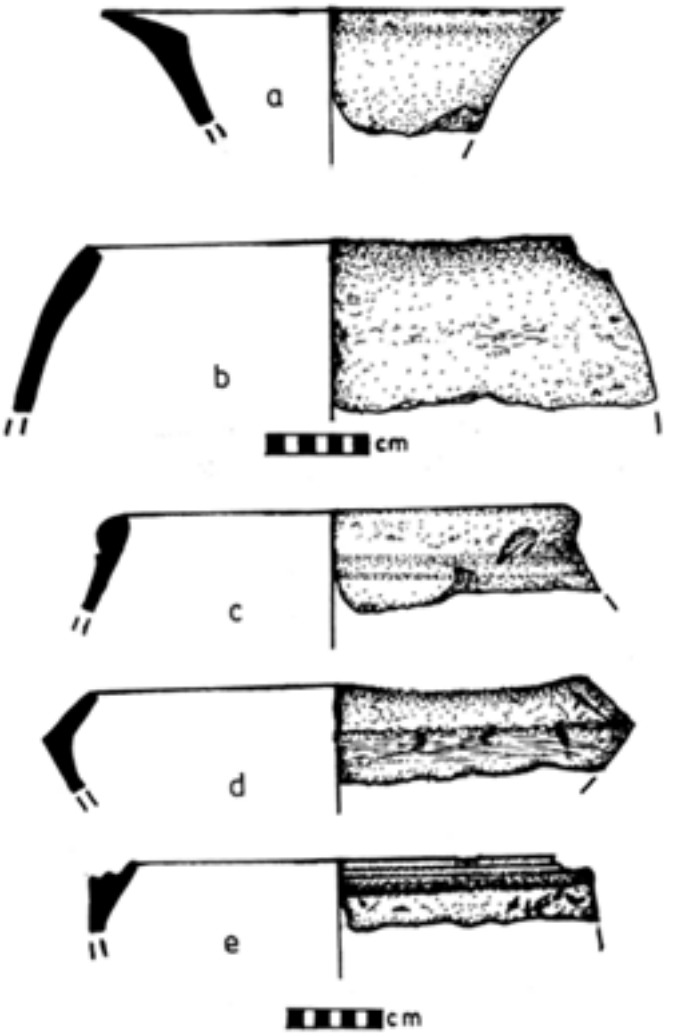

Fig. 4 Bowl forms of Komantin No. 1 pottery

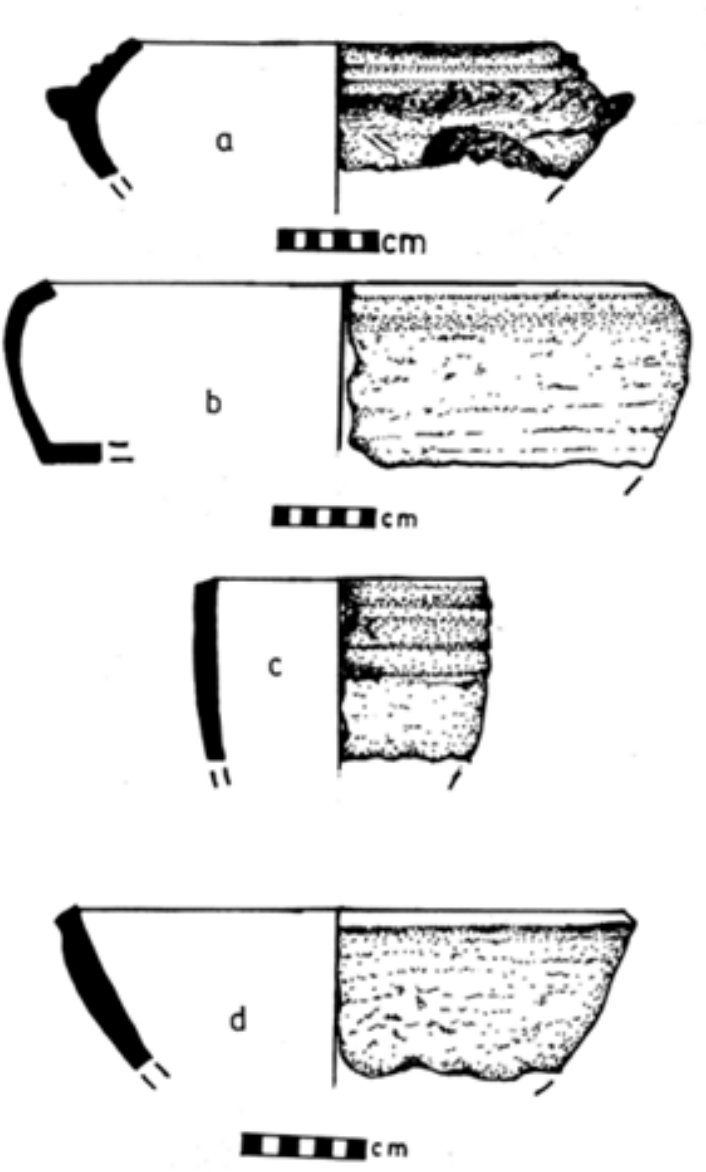

Fig. 5 Bowl forms of Kormantin No 1 pottery

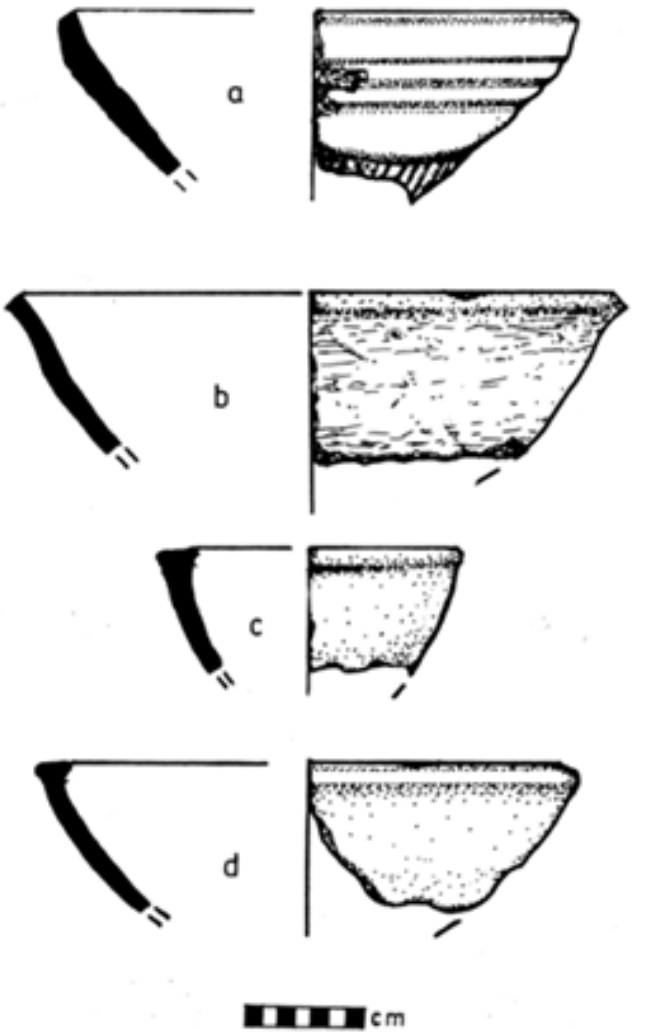

Fig. 6 – Bowl forms of Kormantin No. 1 pottery

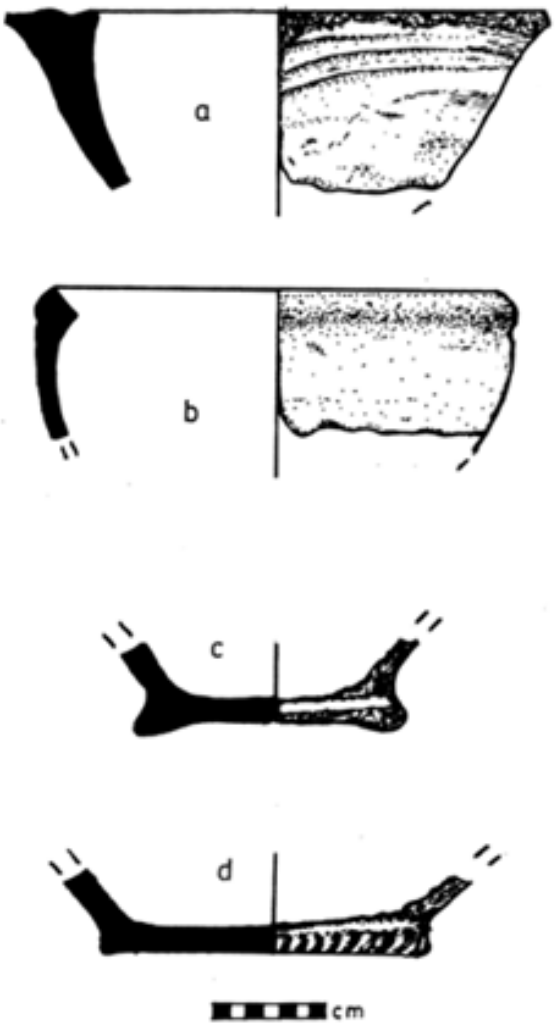

Fig. 7 – Bowl and base forms of Kormantin No. pottery

Fig. 8: a-d 19th century pipe bowls, e-g Dutch smoking pipe stems

WHAT DO OUR DIGITAL NATIVE STUDENTS DO OR DO NOT DO IN OUR ACADEMIC LIBRARIES?

OLIVE AKPEBU ADJAH[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the culture of a new breed of users - the digital native students- in our Ghanaian universities. Utilising mixed methods approach, the study examined what students do or do not do at the Institute of African Studies Library. Findings reveal that this group of users are multi-taskers, want quick feedback and are therefore not prepared to go through laborious search for information. They patronise libraries that provide them with the "comfort" of air-conditioning and study carrels that provide privacy. Even though the study is focused on only one library, in the University of Ghana Library System, it raises a number of library lessons and issues that need to be addressed in the re-design of library services and facilities in African academic libraries. The study concludes by offering some recommendations to make library services and environment more exciting to attract our digital native students.

Keywords: millennial generation, university libraries, University of Ghana Library System, digital native students.

INTRODUCTION

Libraries in universities render distinctive academic services. They contribute to the central mission of universities by selecting, acquiring, organising and making available collections (including access to remote authentic electronic collections) to support teaching, learning and research. University libraries can be described as the "heart" of the university because they provide a place for their well-defined clientele, students and faculty, to do research and advance their knowledge. Today's academic libraries have become more access and service focused than ever before by providing opportunities for students to engage with

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technology, peers, campus faculty and staff (Grallo, Chalmers and Baker 2012).

Academic libraries therefore empower its users to become familiar with literature in their field, develop skills to locate and evaluate sources of information from a wide range of contents of trusted digital sources, pertinent to their studies. Library resources help inform methodologies employed in previous research, and identify gaps and findings that need to be updated or corrected in the body of literature. These research experiences and findings are recorded in print or electronic formats and these could be in the form of theses, books, journal articles, research reports, tapes and audio visuals. It is expected that the use of these pieces of information would help faculty and students generate new knowledge to add to the existing literature. It goes without saying that libraries play a very important role in the life of students, and research has indicated that usage of libraries and its resources affect educational performance in a positive way (Adika and Anwar, 2006; Alharbi and Middleton, 2011).

However, Docuett (2011: 34) argues that in today's marketplace, libraries can no longer simply say, "this is who we are and what we provide" and expect people to "flock" into libraries. Libraries should be willing to have an ongoing interaction with its users and to adjust services accordingly. She continues to state that 'marketing' is no more providing information about services and facilities but rather a conversation with users of facilities provided. One user group in academic libraries is the group of young people called "digital natives" a termed coined by Marc Prensky, who believes that these students are fundamentally different. They were born from 1981 onwards and are described as having had technology surrounding them from infancy, wanting their information extremely fast and are experts at multitasking and networking (Howe and Strauss, 2003; McHale, 2005). Going by this definition and looking at the landscape of student population in this century, one can conclude that majority of today's Ghanaian university students are digital natives. Librarians need to embrace changes to make libraries more exciting to attract this new breed of users (Alemna, 2012) to use the relevant and exciting information contents, made accessible even outside the walls of libraries. This is very essential to prevent the libraries from lagging behind or being tied to

traditional services and ways of rendering such services. It is only then that libraries will become modern and move in time to meet the millennial generational needs of our digital native students. However, there is an apparent dearth of literature on the information and knowledge needs of Ghanaian digital native university students to help librarians effectively address their peculiar needs. This calls for research to fill significant gaps in what academic librarians perceive their users need, to better position libraries to meet the expectations of their users (Troll, 2002).

This paper therefore sets out to study the library culture of this new breed of users (digital native students) in the Ghanaian university system so as to understand their needs and be prepared for further transformations. It looks at students' behaviour in library space in an academic library, specifically the Institute of African Studies Library (IAS) at the University of Ghana. This is necessary because user behaviour, culture and preferences affect demand and use of library services and facilities. This study is premised on the belief that student behaviour and way of doing things is a 'non-verbal conversation', which sends gestures and cues to librarians as to what users want and expect from libraries. Based on the cultural framework of Awedoba (2002), Ember and Ember (1990), the paper looks at the values, learned beliefs and behaviour (culture) shared by University of Ghana students in a library environment (workspace). It also looks at how students react/act, move or behave in a library environment to put across their messages to librarians.Findings will serve as feedback which will provide good guideposts to keep in mind as libraries attempt to transform services and products to meet the changing needs of digital native students.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- What are digital native students engaged in when using library space?
- What behaviours do they exhibit in academic libraries?
- What are the special needs and expectations of digital native students?
- What strategies can librarians adopt to ensure that libraries do not lag behind in meeting the special needs of digital native students?

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Research on workspace has attracted diverse approaches, disciplines and subject areas among which are architecture, social work and environmental psychology. Lewin (cited by Fischer, 1997) was one of the pioneers of the social analysis model of space as an essential factor in human behaviour. He showed that an individual is part of a system where all behaviour depends on the environment in which it expresses itself. It is a framework of analysis that introduces the idea of interdependence between environment and behaviour, showing that environment has a certain influence on behaviour, on one hand, and the reaction to an environment, communicated through social stimulation, on the other (Fischer, 1997). Social stimulation, amongst others, could be classified as "direct' as language in a conversation or 'contributory' as facial expressions or movements in a crowd (Allport, 1924).

Libraries like malls, restaurants and other social settings provide public space in which people engage in a range of social and informational activities (Given and Leckie, 2003). In the attempt to meet the needs of library patrons, there are numerous research articles on the information needs, information seeking behaviour and information sources of various groups of library users. Other researchers, using a different perspective, have looked at what patrons do or how they behave in libraries (Suarez 2007; Applegate, 2009; Hursh and Avenarius, 2013) in order to identify their needs. Most of these studies are based on ethnographic methods, "the study of the culture and social organisation of a particular group or community" (Khoo, Rozaklis and Hall, 2012:82) which is rapidly finding its way into library research.

Suarez (2007) looked at student behaviour in an academic library in Brock University, during the Spring and Winter terms of the academic year of 2006 and 2007. The task was to find out what behaviour students exhibit in the library when using study areas and to see if these appeared to be learning engaged. The study revealed that students generally pursued behaviours that were engaging and supporting the academic mission of the library. According to Suarez (2007) behaviours that students exhibit in the library appear to be practical activities and goal-oriented. These activities include reading, writing, consulting notes, texts and library

materials, using computers and library workstations, collaborating with fellow students, writing assignments, literature search, and using photocopying machines. Alongside these activities, are behaviours that are classified as leisure or social, for example, use of cell phones, Mp3 players or other sound devices, chatting, playing games on computers, napping, resting, flirting, eating and drinking. Given and Leckie (2003), Hursh and Avenarius (2013) used the "sweeping" observational method and an ethnographic approach, respectively, to find out what patrons really do in libraries. Given and Leckie (2003) investigated the actual daily use and meaning of contemporary central libraries as public places in the context of a North American culture. A similar study was conducted in Loughborough University to find out how students perceive user space and what they do in music libraries (Hursh and Avenarius, 2013).

METHODOLOGY

This study employed two methods of data collection: observation and questionnaire. The study utilised both impressionist and systematic observation, used by Suarez in the study of Brock University students, which has gained popularity in the library field since 2007. It is very useful for capturing activities that would not be reported by participants in interviews and/or questionnaires (Suarez, 2007). Observing student behaviour allowed the researcher to see unintended behaviour and to note activities that might not be reported or stated by respondents because they think it is too trivial, embarrassing, against the rules and accepted norms in the context under study. Such studies answer the question "how" and offer information that cannot be obtained otherwise (Suarez, 2007; Gratz & Gilbert, 2011). The research also included "participation in situ" (Suarez, 2007) where the researcher did not only spend time observing student behaviour in the study area but also went about in the library participating in activities for example, browsing and searching for materials on the shelf, in the same manner as any other student. It was therefore easy to observe students unobtrusively.

Employing the convenience sampling method was the simplest and easiest way to select units for the study. The Institute of African Studies library (IAS), one of the satellite libraries on the University of Ghana campus, was the primary study space and the subjects of the study were

students who visited the library between the months of April and June 2012. Respondents were invited to take part in the research, by answering a two-page questionnaire of 14 questions in two sections: the bio-data and library use. The bio-data section comprised three questions, which asked for gender, level, and age. In the second section, of 10 questions, respondents were asked why they use the library, what time of the semester they patronise the library most, what they do in the library and activities they engage in whilst studying. They were also asked how they search for materials and changes they expect in the library, to encourage effective usage. In all 425 questionnaires were distributed and 380 returned giving a response rate of 89%**.** The data collected from responses to questionnaire were analysed using simple descriptive statistics.

FINDINGS

Findings of study based on data collected from questionnaire and the participant observation are presented and discussed below.

Table one: Profile of Respondents

Demographic characteristics	**Number**	**(%)**
Gender	**(N=380)**	**(100)**
Female	154	40.6
Male	219	57.6
Unknown	7	1.8
Age	**(N=380)**	**(100)**
Below 20 years	44	11.6
21-25 years	198	52.3
26-30 years	57	15
31-35 years	21	5.5
36-40 years	34	8.9
41-45 years	5	1.3
46 and above	7	1.8
Unknown	14	3.6
Level	**(N=380)**	**(100)**
100	14	3.7
200	94	24.7
300	75	19.7
400	128	33.7
Graduate	28	7.3
unknown	41	10.9

Respondents in the study (see table one) comprise 154 females (40.6%), 219 males (57.6%) with seven (1.8%) declining to declare their gender status. The research findings indicate that majority of the respondents, 198 (52.3%), ranged between 21 and 25 years of age with the 41 to 45 year olds forming the minority. Majority of the respondents, one hundred and twenty-eight (33.7%) were in level 400, giving the impression that the library sees heavy use by final year students.

LIBRARY USE

In order to find out how often students use the library, attempt was made to determine times of the semester the library is heavily patronised. Majority of respondents, 300 (78 %), indicated that they patronise the library, mostly, during the revision and examination weeks. This points to the fact that students see the library as a place that should be visited or used when there is "academic pressure" (that is when the examination period is approaching) and the possibility of associating reading/learning with purely academic activity is suggested. Respondents were then asked what informs their choice of library to visit by asking why they visit the IAS library.

Table 2: Reasons that inform choice of library

Reasons that inform choice of library	number	%
Air-conditioning	163	43
Comfortable and neat	28	7.4
Sufficient books for research	92	24.2
Proximity to halls of residence	14	3.7
No response	83	21.7
Total	380	100

As indicated in table 2, majority of the respondents, 163 (43.0%), chose the IAS library, from among other libraries on the University campus because it is air-conditioned and the least number of respondents indicated, 14 (3.7%), the library's proximity to their halls of residence as a deciding factor. Students will use a facility in which they find comfort and

decision to choose the IAS library could be attributed to the comfort they enjoy since the IAS library is one of the air-conditioned libraries on campus. Millennial generation in addition to wanting things fast would also patronise a library that gives them comfort as they study. Where students perceive a library as comfortable it is most likely that students will patronise it. Gelfand (2005) also confirmed this in a study where nearly every undergraduate listed "comfort" as a needed environment in a library. Their request included upholstered furniture where they could stretch and a café suggesting that to them eating/drinking are synonymous with reading and studying. A student is quoted to have said, "The library needs to be at the forefront of change … when I study, I want to have a comfortable chair, good lighting and room to spread out," and "everything at my fingertips" (Gelfand, 2005:12).

Asamoah-Hassan (2012) has indicated that academic libraries will see a lot of improvement in the future but if these services and facilities are not tailored to meet the culture of the present generation, librarians might be failing to maximise the use of libraries and its resources by students. McDonald and Thomas (2006) call for flexibility and the avoidance of the "one size fit all" syndrome. Troll (2002) posits that academic libraries cannot prepare effectively for the future or position itself on campus if they do not understand the need to change to meet the current learning and research environment, which is radically different from the environment a decade ago.

BEHAVIOUR IN THE LIBRARY

Attempt was made to find out how students use library space and how they behave in the library. Respondents were therefore asked what informs their choice of sitting place, who they prefer to sit next to and whether they have a particular seating area they always would want to sit.

Choice of sitting place

Majority of respondents, 264 (69.5%), will always chose unoccupied desks when they come to the library. However, respondents who would sometimes choose vacant seats constituted 53 (13.9%) of the population, 12 (3.2%) did not really mind at all with 51 (13.4%) declining to respond

to the question. A little above half the number of the research participants 193 (50.8%) indicated that in choosing a seat, they are comfortable to sit next to persons they do not know at all, 105 (27.6%) would sometimes want to sit next to a friend or acquaintance, 50 (13.2%) would always want to seat next to persons they already know. However, 32 (8.4%) declined to respond.

The study also attempted to find out if students have acquired the habit of sitting at a particular place on each visit. Quite an appreciable number of students, 138 (36.3%), stated they do not have particular places they would always want to sit, 108 (28.4%) would only take a different seat when their favourite seat is taken and 75 (19.7%) confirmed they have particular seating areas and would leave the library if those seating areas were taken up. There were no responses from 59 (15.5 %) of respondents. According to a study, of students' behaviour in libraries, years ago Sommers (1969) observed that 64% of students sat at unoccupied tables and those who sat at tables already occupied, chose the farthest seat from the other occupants. This finding still holds valid as observed in this study. Although not all respondents, in this study, made such claims, it was observed that students would always choose unoccupied seats first. Some respondents were of the view that the library should provide furniture that will enhance privacy. To buttress this point, the researcher noticed that most often students ensure that they sit next to a person of their choice by keeping seats for friends they are expecting to join them later. This suggests the value of interpersonal distance.

The study also observed an element of territoriality, a concept of marking out boundaries or personal space (Cassidy, 1997), in about 40% of students who would always want to sit at particular locations. Such students would always occupy particular seats and would leave the library, looking very irritated, suggesting an encroachment of their territory, if someone else occupied their usual places. Students would rush into the library to place books and other belongings on desks to mark the spot they intend to occupy, and in most cases go away to attend lectures, just to make sure their seat of choice is secured. A number of fights have ensued as a result of other users pushing away those belongings and occupying such seats. Some respondents (20%) who were displeased with

such acts commented in their response to the questionnaire that the rule of no reservation of seats should be enforced.

ACTIVITIES DURING STUDY

In this day and age of technology, people expect their technology to be mobile, be able to access information and communicate anytime and anywhere. Young people or our digital students, as this paper calls them, appear to show indications of a "voracious appetite for new technologies, new access methods and new ways to get and use information" (Kaufman 2005: 1). Attempt was therefore made to find out what activities students engage in whilst learning. Do they use laptops, cell phones or any other electronic device whilst studying in the library? For a generation growing up in a constantly changing world of electronics, should librarians expect they would always want such gadgets by them?

Use of laptops and cell phones

One hundred and sixty-two (42.6%) respondents claim they never bring their laptops to the library, a similar number of one hundred and sixty-one (42.4%) indicated they sometimes bring their laptops to the library. Twenty-four (6.3%) respondents indicated they always come to the library with their laptops. There was no response from thirty-three (8.7%) students. Laptops are key tools for students however the library has very limited electrical outlets. It was observed that students always occupied desks close to the major electrical outlets in the library. This is consistent with the behaviour of students in Purdue University, Indianapolis who will seldom use areas that did not have electrical outlets (Applegate, 2009). From the 185 respondents who sometimes and always come to the library with their laptops, attempt was made to find out if they used these devices solely for academic purposes. Majority of the respondents, that is 149 (80.5%), claimed they never watch movies and 136 (73.7%) stated they do not listen to music. Respondents, who sometimes watched movies or listened to music, whilst studying, formed 12 (6.3%) and 22 (11.8%) respectively. Very few students 1 (0.3%) and 3 (1.8%) indicated they always watch movies and listen to music when studying.

Majority of students, that is 261 (68.7%), always keep their cell phones with them in the library while studying**,** and they confirmed that they

interrupt their studies to check for missed calls or messages, play games, listen to music or go out to make or receive calls**.** Respondents, that is 74 (19.5%) who claim they sometimes have their phones with them, stated they do not make it a rule to pick every call that comes through, however, a minority of respondents that is 14 (3.7%) never have their phones with them in the library. It was observed that about 75% of students do not spend more than 60 minutes in the library without going out with their mobile phones. It was rare to observe a student, study continuously without picking the cell phone to do one thing or the other.

Findings also reveal that students have the culture of engaging in activities that are against the rules and norms of library use. Observed behaviour do not match what respondents say they do in the library. There were times where users could be seen spending much time chatting, flirting, having discussions, sleeping, chewing gum, eating biscuits or other pastries, sweets, receiving and making calls in the library, all these conflict with traditional library rules and regulations.

SEARCH CULTURE

Having identified activities students engage in, attempt was made to identify their search culture that is how they search for information resources. Questions were therefore put to the survey population to elicit information as to how they search for materials: do they use the online catalogue; browse the shelves; ask a friend, library staff or leave whenever they do not get materials they need. When searching for materials in the library, 135 (35.5%) of respondents stated they sometimes use the catalogue and a similar number of 135 (35.5%) indicated they never use the catalogue when searching for materials. Only 51 (13.4%) of the respondents indicated they always use the catalogue first when in search for materials. One hundred and twenty-nine (33.9%) research respondents sometimes checked shelves first and 38 (10%) always checked the shelves first when searching for materials. This raises concerns because it suggests that students come into the library without, literally using the online catalogue, the "key" to unlock the wealth of library resources. Interestingly, attempt was made to ascertain the orientation of level 400 (final year students), with respect to the use of the library catalogue, 64 (50%) indicated that they never use the catalogue; 51

(40%) sometimes use the catalogue with a minority of 13 (10%) who always began a search from the catalogue.

The study attempted to find out sources respondents consult for help, in the search for information; do they consult friends or the library staff? More than half the number of respondents, 216 (56.8%), never ask friends for help, 85 (22.4%) sometimes would ask friends for help and 5 (1.3%) always ask friends for help. Majority of the students that is 303 (79.7%), will always ask for assistance from the library staff because, according to them, the library staff know the location of materials and it makes the search easier.Respondents, 70 (18.4%), indicated, they always use their personal books in the library and therefore have no need to ask the library staff for assistance. This could suggest that these students make little or no use of library collection but limit their efforts to the books, handouts, lecture notes and other materials they bring along into the library. This is cause for worry since it is possible such students do not explore the "unknown" to search for materials beyond what their lecturers have provided. Interestingly, only 3.2% of respondents indicated that they would leave the library without asking for help if they cannot find materials they wish to consult.

DISCUSSION

Earlier on, it was indicated that majority of respondents 198 (52.3%) fall within the age bracket of 21 and 25 years and fifty-seven (15.0%) respondents, belonged to the age group of 26 and 30. Sweeney (2005) and McHale (2005) refer to people born within the years 1981/1982 and 2000, as the "newest adult generation" or the "millennial generation'. More than half the population in this study 67.3% falls into Sweeney's categorisation of the millennial generation. This generation, among other things, is impatient and individualistic; they have a very high level of expectation, expect frequent and positive feedback, always believe they are right and carry a sense of entitlement about them. They think multi-tasking is a smart way of doing things and are unaware of the poor quality of results of multi-tasking (Howe and Strauss, 2003). Sandeen (2008) describes this group of students as part of the generation that grew up with computers; experienced the rapid adoption of the internet, cell phone, and other mobile devices. They are therefore a highly networked, connected

generation and tend to be completely immersed in technology. As one research analyst noted, "they've never known a life without a computer—they can take in 20 hours' worth of information in seven hours" (van Dyk cited in Sandeen, 2008, p18). They are born digital natives, expect nomadic, anytime, anywhere communications; are collaborative, multi-taskers, gamers, and a read less generation (Sweeney, 2005).

Majority of respondents show traits of the culture of the millennial generationand thesecharacteristics are substantiated in this study. Participants' responses and behaviour observed typically mirrored the literature regarding the life style of the millennial generation/digital native students. Students have a learned belief that librarians easily locate materials and therefore tend to depend more on librarians instead of searching for materials themselves. They expect quick feedback and are not prepared to spend time searching for information, analogous to fast food. One can observe obvious disinterest on faces of students in the attempt to take them through a lesson of looking for material in the library, be it online or manual. The problem here is two-fold. It is possible these students have poor searching skills, might not be conversant with advanced search features, might even think their search results are arranged in order of relevance and dangerously might not be able to distinguish between authoritative/appropriate and un-authoritative/inappropriate pieces of information they access on the web. Secondly, it is also possible that students will not be able to locate items on the shelf, themselves, because they do not understand library classification systems. Final year undergraduate students are graduating without having acquired the culture of searching for information on their own.All these raise issues of concern for librarians and faculty.

Other issues observed and deduced from findings are that students have the culture of patronising the library only when they are under academic pressure to study, which are the revision and examination weeks. They like and enjoy comfort and would patronise a library more if they find the environment conducive for study; if it is air-conditioned and close to their halls of residence. Students' choice of seating places in the library suggests the value of space and need for interpersonal distance. They

would always want to have their cell phones and laptops with them as they study and exhibit skills and capacity for multi-tasking (have a culture of combining so many activities at once) by learning, communicating, listening to music, playing games and with a lot of engagement with their cell phones.

CONCLUSION

The study confirms the assertion by Howe and Strauss (2003) that what is generally true for others is not necessarily true of the current generation of students that make up most of our undergraduate population. Librarians must therefore be prepared to adapt and even apply users' desire for instant gratification to the ways libraries operate. A basic philosophical issue, for libraries to consider, is the extent to which librarians and their services move in the direction of the users rather than how much librarians expect users to move in their direction (McDonald and Thomas, 2006). MacDonald and Thomas (2006:5) are justified to lament that libraries have done little to "embed themselves and their resources into the everyday tools, space and activities important to today's learners". Libraries are therefore not used effectively, because administrators do not understand factors that influence library usage (Alharbi & Middleton, 2011) resulting in priorities that are disconnected from the millennial generation values. African academic librarians still have a long way to go to catch up with what the current crop of users, 'Google generation' or 'net generation' really want and need. This calls for new strategies and services for this group of students who are entirely unlike and very distinct from the older generation. According to Sweeney (2005) although this may seem difficult, libraries must remain relevant to every new generation of users. This generation has acquired their own new "lifelong culture" and Librarians need to respond to these generational traits. Librarians have, therefore, been urged to open to constructive input from users about what they want from their librarians and should not assume that people will come into the library no matter the services provided (Doucett, 2011).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the observations of student behaviour and student-generated data, the following recommendations will go a long way to inform future design/re-design and service provision in African academic libraries.

Librarians ought to use every available opportunity to reach out to faculty for support to help students understand that libraries are useful for graduation and beyond, this is because like faculty, librarians, are interested in their students' development into scholars (Gratz & Gilbert, 2011). Librarians could engage in advocacy at every given opportunity during staff meetings, as departmental liaison for example subject librarians and during invigilation of examinations, where members of different Colleges/faculties are put together in a team. Faculty need to be encouraged further, to give out "challenging" assignments that would require investment of library services and resources, throughout the semester. Lecturers could, for example, encourage students to search for information by just giving them guidelines, that is, lecturers must encourage students to add, "flesh to the skeleton" and award marks in recognition of their effort.

There is the need to intensify outreach efforts to students themselves at the hall levels (most librarians are hall tutors), seminars, and workshops, via email and during hall weeks. Orientation programmes need to be looked at again, bearing in mind the peculiar generational traits in our current university students, to develop interesting programmes through mediums that appeal to them most. There is the need to emphasise the role of an institution, like the library's resources and services, as part of the lifelong plan of students. It is essential to inculcate the fact that search for information, for example, develops the skill to search, access and evaluate information in this fast growing world. These skills in addition to reading need to be cultivated and nurtured if students want to become the kind of adults they wish to be in the future. Otherwise such attitudes could result in aliteracy, where educated people choose not to read or refuse to read because they associate reading with academic activities only.

Students in this study called for more computers for research; more electrical sockets for laptops; more air-conditioners; new furniture that will enhance privacy; a snack bar; spacious surroundings and more friendly library staff who will help with their searches. In most libraries on the University of Ghana campus, instructions are that computers are used solely for academic purposes. Checking of email other forms of social networking are discouraged on such computers. However, checking

through search history on most computers in libraries, there are always pieces of evidence that students use these computers for activities other than academic. It is recommended that University librarians could be more flexible by allowing a few computers for students to play games and to indulge in other social networking.

In the provision of furniture, the element of territoriality, a concept of personal space, marking out boundaries, which was observed among students, should be incorporated in the future design of library furniture and provision of library space. One African academic library, changing the library landscape by working towards meeting the needs of its 'net generation" users, is the University of Ghana Library System (UGLS) comprising all libraries with Balme Library, as its headquarters, spearheading change on the University of Ghana campus. In recent times, Balme has established the Research Commons (RC), discussion rooms and The Knowledge Commons (KC), the latter a facility for undergraduate students. It also has a 24-hour study room which has more than seventy (70) PCs with electrical outlets and wireless internet access available for student use 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. There is the University of Ghana Library Online Catalogue (UGCat), which is a union catalogue of almost all the libraries within UGLS, satellite, hall and departmental libraries, on Legon campus, Accra City Campus and Korlebu College of Health Sciences.

It also features electronic resources, research guides and live chats; ask the librarian and other services available for use, both on and off campus, at http://library.ug.edu.gh. The University of Ghana Library System (UGLS) has assigned senior member librarians to serve as subject librarians to various departments, school and institute in the various colleges. It is imperative that funds are sourced and released to support libraries in the UGLS, upgrade other satellite libraries because the Balme Library alone cannot adequately serve the entire university population. More especially in this collegiate era, there is the need to initiate discussions for the establishment of College Libraries and to improve services and resources to meet the information and knowledge needs of our Ghanaian digital native students.

Although this paper focused on only one library, it raises a number of library lessons and issues that need to be addressed in the re-design of library services and facilities in African academic libraries. This paper does not claim to have the solutions to meeting the peculiar needs of digital native students in our libraries but hopes that this will generate discussions amongst the University of Ghana Library System (UGLS), faculty, student representatives and the powers that control the purse of the university to see how best services in libraries could be improved to attract our digital native student to effectively use libraries and their resources.

This paper ends with Sweeney's (2005:173) question asking 'can library decision-makers create libraries compelling to the next generation, the millennial?" Yes, if only library decision makers are willing to reinvent libraries for this new generation. Each day more members of this generation are entering our universities, therefore services must be re-designed to meet the needs of the millennial. This paper calls for research into identifying ways of designing/re-designing facilities, blending traditional and technological services, in African academic libraries, to meet the needs, demands and library culture of a unique, distinct, most populous and entirely different generation of students, in our universities, who have their own unique ecology of mind. This should present new and exciting opportunities for librarians to carry out their traditional roles differently. This is imperative because our digital age students are indicating that they are often unaccustomed to traditional library culture and seek to impose new digital age behaviours and culture from outside the library on their libraries. Such new behaviours would in the years to come, define new library cultures which libraries should be in a position to meet if they must remain relevant to digital age users. However as we adjust our services and practice to fit the needs of this new generation, Howe and Strauss (2003) warn that we must be conscious to guard against the "shadow side" of overindulgence that come with these new cultures.

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REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRONIC NON-COMMUNICABLE DISEASES IN GHANAIAN AND CAMEROONIAN NEWSPAPERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Ghana and Cameroon face a growing burden of chronic non-communicable diseases (NCDs). In both countries lay communities draw on multiple social sources for NCD knowledge, including the mass media. Information content, accuracy and usefulness differ across sources. This study examined the sources and contents of NCD articles in the Ghanaian Mirror and the Cameroonian tribune over two theoretically significant periods: June 1999 – June 2000 and June 2009 - June 2010. Analysis showed that: (1) in both countries the volume of newspaper reporting on NCDs increased across the two time periods; (2) Cameroon had a weaker culture of chronic disease reporting; (3) in Ghana, six major NCDs were represented, however a quarter of articles were plagiarised from foreign websites; (4) the politics of health funding and policies influenced media health reporting. These findings are discussed and the implications for the future role of newspapers in NCD education are outlined.

Key words: chronic non-communicable diseases; mass media, newspapers; Cameroon; Ghana.

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INTRODUCTION

Ghana and Cameroon, like many African countries, face a growing burden of chronic non communicable diseases (NCDs), such as diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and cancers (de-Graft Aikins et al, 2010a; Mensah, 2008; WHO, 2005). This burden co-exists with an infectious disease burden (see Table 1). Poor lay knowledge, poor public health education, the absence of chronic disease policies and inadequate healthcare are implicated in avoidable chronic disease risk, complications and deaths in the African region (de-Graft Aikins et al, 2010; Mensah, 2008). In the absence of strong health systems and public health interventions, individuals draw on what medical anthropologist Arthur Kleinman has referred to as "the popular sector" (Kleinman, 1980) to make sense of health threats, their risk status and their illness experiences, and to make decisions about health seeking practices. The popular sector constitutes social networks of family, friends, trusted community members and lay health advisors. Previous research suggests that lay communities in Ghana and Cameroon draw on multiple sources for health and NCD knowledge (Bosompra, 1989; de-Graft Aikins et al 2010b). These 'popular sector' sources include social networks, religious institutions, pluralistic medical encounters (including herbalists and Christian faith healers) and the mass media, in particular radio and newspapers. In Ghana, these popular sector spheres, according to lay individuals, have different levels of legitimacy in terms of the content, accuracy and usefulness of information they provide (Bosompra, 1989; de-Graft Aikins et al, 2012; de-Graft Aikins, 2005).

There are, as yet, no systematic African studies that explore the content and accuracy of NCD information in the popular sector, how the information is produced, and how the process of information production has changed over time. We focus on these three broad questions within the context of the mass media, and specifically newspapers in Ghana and Cameroon. Research in high-income countries of Europe, North America and Australia shows that the mass media – including print, television, radio and internet - plays an influential role in shaping public health perceptions and behaviours (Leask et al, 2010; Wakefield et al, 2010; Wilson et al, 2009). As Leask and colleagues (2010) observe, the mass

media "has substantial power in setting agendas, that is, what we should be concerned about and take action on, and framing issues, that is, how we should think about them" (p.535). There is evidence on the major role the mass media (especially radio) plays in influencing public knowledge, discourse and opinion in many African countries across a range of social issues (AMDI, 2006; Bosompra, 1989; Boynton and Baker, 2005; De Witte, 2011; Tiemtore, 1990). There is also a limited, but insightful, body of research on science and health reporting in the mass media in a number of African countries (Mfumbusa and Mataba, 2009; Mwesige, 2004). However, there is no research on the reporting of emerging public health problems like chronic non-communicable diseases. To address our research questions, we focused on analysing the content and sources of chronic disease information in one Ghanaian weekly newspaper (*The Mirror*) and in one Cameroonian daily newspaper (the *Cameroon tribune*) over two time periods. Both newspapers were state-owned and had national coverage. Conceptually we were guided by social representations theory, a social psychological theory that facilitates examination of the development, sharing and use of lay social knowledge (Moscovici, 1988; Wagner et al, 1999). A key aspect of SRT is the recognition it gives to the role of the mass media in lay knowledge production (Joffe and Haarhoff, 2002).

METHODS

Ghanaian and Cameroonian policymakers began to discuss their countries' NCD burden formally between 1999 and 2000. Cameroon has since developed and implemented policies on diabetes and hypertension (Awah et al, 2007), while Ghana has placed diabetes and hypertension on a priority intervention list and developed a sickle cell disease plan (Bosu, 2012; de-Graft Aikins et al, 2010b). Within the last five years, broader health policies have been introduced in Ghana that have bearing on chronic disease prevention and treatment. These include the National Health Insurance Scheme, which has some chronic disease medicines on its exemption list, and the Regenerative Health and Nutrition Programme, which focuses on public health education on nutrition, maternal health and sanitation (Bosu, 2012). Using the policy trends as markers we focused on two periods for our analysis:

. Period 1: the last six months of 1999 and the first six months of 2000

(June 1999–June 2000) to track the presence and depth of information on six chronic diseases in the newspapers at the start of policy debates;

. Period 2: the last six months of 2009 and first six months of 2010 (June 2009– June 2010) to track trends in reporting on the six target conditions ten years later.

We focused initially on five chronic diseases highlighted as conditions of public health significance in the African region (WHO, 2005): cardiovascular disease (including hypertension and stroke), diabetes, cancers, asthma and sickle cell disease. After a preliminary content analysis we included two additional conditions that were featured in Ghana's *The Mirror* and the *Cameroonian tribune*. In Ghana, two additional conditions were arthritis and heart disease. In Cameroon two additional conditions were cardiac (or heart) conditions and kidney problems. We placed heart disease and cardiac conditions under the cardiovascular disease category and introduced arthritis and kidney problems as two additional conditions. Our final list had seven (7) conditions: arthritis, asthma, cancers, cardiovascular diseases (including hypertension, stroke, and heart disease/cardiac conditions), diabetes, kidney disease and sickle cell disease. Figures 1 and 2 present available information on the socio-demographic features of Ghana and Cameroon and prevalence rates of the dominant NCDs and their risk factors.

Figure 1. Demographic and Socio-economic profiles of Ghana and Cameroon

	Ghana	**Cameroon**
Population (2007)	23,461,523	18,532,799
GNI Per Capita (US$)	320	630
Life expectancy	60.01	50.39
% Population living in rural areas	50.72	44.06
% Population living in poverty (<$1 per day)	44.8 (1998-99)	17.1 (2001)
Doctor per 10,000	2	2
Nurse/Midwives per 10,000	9	16
No of radio stations (2006)*	130	110
No of television stations (2006)*	6	6
No of newspapers (2006)*	106	500

Source: de-Graft Aikins, Boynton and Atanga (2010) ; *Kafewo, S. (2006) on Ghanaian statistics; *Alobwede,C.E. (2006) on Cameroonian statistics.

Figure 2. Prevalence of chronic diseases and risk factors in Ghana and Cameroon

	Ghana		Cameroon	
Prevalence of chronic diseases	Male	Female	Male	Female
Diabetes prevalence estimates (no of people with DM aged 20-79 (000s) (2003)	185.0	149.0	23.9	34.5
IGT prevalence estimates (no of people with IGT aged 20-79 (000s) (2003)	564.8	636.3	104.5	56.4
Hypertension prevalence (u: urban; r: rural)	33.4 (u) 27 (r)	28.9(u) 27 (r)	25.6	23.1
Stroke deaths(age standardised mortality per 100 000 population)(2002)	123	151	133	163
Prevalence of Risk Factors				
Smoking prevalence	6.4	0.5	8.2	1.0
Alcohol consumption (% life-time abstainers)	51.8	61.3	11	18
Physical Activity (insufficient in last 7 days)	7.8	13.2	-	-
Fruit and Vegetable Intake (insufficient intake)	39.6	38.2	-	-
Overweight prevalence (women)	-	17.2	-	20.6
Obesity prevalence (women)	-	8.1	-	8.2

Source: de-Graft Aikins, Boynton and Atanga (2010)

Rationale for selecting the newspapers

Ghana was reported to have an estimated 106 newspapers in the early 2000s (Kafewo, 2006) and Cameroon was reported to have an estimated 500 newspapers during the same period (Alobwede, 2006). In both countries, the majority of newspapers are privately owned and local, there is a high turnover of titles, the dominant theme is politics and few focuses on health issues. In September 2012, a physical count of newspapers on popular newsstands in Accra, Ghana's capital, and an internet search of operating newspapers yielded 58 titles, a little over half the estimated number ten years ago.[3] Only 4 of the identified newspapers had aregular focus on health. For the Ghanaian analysis the *Mirror*, a weekly weekend newspaper, was chosen for analysis. The *Mirror* is a nationally circulated paper and has the largest number of health-related articles and a dedicated

health page. For the Cameroonian analysis, The *Cameroon tribune* was chosen. The *Cameroon tribune* is a state owned daily newspaper that is circulated nationally and contains a broad range of information, including health. Because this study was exploratory, we wanted a balance between quantity and quality in order to fully examine the content and sources of NCD information over the study periods.

Data analysis

Analysis was informed by Social Representations Theory (SRT) (Moscovici, 1988; Wagner et al, 1999). SRT is a social psychological theory of knowledge production, which emphasises that the development of knowledge by social groups is shaped by group history, identities and goals. This mix of factors shapes knowledge that moves beyond consensus and is complex and contradictory. Within SRT, the mass media is a key mediator of social knowledge (Moscovici and Duveen, 2001; Joffe and Haarhoff, 2002; Wagner and Hayes, 2005). Two assumptions operate within this framework. First, the social knowledge constructed by the media is considered to be embedded in and shaped by broader society and culture (Moscovici and Duveen, 2001; Purkhardt, 2003). As a legitimate social institution therefore, the mass media draws information from diverse sources to produce narratives for target audiences. Secondly, the contents of the social knowledge are considered to have elements of consensus, conflict and absence (Gervais et al, 1999). Methodologically, studies of social representations examine the sources, contents and functions of social knowledge (Moscovici and Duveen, 2001). Applying this approach facilitates identification of the sources of 'stocks of knowledge' generated about a social object, the coherence and/or contradictions within and between these stocks of knowledge, and where the data allows, the functions of the 'stocks of knowledge'.

There is the expectation that complexity of social knowledge production in the public sphere is reflected in the complex production of knowledge by the mass media. The analysis focused on the sources and contents of the newspaper information. In terms of sources we were interested in whether the articles were published by health practitioners, journalists or culled from other media sources. In terms of content, we focused on two

aspects. First, a simple count of how many articles appeared during the selected periods on the seven target conditions, when they appeared (date) and which pages they were featured. Second, the key themes shaping the newspaper reports on the seven target conditions. An initial reading of the articles from both newspapers and a discussion of dominant themes by the authors led to the development of five categories for coding: medical information, prevention, treatment, management and advocacy (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Thematiccategories for codingnewspaper articles on NCDs

General Themes	Sub-themes
Medical Information	General information on the nature of conditions or epidemiological data
Prevention	Food and diet, exercise, alcohol consumption, tobacco smoking
Treatment	Medicines, diet, other health provider driven interventions
Management	Self-driven approaches including diet, medication, family support
Advocacy	Local, natio nal, international meetings/workshops on NCDs; marches, policy debates; NGO, patient group and civil society activities.

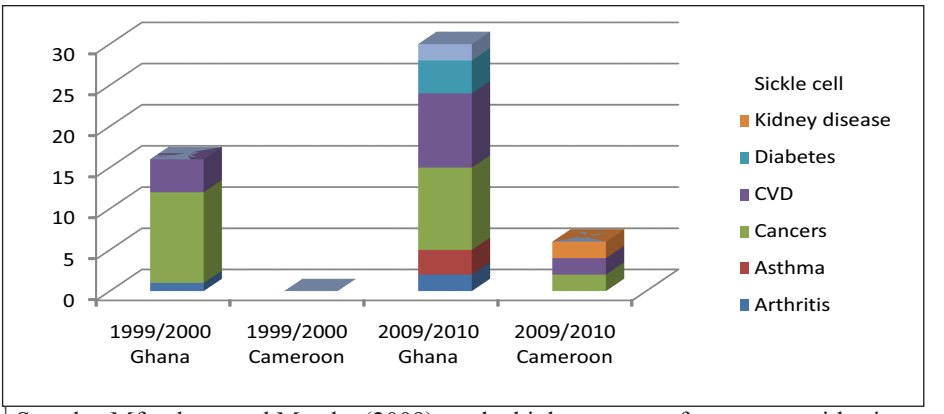
RESULTS

I. RESULTS FROM THE GHANA STUDY

Figure 4 shows the number of chronic disease articles published during the two time periods: June 1999 – June 2000 and June 2009 – June 2010.

Figure 4. Distribution of articles on NCDs in Ghana and Cameroon, 1999/2000 and 2009/2010

2009/2010



[1] See also Mfumbasa and Mataba (2009) on the high turnover of newspaper titles in Tanzania.

The number of chronic disease articles increased almost two-fold between period 1 and period 2. Fifteen (15) articles were published in the June 1999-June 2000 period and 29 articles over the June 2009 - June 2010 period. In Period 1, only 2 conditions (cancers, stroke) from the target list featured. In Period 2, six (6) out of the seven (7) target conditions appeared in the newspaper. Diabetes, hypertension and asthma which did not feature in articles between 1999 and 2000, received greater attention ten years later. Secondly, cancers dominated newspaper reporting on chronic diseases (11 out of 14 in the first period; 10 out of 30 in the second period).

Figure 5a. Thematic areas of Ghanaian *Mirror* articles, 2009/2010

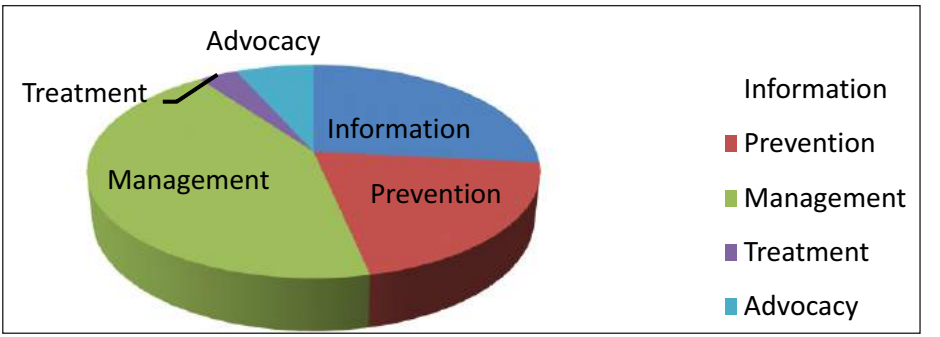
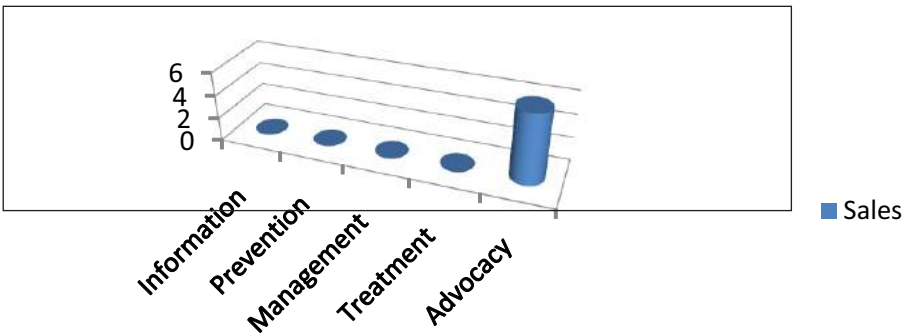


Figure 5b. Thematic area(s) in the *Cameroon tribune*, 2009/2010



In Period 1 (June 1999 – June 2000) 8 out of the 14 published articles had a traceable source to a health professional (N=5) or a named journalist (N=3) (Figure 6a). Both kinds of writers contributed regularly to health issues during the 2009 and 2010 publication years. The remaining 6 articles had no traceable sources.

Figure 6a. Sources and contents of chronic disease articles published between June 1999 and June 2000

Condition	Pub date	Source	Title of Article	Content (Category)
Arthritis	January 8 th 2000	HP: Medical doctor (GP/health researcher)	'The agony of arthritis'	Medical information
Cancer	August 28th1999	No byline	-Pawpaw tree offers new hope for cancer cure.	Treatment
	October 2nd1999	HP: Medical doctor (Dr. Felix KwekuAnyah)	Breast cancer - what are the causes, symptoms and treatment.	Prevention; Treatment
	October 9th 1999	HP: Medical doctor (Dr.FelixKwekuAnyah)	Breast cancer- what are the causes, symptoms and treatment	Prevention; Treatment
	October 16th 1999	HP: Medical doctor (Dr. Felix KwekuAnyah)	Breast cancer- what are the causes, symptoms and treatment	Prevention; Treatment
	October 23rd 1999	HP: Medical doctor (Dr. Felix KwekuAnyah)	Breast cancer- what are the causes, symptoms and treatment	Prevention; Treatment
	November13th1999	No byline	Prevent cancer by urinating every hour	Prevention
	November 20th1999	No byline	You can fight cancer , stroke and heart disease.*	Prevention

	February 15th	Journalist: named	'Miss Ghana's breast cancer project on course'	Advocacy
	February 19th	Journalist: named	"Cancer of the Cervix: Number two killer of women"	Medical information
	February 19th	Journalist: No byline	Seven steps that can cut risk of cancer of by 70%	Prevention
	March 11th	No byline	"Medical breakthrough for cancer treatment	Treatment (medicines)
Heart	August	No byline	How to tell if you are having a heart attack	Prevention
	December 4th1999	No byline	Taking vitamin c reduces heart attack	Prevention

In Period 2 (June 2009 – June 2010), only one-third of the published articles (11 out of the 30) had a traceable source (Figure 6b). Five (5) articles were written by 2 doctors, one of whom had a long running health column. Four (4) articles were written by named journalists who wrote on health matters during the 2009 and 2010 publication years. Two (2) articles were written by a dietician who wrote on diet and nutrition matters during the 2009 and 2010 publication years. The remaining two-thirds (19) of the articles were produced by unnamed journalists and did not have acknowledged sources. A Google search using sections of the published text showed that eight (8) of these 19 articles were taken in entirety from foreign websites: one article was taken from www.Brighthub.com; 7 articles from www.Ayushveda.com. We could not identify the sources of the remaining 11 articles.

As noted earlier fewer conditions featured during the first period compared to the second period. During 1999-2000 articles were written on arthritis, cancers and cardiovascular diseases (heart attack). During 2009-2010 articles were written on arthritis, asthma, cancers (childhood, cervical, lung, general), cardiovascular disease, diabetes and sickle cell

disease. Across both periods, articles on cancers dominated newspaper reports on NCDs.

Figure 6b. Sources and contents of chronic disease articles published between June 2009 and June 2010

Condition	Publication date	Source	Title of article	Content
Arthritis	May 22nd	No byline	"Juices for arthritis pain"	Management (diet)
	June 26th	No byline	"Natural remedies for arthritis"	Management (diet)
Asthma	September,19th 2009	No byline	Asthma and pregnancy	Medical information
	November 14th 2009	No byline	Healthy eating and asthma	Management (diet)
	May 29th	No byline	"Asthma and diet"	Management (diet)
Cancer	September,5 th 2009	No byline	"Cancer fighting vegetables"	Prevention
	September,5 th 2009	Dr.KathleenDohemy	"Cancer symptoms women ignore"	Prevention
	September 12 th 2009	No byline	"Cancer symptoms women ignore"	Prevention
	September 12 th 2009	Salome Donkor	**"**Seek early treatment for cancer"	Prevention; Treatment
	November, 7 th 2009	Michael Mordey	Cancer awareness and prevention in Ghana	Prevention
	February 20th	Journalist: named (usually writes on health)	"World childhood cancers day marked"	Advocacy
	March 13th	No byline	"How to reduce risk of cancer"	Prevention
	May 22nd	No byline	"Ghanaian pharmacist to roll out new cancer drug"	Treatment (medicines)
	June 26th	No byline	"Six foods to prevent lung cancer"	Prevention (diet)
	June 26th	Journalist: named	"Commit more resources to cervical cancer screening"	Advocacy
Diabetes	August 15th2009	No byline	"Diabetes and pregnancy"	Prevention

	August 29th 2009	No byline	"Diabetes - Effects on mothers and babies"	Medical information
	February 20th	HP: Dietician (regular contributor)	"Managing diabetes with diet" (p.19)	Management (diet)
	April 17th	no byline	"Diabetes and hair loss"	Medical information
Heart disease/ Heart attack	July25th2009	Dr.Clayton Clay	"When the heart stops pumping"	Medical information
	November 7th 2009	No byline	Eat healthy food and prevent heart disease	Prevention
Hypertension	July 11th 2009	No byline	Low blood pressure do's and don'ts	Management
	September 26th 2009	Dr.Clayton Clay	Road noise linked to high blood pressure	Prevention
	October 17th 2009	Dr.Clayton Clay	How low should your blood pressure be?	Prevention
	March 13th 2010	no byline	"Eat onions to treat blood pressure"	Management (diet)
Sickle cell disease	February 6th 2010	No byline	"Who is a sickle cell patient?"	Medical information
	March 13th	HP: Dietician (regular contributor)	"Feeding the sickle cell child"	Management (diet)
Stroke	August 29th 2009	No byline	"What are the risk factors of stroke?" (p. 30)	Prevention
	September, 5th 2009	Dr Clayton Clay	"Forty and dying from stroke!"	Medical Information
	May 22nd 2010	No byline	"Ways to prevent stroke"	Prevention

During the first period of analysis, articles focused on all but one of the five thematic categories: there were no articles on NCD management. During the second period, all thematic categories featured in the published articles (see Figure 5a). Across both periods, articles on prevention and treatment dominated the range of themes. During the second period, when articles on NCD management appeared, the majority (7 out of 8) focused on diet management.

There was no apparent structure or consistency to NCD reporting, for example in terms of general epidemiological trends or trends in local scientific discourse. First, cancers received greater attention compared to others in both analysis periods. Perhaps, as a result a broader range of cancer categories were featured in newspaper articles. This focus did not correspond to prevalence rates of target chronic conditions (see Figure 2). Second, the focal themes of the chronic disease articles did not appear to instruct the page on which it was published. That is to say that both health and lifestyle pages - where most health articles were published - featured mixed themes on chronic diseases.

Twenty-six (26%) of the articles were culled unabridged from foreign sources between June 2009 and June 2010, and without acknowledgement. Beyond the serious ethical issue of plagiarism, this mode of local health journalism presents problems for medical accuracy of reporting and relevance for the Ghanaian readership. For example articles that focused on diet related prevention and management for chronic diseases documented foreign foods and diets that were either not available in Ghana or available only for the urban wealthy (see Table 4 above). The compromised content of these plagiarised texts contrasted sharply with the attention paid to scientific and research evidence in the articles on cancers and cardiovascular disease published by the medical writers.

Figure 7. Contents of two articles on diet-related chronic disease prevention and management

Six foods to prevent lung cancer (June 26th)	**Natural remedies for arthritis (June 26th)**
Cruciform vegetables (cauliflower, broccoli, watercress)* Pomegranate juice* Turmeric Apples** White grapefruit* Onions	Cherry juice* Omega-3 fatty acids (salmon, sardines**, trout, tuna**) Cinnamon Pineapple Green tea* Ginger Blackstrap molasses* Cayenne pepper Turmeric Garlic
* Very expensive foods found in high -end urban grocery stores. For example one whole cauliflower cost between GHC 3 and GHC5 and 1litre carton of pomegranate juice and cherry juice cost GHC 3.5 in 2010) ** Foods available on the streets, but expensive (for example one apple cost an average of GHC1, a tin of sardines cost GHC1.20) Minimum daily wage (2010): GHC 3.11 (USD$ 2.07) [Exchange rate: USD$1 - GHC1.5]	

II. RESULTS FROM THE CAMEROON STUDY

No articles were published on the target NCDs in the *Cameroonian tribune* during 1999 and 2000. The search was extended to July-December 2000 and the whole of 2001: there were no articles published in the latter half of 2000, but four articles on cancers were published in 2001. During the second period (June 2009 – June 2010) 6 articles were published on cancers (2), cardiac conditions (2) and kidney disease (2). The articles on kidney disease attributed cause to diabetes and hypertension. The majority of the health articles during the 1990s and the early 2000s focused on HIV/AIDS and malaria. Figure 1 shows the distribution of publications across target condition.

All six articles were produced by named journalists and focused on advocacy issues relating to the three conditions (Figure 8 and Figure 5b). Five (5) out of the six articles focused on health systems strengthening with reference to the development of treatment facilities (2), donation of

medical equipment (2) and medicines (1). The remaining article focused on patient advocacy with reference to a march to support cancer patients and to raise the attention of the government on the high cost of treatment of cancer (December 1st 2009).

Figure 8. Sources and contents of chronic disease articles published in Cameroon tribune between January and June 2010

Condition	Publication date	Source	Title of article	Theme
Cancer(s)	December 1st 2009	Named journalist	Marching to support cancer patients	Advocacy
	December 3rd 2009	Named Journalist	Cancer: Synergie Africaines dans la lutte (African Synergies in the fight)	Advocacy
Cardiac problems	March 19th 2010	Named Journalist	Les enfants cardiaques préoccupent Chantal Biya (cardiacchildrenpre occupy Chantal Biya.	Advocacy
	March 19th 2010	Named Journalist	Chantal Biya partners against heart diseases	Advocacy
Kidney Problems	December 3rd 2009		23 patients already (Report on patients with kidney problems using a state of the art medical facility.	Advocacy
	December 3rd 2009		Bamenda celebrates haemodialysis centre	Advocacy

Follow-up interviews with media professionals

We interviewed media professionals in Cameroon to examine the reasons behind the paucity of newspaper reports on chronic diseases in Cameroon, as well as the bias towards advocacy issues. A similar approach has been used to explore how health issues are selected and produced by Australian journalists (Leask et al, 2010). Respondents observed that while the *Cameroonian tribune* - and other newspapers – the choice of health subjects was dependent on structural, institutional and professional culture factors. In terms of structural factors, there was a strong link between policy implementation and funding of a health issues and its appearance in the mass media. For example, the dominance of HIV/AIDS reporting was attributed to the presence of a Ministerial department in charge of HIV/AIDS, which influenced mass media reporting through its funded communication department. In terms of institutional factors, editors prioritised news that sold. Politics sold better than health. Within health, sensational events such as cholera epidemics sold better than chronic health issues. Therefore, NCDs were not considered to be themes that would sell to the public and minimal editorial and journalistic investments were made in this area. Finally, respondents observed that most journalists preferred reporting on events rather than on issues that required investigation and analysis, as event reporting produced extra income. The dominant focus on NCD advocacy issues was attributed to this culture of profit driven journalism. It is important to note that a similar journalistic culture exists in Ghana whereby journalists are paid expenses for covering official meetings and workshops on politics, development and health. A similar culture operates in other African countries such as Nigeria (Schiffrin, 2010), Uganda (Mwesige, 2004) and Tanzania (Mfumbusa and Mataba, 2009).

DISCUSSION

There was a stronger culture of newspaper reporting on NCDs in Ghana across the analysis periods, compared to Cameroon. While six target conditions appeared in Ghana's *Mirror* across the two analysis periods, only three target conditions were featured in *Cameroon tribune* and there were no NCD articles published during 1999 and 2000. Furthermore, while Ghanaian newspaper articles covered a broad range of themes (medical information, prevention, treatment, management and

advocacy), Cameroonian articles focused solely on advocacy issues. This reflects the findings of a previous study which suggested that despite a strong chronic disease policy environment in Cameroon, bottom up processes are weak, while in Ghana, bottom up processes are strong despite a weak chronic disease policy environment (de-Graft Aikins et al, 2010b)

In both countries, chronic disease articles constituted a small percentage of health articles. Interviews with Cameroonian media professionals showed that the publication of health articles was dependent on structural (policy and funding), institutional (selling newspapers) and professional culture (income driven journalism) factors. These factors have been reported in other African countries, including Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and Tanzania (Schiffrin, 2010; Mwesige, 2004; Mfumbusa and Mataba, 2009)

In both countries cancers featured strongly over the two analysis periods, although both countries have considerable lower cancer prevalence, morbidity and mortality compared to other chronic diseases such as cardiovascular disease and diabetes. In Ghana, cancer articles covered a broad range of themes in Ghana, while in Cameroon, articles on cancer focused solely on advocacy.

Despite a greater focus on NCD reporting in Ghana's *Mirror*, there were problems with the sources and content of featured articles. Just over a quarter of articles published in 2009 and 2010 in Ghana's Mirror were culled in unabridged form from unacknowledged foreign websites. These articles focused on issues that had mixed relevance for a Ghanaian readership. For example healthy diets were a strong sub-theme in the majority of Ghanaian articles on NCD prevention and management. However the foreign sources quoted for diet education did not speak to the average Ghanaian and their local diets. Some recommended foods were not available in the Ghanaian setting or only available in high-end urban grocery stores catering to wealthy urban classes. The lack of reliance on scientific sources (both local and foreign) led to absences in the reporting of key policy and research trends on chronic diseases in Ghana. There was no mention of the role of the NHIS and the RHN Programme on chronic

disease prevention and management. The RHN Programme has placed diet, health and NCDs on the public health agenda and has actively engaged the mass media, especially television, in promoting its core messages (Bosu, 2012; de-Graft Aikins, 2010; de-Graft Aikins et al, 2012). In contrast, articles produced by medical experts drew on scientific, research and/or practice evidence relevant to the national readership.

This study has limitations. In Cameroon, no NCD articles were published during the first period of analysis. This did not necessarily mean a lack of articles during the preceding and subsequent years; as noted earlier an extended search revealed four articles published on cancer in 2001. We also focused on one newspaper in each country, rather than a selection. However, the choices were made based on the frequency and regularity of health reporting in the limited number of nationally-based titles with a health focus. However, our exploratory study has revealed that newspapers play a role in chronic disease education in Ghana and Cameroon. The study has also revealed two key insights about the culture of knowledge production within this segment of the mass media in both countries.

Firstly, health is not a priority subject for Ghanaian and Cameroonian newspapers. Secondly, knowledge production and dissemination on chronic diseases are not based on the severity or urgency of public health problems, but on local health policy implementation, the funding of health media reporting and professional perceptions on stories that sell. In both countries, there were considerably more articles on the big three infectious diseases: malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. These conditions receive significant funding from Global Health Initiatives compared to chronic diseases (Beaglehole et al, 2011). Within the range of prevalent NCDs there was a dominant focus on cancers. Further research is needed to explore the bias towards cancer reporting. Based on the current political economy of public health research and policy in sub-Saharan Africa, we hypothesise that when global health initiatives and local policymakers make NCDs national priorities and ring-fence funding for advocacy, prevention and treatment, newspapers are likely to publish more articles on various aspects of NCDs. In September 2011, the United

Nations (UN) convened a High Level meeting on NCDs which led to a declaration by governments of low and middle income countries, including Ghana and Cameroon, to invest in NCD research and interventions and policies (WHO, 2011). This event provides an important opportunity to test this hypothesis. A pre-post (September 2011) analysis of newspapers and other media can be conducted to track trends in NCD reporting newspaper, radio and television reporting on NCDs in Ghana and Cameroon before and after the UN event. Interviews with different sectors of the mass media community can yield robust contextual data on the process of chronic disease knowledge production.

Thirdly, the Ghanaian data suggests that the majority of newspaper articles on NCDs are not informed by research, practice and policy evidence. Studies in Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda that have examined the sources of science and health reporting suggest that a lack of training and access to research evidence affects the quality and accuracy of newspaper content (Schiffrin, 2010; Mwesige, 2004). For those who rely on newspapers as a primary or legitimate secondary source of health information, the lack of accurate information has two consequences. First, it compromises the content of lay knowledge. Secondly, it affects the strategies individuals employ to prevent chronic diseases and their complications. Ghanaian newspapers have a culture of commissioning medical doctors and other health experts to write columns on their areas of expertise. Some health columns by medical experts have been collated as edited volumes for commercial sale (Dodoo, 2010; Wosornu, 2010). This culture provides an opportunity for editors and reporters to work with health experts and trained health journalists to strengthen the production and publication of evidence-based and locally relevant NCD articles for the Ghanaian reading public.

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THE ROLE OF *TROXOVI* IN ADJUDICATURE

KODZOVI AKPABLI-HONU[1]

ABSTRACT

Traditional adjudication which was presided over by traditional rulers and religious priests and backed by supernatural entities lost grounds to the constitutional courts established by the colonial authorities under the laws of the Gold Coast. The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 instituted by the colonial administration curtailed the judicial powers of the traditional authority to settling minor issues. Although the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance also banned trial by ordeal which was believed to be controlled by supernatural forces, the phenomenon has not only assumed different dimensions but is also on the ascendency in contemporary times. This work, utilizes qualitative methods to explore the search for justice and the process of adjudication in troxovi shrines, the types of cases that have "fallen within the jurisdiction" of the shrines through the prism of rational choice theory. It is argued that aggrieved persons patronize the troxovi shrines due to their perceived want of the truth in constitutional courts, the absence of bribery and corruption since any attempt at corruption by any shrine operative attract immediate supernatural sanction. It is apparent that justice in the troxovi shrines will continue as long as justice continues to elude the aggrieved in the constitutionally mandated courts.

INTRODUCTION

Abhorrence for crime in traditional society cannot be overemphasized. It is for this reason that in such traditional societies described by Durkheim as mechanical solidarities, punishments for deviations that offended the collective will of the people attracted severe punishments which even extended to the innocent. For Durkheim (1893) the high conformity in traditional society is derived from limited internal differentiation and the

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people were socially bound together by a pattern of behaviour resulting from individuals in society following a pattern of rules established by tradition, customs or habit. This pattern of behaviour ended up in individuals sharing a consensus of social norms and values which Durkheim termed the "conscience collective". Such societies were, characteristically, small and kinship based.

According to the observations of Fiawoo (1943, 1983: iv) the forefathers of Eweland "detested crime and showed relentless severity in exacting the penalty from the guilty". This agrees with Durkheim's descriptive contrast between mechanical and organic societies describing the nature of interrelations in the former societies as "bound to common conscience and punitive law" (cited in Lukes, 1973: 151).

In traditional societies, therefore, punitive law played a significant role in abating crime. Any infraction of the normative pattern capable of attracting a punitive sanction formed part of the "collective or common conscience" seen by Durkheim (1947:79) as "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forming a determinate system which has its own life". Commenting on why law in mechanical societies is repressive, Turner and Beeghley (1981: 338) explain that deviation from the dictates of the collective conscience is viewed as crime against all members of the society and the gods. Similarly, Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 212) indicates that crime in traditional society "offends some strong and definite moral sentiment and thus produces a condition of social dysphoria". There is often a reaction to express "a collective feeling of moral indignation and to restore the social euphoria" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952: 212).

Since deviation in traditional societies is crime against not only humanity but also the gods, the supernatural entities have their roles to play in its prevention and the administration of punishment to culprits. This is because the gods are believed to own the norms of society and, therefore, guard against their infractions. It is in this regard that punishments for deviations in traditional societies are exacted to include items for the pacification of the unseen forces. Traditional societies, therefore, continue to rely on the supernatural forces because they constitute a

formidable source of social control mechanism for the people.

One way of dispensation of justice in traditional society is trial by ordeal. It is a trial 'presided over by the supernatural forces. The purpose of this trial is to enable the supernatural expose anonymous deviants particularly criminals. Abotchie (1997: 75) gave four reasons for trial by ordeal. According to him, an ordeal is resorted to when: (a) a person openly suspected and accused of some offence denies responsibility; (b) a person identified by an oracle as being responsible for offence has been accordingly charged with the offence but denies responsibility; (c) a person is strongly suspected but cannot be openly accused; (d) an offence has been committed but no one accepts responsibility and no one could also be linked with it.

In the case of the last but not the least process listed above a number of people are usually involved in the trial. They all go through the process in the expectation that the guilty would be exposed. In this circumstance, a whole household could be involved in trial by ordeal. This can happen when a missing item could not be found and the identity of the thief is also not known. The head of the household may threaten that members will be subjected to trial by ordeal. This is a situation that can involve a whole household going through the process of trial by ordeal.

Trial by ordeal assumes several dimensions. Examples are drinking very hot liquid such as water, palm nut or coconut oil, dipping hand into boiling oil, being locked up in a room filled with beehives, made to boil meat using cold water and without fire, etc. It is believed that the innocent is always scathed-less in going through the process of the ordeal, but the guilty is exposed.

The utilization of the traditional justice system is derived from its effectiveness. Abotchie captured it this way:
Traditional thinking about the right and the wrong – the notion of morality and crime – is habitually centred around the supernatural. The supernatural is omniscient, and the notion of the omniscience induces the notion of escapelessness or inevitability of the detection of wrongdoing and ultimate sanctions, which constitutes a psychic barrier to escape (1997; 126).

Durkheim (1947; 151) is of the opinion that law is punitive in traditional society because of the religious content of the common conscience which conforms to the dictates of sacred powers. It is for this reason that the supernatural is relied upon in matters of sanction for deviance. Trial by ordeal is one of the traditional justice administrative mechanisms influenced by the supernatural.

The British administration, however, criminalized trial by ordeal in Ghana, then known as The Gold Coast. The Laws of The Gold Coast (1951; 480-481) clause 465 sections 1 & 2 under the title 31- "Trial by Ordeal" sub-title "Unlawful trial by Ordeal" which was earlier passed in 1934 was amended as follow:

I. The trial by ordeal of sasswood, esere-bean, or other poison, boiling oil, fire, immersion in water, or exposure to the attacks of crocodiles or other wild animals, or by any ordeal which is likely to result in the death of or bodily injury to any party to the proceeding is unlawful.

II. Any person who directs or controls or presides at any trial by ordeal which is unlawful shall be guilty of an offence and be liable, on conviction, when the trial such person directs, controls, or presides at, results in the death of any party to the proceedings, to the punishment of death, and in every other case to the imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years.

By the promulgation of the law criminalizing trial by ordeal, the attempt by traditional authorities at justice administration meant to settle what Busia (1951; 69) described as religious offences which had the potentials of estranging, or threatening to estrange, the ancestors or the gods from the community and so endangering its well-being was largely affected. This criminalization of trial by ordeal appeared to be a corollary to the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 which Amenumey (1964) observed as curtailing the judicial powers of traditional authority and thereby taking away from chiefs the power of life and death. In place of this traditional justice system which presided over by traditional rulers and gods was the modern judicial system believed to dispense justice in a

much more transparent manner. This modern judicial system is presided over by trained magistrates and judges.

Despite the fact that the modern criminal justice system as initiated through the promulgation of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 by the colonial administration curtailed the judicial powers of the traditional authority (Abotchie,1997; Amenumey,1964); it is the contention of this paper that the promulgation left the judicial powers of the supernatural entities untouched (see Akpabli-Honu, 2014). This paper examines the processes involved in the criminal justice system of the troxovi (child receiving deity). It looks at the type of cases that are sent to the shrine and how justice is administered.

CONTESTING PARALLELS: CONSTITUTIONAL AND SUPERNATURAL JUSTICE

The modern judicial system established by the 1992 fourth republican constitution consists of the Superior Courts of Judicature comprising the Supreme Court; the Court of Appeal; and the High Court and the Regional tribunals. There are also lower courts or tribunals as Parliament may by law establish. By this provision, there are Circuit and Magistrate Courts established in every district of the country. Constitutional courts are therefore brought to the door steps of the citizenry. Despite these efforts at making justice available to all and sundry, some aggrieved persons seek supernatural justice in shrines of deities. The patronage of traditional shrines in search of supernatural justice has been given a push in the advent of the recent judicial corruption scandal allegedly exposed by Ghana's ace journalist Anas Aremeyaw Anas and his Tiger Eye Production Company.

Reactions from a cross section of Ghanaians from the Volta Region in the wake of the judicial scandal showed preference for shrine justice to that of the constitutionally mandated courts. Such has been the case as reported by Agbewode (September, 2015) after interviewing people from Ho, Nkwanta and Hohoe for their views on the reported bribery scandal in *The Chronicle* newspaper under the heading *WE PREFER NOGOKPO TO COURT.*

In examining the reasons for the preference of the traditional to modern criminal justice system, Abotchie (1997: 133) documents such factors as: "the notion of the omniscience of the supernatural forces and the escapelessness of their sanctions; the severity of traditional sanctions; and the significance of the delayed effects or capriciousness of unsolicited supernatural sanctions". This finding of Abotchie presupposes that modern society acknowledges the traditional mechanism as more effective than the modern methods. Ordinarily, some Ghanaians patronize the services of the supernatural forces in settling personal scores. However, it is rare to have personalities of high social standing to openly embrace this form of supernatural adjudicature. For instance His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings suggested at Ghana's National Reconciliation Commission sitting that he should be sent to Nana Antoa Nyamaa shrine at Atoa in Kumasi to ascertain the truth of his claim of innocence regarding his alleged involvement in the murder of the three High Court judges and the Army major (Adofo, 2005). Also, the former Minister of Youth and Sports, MallamIssah challenged His Excellency the former President of Ghana, John Agyekum Kuffour by daring the latter to meet him in Antoa Nyamaa shrine over the former minister's appropriation of $46, 000.00 for which he was imprisoned (Peace FM, 2014). Similarly, Adofo (2013) reported a pronouncement on a radio station (Sources-Radio UK 96.3 FM) that Nana Antoa Nyamaa entrapped a Supreme Court judge that sat on Election 2012 petition. Earlier it was reported that a retired lawyer resident in the UK by name AdrebaAbrefa ritually summoned the Election 2012 Supreme Court judges to the deity that any of them who acted unfairly in deciding on the case should be struck by the deity. These few examples portray belief system in supernatural justice of Antoa Nyamaa.

Similarly, the people of the Volta Region of Ghana and beyond also patronize the justice system of a deity described as *troxovi* (child receiving deity). Since the era of colonialism and the inception of the laws of the Gold Coast which curbed the powers of traditional rulers by limiting them to deal with cases described as misdemeanours, the chiefs lost prerogative over murder, robbery and other criminal cases. The constitutional courts of law presided over by Magistrates and Judges were supposed to handle such criminal cases. The constitution clearly

prevented arbitration of criminal cases using trial by ordeal. However, while the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 curtailed the judicial powers of the traditional authority, the invincible judicial powers of the supernatural entities remained untouched (Akpabli-Honu, 2014).

The two systems - the modern constitutional court and the supernatural criminal justice systems - are patronized. This straddle between two opposing but highly rationalized systems finds expression within the sociological perspective known as the rational choice theory. The rational choice theory is one of the variants of exchange theories variously championed by Levi-Strauss (1947), Homans (1961) and Blau (1964). As aptly articulated by Mann (1983: 120) sociologists consider a wide range of non-economic relationships as exchange relationships in three ways: "extending the economic analysis to cover a wider range of activities; using a mixture of behavioural psychology and economics; and viewing exchanges as expressions of underlying social relationships". These transactions have been the imports of exchange theories of Blau, Homans and Levi-Strauss respectively.

However, this paper identifies with Blau's (1964) exchange theory which observes that people are seen as calculating the benefits of their actions. This gives an insight not only into human activities but forms the basis from which the rational choice theory perspective is carved. As argued by Agger (2006: 156) "social behaviour can be explained in terms of the rational calculations that individuals make about the options available to them." Deciding on one justice system in the midst of a plural legal system demands a rational calculation of means and ends and ultimately, a rational choice. This choice must help in the adoption of an effective justice system in the quest for reparation.

Nevertheless, Coser (2004; 572) commented on exchange theories of Homans' (1950) earlier work which analyzed social behaviour at sociological level and the later work (Homans, 1961) that contained psychological analysis of human behaviour as a kind of theoretical reworking. For Coser (2004), Homans' latter work "mounted a full-scale attack on sociological system theories and asserted that a comprehensive explanation of human behaviour would never become possible on the

sociological level, but had to proceed on the psychological plane". To this end, Homans world, according to Coser (2004; 572) now consisted of interacting individuals exchanging rewards and punishment…his incentives to action consisted not only of money or commodities, but of approval, love, affection, and other nonmaterialistic or symbolic tokens". Coser thinks Homans sees a person as a "rational calculator of pleasures and pain, forever intent on maximizing returns and minimizing losses", in that "men are more likely to perform an activity, the more valuable they perceive the reward of the activity to be". Coser concluded that to Homans "persons were motivated to adapt their behaviour because of the incentives and disincentives present in a given social environment" (p.572). By Coser's analysis of Homans' exchange theory, persons are motivated into making certain choices. The choice people make from alternatives depends on the satisfaction they expect to derive from it.

GHANA'S JUSTICE SYSTEM

Since the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 (Amenumey, 1964) and the Laws of the Gold Coast (1951) curtailed the judicial powers of traditional rulers and banned trial by ordeal believed to be grounded on supernatural powers respectively, the judiciary institution has been responsible for administration of justice in Ghana. Chapter eleven (11) clause 125 (5) of the 1992 fourth republican constitution indicates that "the judiciary shall have jurisdiction in all matters civil and criminal, including matters relating to the constitution, and such other jurisdiction as Parliament may, by law confer on it" (1992 Constitution, 91). By this constitutional provision courts were established to be responsible to the administration of justice in Ghana. These courts which constitute the judiciary consist of the Supreme Courts, the Courts of Appeal, the High Courts and Regional Tribunals are all categorized as the Superior Courts of Judicature. Besides these courts are the lower courts or tribunals which Parliament has been empowered to establish. Consequently the Circuit Courts, Magistrate Courts and Juvenile Courts have been established as the lower courts.

Besides these constitutional courts, Ghanaians have alternative sources of seeking redress. These they do by utilizing customary arbitration by chiefs and opinion leaders and appealing to supernatural entities. The

criminal justice system in Ghana, therefore, consists of constitutional and non-constitutional components. Given this background, it is clear that Ghana has legal plural system since her independence. The constitutional criminal justice system is imported into the country by colonialists and it operated alongside traditional law creating a legal plural system in Ghana.

Legal pluralism occurs when more than one sources of adjudicature exist within a social system. Sociologists are of the view that there existed a legal system in traditional society before colonialism which also brought in modern Western legal system. Griffiths (1996) was of the view that these systems developed with the view that certain issues like commercial transactions would be covered by colonial law while other issues concerning family and marriage were to be covered by traditional law. One mode of administration of justice which was not recognized by the colonial law and the current constitutional provision is the administration of justice by the supernatural forces. In these circumstances, therefore, tradional supernatural justice system having been proscribed is not part of the plural legal system.

Despite the fact that traditional supernatural justice system is not part of the plural legal system in Ghana, citizens patronize it as and when they choose to do so. For example, the Ghanaian is often heard appealing to the Supreme Being when offended or accused falsely. Expressions such as "God is my judge; God knows that I am innocent; God will punish you; and I swear to God that if I am responsible…He should expose me" are examples of the use of the Supreme Being who is at the apex of African traditional religion in seeking redress in the non-constitutional justice system. Others also resort to lower supernatural entities believed to have the ability and powers to examine people's conscience and punish the guilty. The administration of justice by deities has gained grounds in the contemporary Ghanaian society such that some political leaders, as already mentioned, were willing to subject themselves to that form of adjudicature. While the processes involved in the administration of justice of the constitutional court and the court of the traditional authority are known, that of the supernatural is shrouded in mystery. It is the mysterious aspect of the justice administration of the supernatural powers that is more attractive to the many who patronize it.

SUPERNATURAL JUSTICE SYSTEM OF THE DEITIES

There are several deities believed to possess dreaded supernatural powers to severely punish deviants. These deities range from personal charms and gods to ancestral stools as well as community deities. In Ghana, the god of thunder lodged at Nogokpo on the Accra – Aflao road, Krachi Dente in the northern part of the Volta Region and *Antoa Nyamaa* a deity located at Antoaa town 14.5 kilometres from Kumasi are some of the justice administering deities. Besides these deities are the equally dreaded *troxoviwo* (singular*: troxovi*) that operate in the southern part of the Volta Region, Togo and Benin. A similar deity referred to as *woryokwe* is located in Dangme East and West Districts of the Greater Accra Region. These deities are believed to swing into action in dealing with anonymous offenders summoned to their courts.

The god of thunder is believed to either strike the guilty to death or inflict paralysis on him/her. Whenever the deity strikes, family members of the victim hurry to Nogokpo to report the incident to the shrine. Certain rituals are performed to spiritually cleanse the body before the family is permitted to conduct the funerals rites. The belief is that anyone who touches the dead body before the cleansing rituals will be infected as well. Although the god of thunder is worshipped in several shrines dotted in almost every town in the southern part of the Volta Region, it is the shrine in Nogokpo which is most recognized in Ghana.

Antoa Nyamaa is a deity in the Ashanti Region believed to be very powerful in issues of criminal justice administration. The deity is believed to reside in a river at Antoa. Aggrieved persons seeking redress in this shrine carry with them items such as schnapps and egg. The aggrieved, upon arrival at Antoa, announces his intention to the chief priest of Antoa Nyamaa who in turn warns of the consequences of cursing anyone in Antoa Nyamaaa's shrine. The aggrieved then proceeds to the river bank where the cursing ritual takes place and invokes the spirit of the river on the alleged offender. However, if the accused is innocent, the curse descends on the curser. Penalties administered on the guilty by the spirit include protruding stomach, swollen legs, skin diseases, madness and eventually death.

Curses at the shrine are however neutralized through confession and the appropriate propitiation of the gods. The neutralizing rituals are performed by the Nsumankwaahene of Antoa. Nsumankwaahene is the head of all spiritual herbalists, priests and the priestesses of the Asante Kingdom and any other Akan traditional area. He is also responsible for ensuring the health of the chief of the area. At Antoa, he has the power and the privilege to reverse a curse imposed on anyone upon payment of monetary fine, drinks, sheep, white fowls and any other materials deemed appropriate for the cleansing rituals. The offender is also made to carry a pot on the head and parade the streets of Antoa town and then made to strip half naked leaving only the panty and be given spiritual ablution in the sacred river in which the spirit resides at Antoa.

The *troxovi* is, however, the subject matter of this paper. The term *troxovi* literally means 'the deity or god which receives a child'. The "child" is metaphorically used to mean a female virgin. This female virgin who becomes one of the concubines or wives of the deity is the reparation paid by a guilty person's family to the *troxovi* shrine after the delivery of the verdict following a silent and mythical process of adjudication believed to be presided over by the deity.

THE PROCESS OF ADJUDICATION IN THE TROXOVI SHRINE

The trial processes in the shrine follow conventional methods depending on the type of case brought to the shrine by the aggrieved. When a case of a missing item is sent to the shrine, the chief priest sends out his linguist to announce to the community that the culprit should return the stolen item within a stated period, usually seven days. If after the seven day ultimatum nobody owns up, supernatural intervention of the *troxovi* is triggered off in search of the anonymous culprit. When there is a known suspect, the one is mentioned to the shrine and a direct summons is served on him/her to appear before the deity on a determined day for arbitration. If the arbitration ends in a stalemate, the parties are then requested to present certain cooking items to be used in the preparation of a meal to be consumed by the parties. It is believed that the deity also takes part in the consumption of the meal. The belief is that it is only those with clean conscience that can dine with the deity. Therefore, those who do not tell the truth at the arbitration but have the courage to dine with the deity suffer

the consequences, one of which is the use of a female virgin as reparation.

Crimes such as murder, non-payment of debt, falsehood, unacceptable sexual intercourse with a *trokosi*/*fiasidi* (*trokosi* is the description of the virgin used for reparation in *troxovi* shrines in North, South and Central Tongu districts while she is referred to as *fiasidi* in shrines located in Ketu North and South, Keta and Akatsi districts all in the Volta Region) are some of the other issues dealt with in the *troxovi* shrine. *Trokosi* means "slave of a deity" (Nukunya, 2003: 243). This is because *tro* means deity and *kosi* means female slave. Any person used as reparation in the shrine is seen as a ransom and expected to serve in the shrine and is regarded as slave serving her master, the deity. She, however, ends up serving the chief priest who is the deity's proxy. In the same vein, *fiasidi* also has its meaning. To Akpabli-Honu (2014: 2), fiasidi is made up of three Ewe words *fia*, *si* and *di*. *Fia* means chief whose title is also Torgbi; *si* is the contracted form of *asi* which means wife; and *di* means to marry. Put together, *fiasidi* means a potential wife of a chief or Torgbi (the deity). These girls are not only objects of reparation but they also become the wives of the chief priest and for that matter the deity.

In recent times, the *troxovi* shrines attempted some high profile cases. Land disputes and an insurance case were reported to a shrine at Klikor in the Volta Region. While it is common knowledge that land cases are handled in the *troxovi* shrines, it is rare that a land case dealt with at the arbitration of a King of a traditional state can be re-opened in the shrine. It is equally rare that an insurance claim issue can also be sent to the shrine for redress. In an interview with the defendant in the land case the issue could not be settled in the shrine because he objected to it by a visit to Torgbi where he explained to him reasons why he could not patronize the settlement in the shrine. His reason is presented below:

THE LAND CASE

AmegaAfedo stated that the grandfather and the people of a village in the Ketu North District of the Volta Region disputed a piece of land situated a few kilometres away from Tadzewu also in the same district. To him the issue was settled in the arbitrational court of Awoamefia of Anlo Traditional Area Torgbi Sri I in the 1930s. According to him the

grandfather won the case and retained his usufructuary right over the land in question.

He continued that his grandparents died before he was born but was well informed about the land. Some members of the third generation including him have been cultivating the land. AmegaAfedo recounted that in April 2014, a summons was served on him by the linguist of one of the *troxovi* shrines from Klikor where some members, the fourth generation of the defeated plaintiff, instituted a case against him that he (Afedo) occupied their land illegally. He was, therefore, asked to report at the shrine for the commencement of the case.

Afedo said for the respect he had for the deity, he went to the shrine with two bottles of schnapps to inform Torgbi that he could not come to the shrine for the determination of the case. He said his stand was based on the argument that since the case was earlier on determined at the Awomefia's arbitrational court, an appeal by the discontented party should be the Regional House of Chiefs and not a deity's court. He was of the opinion that Torgbi was discerning and accepted his decision.

The interview with the informant showed that one can have a leeway even if dragged to the shrine. This means that there can be alternatives even when one is summoned to the shrine. An elder of the shrine said "they are only destroying the deity's name… the deity is very benevolent and has listening ears. It is when very heinous crimes are committed by anonymous persons that the deity responds to distress calls and settles issues…even then the deity examines the spirit of the alleged culprit before sentencing him/her". As to whether armed robbers are reported to the shrines, the elder said surprisingly such cases have always been sent to the police.

Another case investigated at Klikor was an insurance issue. A sub chief of Klikor traditional area was accused of claiming the insurance of the sister and niece who were run over and killed by a vehicle in 2007. He was accused by the children of the deceased and summoned to one of the three shrines of the area. The chief went to the chief priest of the shrine to listen to the charge preferred against him. He was told the complainants who

doubled as the nephews of the accused preferred a case against him for claiming the insurance compensation of their deceased mother and sister. According to the accused, his explanation that he never received any financial compensation form the insurance company was rejected by the elders of the shrine. He therefore agreed to meet the complainants on the determined date for the commencement of the trial.

THE INSURANCE CLAIM CASE—*Day 1 of the Trial in the shrine*

The parties to the case arrived in the shrine by 8.30 am. A panel of shrine elders was formed and after exchanging pleasantries, the case was opened with the chairman of the panel warning the parties that they were before the deity and that truthfulness should be the hallmark of their narrations and answers to questions that would be asked. When asked if they had witnesses to call, the complainants said they had no witness and that the deity was their witness since the supernatural would search their conscience to know that what they were saying was the truth. The accused chief mentioned a lawyer from Denu in the Volta Region as his witness.

The complainants were the first to state their case. They said they travelled back to Prestea in the Western Region after the funeral celebrations of their deceased mother and sister. They later heard that their uncle was pursuing the insurance claims of their deceased relations. When they arrived home, they went to their uncle and asked of the insurance money he had claimed but he told them he did not claim any money even though they knew he claimed the compensation. It was at this point that they decided to bring the issue to the deity. After their opening statement, the accused chief and the shrine elders interrogated them. The case was then adjourned to a week's time after the parties were asked to "lift" the stool with each paying GHC100.00 and a bottle of local gin (akpeteshie). There were no recordings of proceedings in the shrine.

The first day of the trial bore semblance to the processes involved during arbitrations in a chief's palace. What was insightful in this case is the mention of a legal counsel as a witness in a case being settled in a shrine and not in a constitutionally established court of law. During the second day of trial, the lawyer was present in the shrine. Having been briefed earlier about the customs of the shrines in terms of the admissible and

prohibitive conducts, the lawyer came in a cloth instead of appearing in his professional costume. The summary of the statement of the accused as captured in the case follows:

Day 2 of the Trial in the Shrine

The accused stated that when the sister and the niece died, the nephews who were in Prestea returned home for the funeral and went back immediately to continue with their *galamsey*(small scale gold mining) business. He said the family at home began complaining about the way nobody pursued the insurance compensation on behalf of the victims. Having received appeals from the family back home to pursue the compensation after almost five (5) years since the accident, he approached a lawyer who complained about the herculean task of pursuing the compensation after such a long period of unconcern.

Having been advised to go for a police report, the accused said he went to the Klikor Police where a copy of the report was traced and handed over to him. He tendered it in as evidence. He continued that he abandoned the pursuit when it was realized that the insurance company, State Insurance Corporation (SIC), complained about how impossible it would be to pursue the policy after five years from the day of the accident.

The accused's witness, the lawyer, corroborated the statement of the accused. The accused and the witness also tendered all documents they submitted to the insurance company and advised that the complainants could visit the police and take a copy of the report and send it to SIC to investigate if any money was paid to anyone as was alleged. The accused and his witness were interrogated after which the case was again adjourned to a week's time but not without a repeat payment of GHC100.00 and a bottle of the local gin meant to "lift" the seat.

Very thought provoking issues arose after the second day of trial. The investigator wondered if the shrine priest and his elders had any knowledge about insurance issues. Were these issues not meant for statutory courts if there was the need? How was the panel going to determine this issue? What role would the shrine play in such a technical issue? On the third day of trial, the panel rose to consult with the deity (the

wise one) after which a way forward was announced for what was meant to be the final determination of the case. The way forward as captured is as follows:

Day 3 of the Trial in the Shrine (The Announcement)

After consulting the wise one the spokesman of the panel announced the day of the final trial in two weeks' time and asked each party to present the following items on the final day:

i. A male goat
ii. A hen
iii. Palm oil
iv. Cooking ingredients (tomatoes, onion, salt and pepper)
v. Corn flour
vi. GHC 250.00, and
vii. Two (2) bottles of local gin.

These items, according to the spokesperson would be used to prepare a meal for the parties on the scheduled two weeks' time to eat. They were warned that anyone of them who had something to hide should help himself by revealing the truth so as to avoid taking part in the ritual meal which should not be taken by a guilty person. They were then asked to pay the usual GHC100.00 and a bottle of local gin for the "lifting" of the seat.

The accused chief then told the panel that he wondered why they could not understand such a simple issue. He told them to investigate this issue by seeking evidence from the police and the SIC offices at Aflao (in the Volta Region) but no one listened to his advice. He therefore wondered what they were up to. He informed them that he was not coming back to the shrine anymore and dared his nephews to send him to any other place such as the court or the police for such issue to be thoroughly investigated. The panel dismissed the gathering after asking them to reconvene in two weeks.

The accused never returned to the shrine and the complainants did not issue a fresh complaint against him anywhere. When asked what became of the case, and elder of the shrine said in such matters, the determination rested with the ritual meal which was not prepared because a party refused to take part in it. They, therefore, looked up to the complainants who also

failed to return to the shrine. There was nothing that they could do.
The question that one needs to ponder over is, are the shrine elders actions justified in handling such a technical case which is beyond their knowledge? Do they genuinely advise potential complainants who approach them with cases beyond the shrine? Are they motivated to accept any case because of monetary gains? The shrine elders believed that they were agents of the deity. They were emphatic that all that transpired was known to the deity already. The process was to enable them tell their stories and that the final arbiter was the deity. They warned that no one should question the process else it would amount to challenging the deity.

IMPLICATIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD

Troxovi is a deity whose existence and justice administration are not verifiable. The phenomenon is mystical. To the non-operatives of the shrine, the *troxovi* phenomenon is very awesome. The beliefs and practices associated with the deity are never challenged by non-believers in the areas where the practice exist. The justice administrative processes of *troxovi* cannot also be fathomed. At best it can only be imagined. Punishments for crimes reported in the *troxovi* shrine range from fines to death depending on the gravity of the offence as well as the role the deity plays in exposing the perpetrator. Offenders who own up in the trial process are given mitigated penalties. On the contrary, if the deity exposes the perpetrator, punishment is very deterrent.

Due to the mystical nature of the *troxovi* penal system, individuals including the shrine operatives do not understand the process of justice administration. Perhaps the chief priest alone may claim knowledge of it, though debatable, due to the fact that he, at certain times, has to resort to shrine oracles to understand the actions of the deity. The ambiguous nature of *troxovi* law, crime and punishment may be likened to the brutalities and abuses of the legal and penal systems that emerged in Europe up to the 18th century which prompted Beccaria (1975) to call for a revolutionary transformation of the laws and the criminal procedures of the time.

According to Beccaria (1975), the laws should be written clearly and simply with punishments specified and made known for everyone to

understand. From Beccaria's position, it can be deduced that the legal code is crafted in a way to be understood by only those in the profession. By comparison, the *Troxovi* laws and punishments are distinctively the preserve of the deity, making the issues of the *troxovi* justice system a phenomenon shrouded in mystery. Thus, the enduring nature of *troxovi* justice system stems from the fear of the supernatural in the practising areas.

In conclusion, although the *troxovi* system may be functional in the practising societies as a result of its deterrent punishments to "criminals", it remains draconian in nature. It has no appeal system and in certain instances non-criminal family members pay the penalty on behalf of the criminals themselves. *Troxovi* laws must be rationalized.

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Ghana Social Science Journal,Volume 12, Number 2, December 2015pp.144-148

BOOK REVIEWS

African Cultural Values: An Introduction. By Kwame Gyekye. Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996. Pp. 194. ISBN 0-09650470-0-8 (alkaline paper).

Gyekye's *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* is but a rare find in African literature and culture. And, beyond the broad spectrum of African literature and culture, this work is but one of the most important masterpieces which captures, (lock, stock, and barrel), African vaunted values. First published in 1996 with reprints in 1998, 2000, 2002, and the latest reprint in 2003, this book is a critical exposé of African cultural values. With a rich textual dispensary, and using chiefly Akan maxims to illustrate the points discussed, the work proscribes rather than prescribes values usually accentuated to make the African cultural argument forceful.

Drawing examples from cultures across Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa, the author makes clear the concept of African values in relation to Western values, and how such comparison could help galvanise African cultural values in significant ways. Indeed, Gyekye mines the mind of the reader to some of the ills embedded in African culture, without calling for either a condemnation or a commendation. Instead, he advocates their realignment so as to make them fit the bill of that ilk of development in contemporary times. For instance, using a good anecdote of the wit of Ananse, he shows very clearly abhorrence for ethical egoism, or what he calls, "selfishness" in such a dramatic, engaging and interesting way. That aside, he vividly demonstrates insight and rich understanding of Akan—and by extension—African maxims to explicate some of the very complex African cultural values effortlessly.

Employing a mix of simple, complex, compound, and sometimes compound-complex sentences, Gyekye states African cultural values more eloquently than has ever been stated. But there is yet another observation to be made: the title of this work is, in my view, a misnomer, arising, as it does, in the comprehensive nodes of African cultural values it

captures in such a compact fashion. This book transcends custom and tradition, political power and power relations, architecture and aesthetics and their dynamics and knowledge and wisdom and, of course, the entire African culture. Essentially, it seeks to debunk some of the ill-held and grave misconceptions of 'Africanness' in philosophy, ideology, religion and intellect. It also tries to deconstruct these misconceptions in order to tell the African story from a purely African sociological, philosophical, and intellectual prism. Quite clearly, the book, premised on African cultural values, underlines African philosophical (though not initially intended) and social thought and written in an academically stimulating way. Cast as such, and like Weber's 'iron cage', it 'is imagery enough' to anchor the reader with panache.

With 12 interwoven chapters, Gyekye examines 12 thematic areas: Religion and life, Humanity, the Community, Morality and virtue, The Family, Economic system, political system, beauty, knowledge and wisdom, individual rights, the ancestors, and tradition and modernity. Given these foci, Gyekye explores the nature of traditional African religion, the major cosmology (beliefs) of traditional African religion, immortality and survival as well as social and material relevance of religion (and, how these shape the African personality and originality). Further, he looks at communal values, vis-à-vis individualistic values and the nexus between them, arguing that extreme individualism should be minimized in order not to breed a fragmented and frustrated society, unworthy to live in. While recognizing the social and humanistic basis of African moral values as a fulcrum of human survival, he is quickly averse to the view of religion as a basis of African moral values. He sees this as a major danger, noting that view is gravely flawed, because traditional African religion is not a revealed, but a natural, religion which comes from the people's own experience and worldview. However, the nugget of this book unveils the rich reservoir of African cultural values and how they fit snugly into the rest of society, without compromising any aspects of these values that serve as the glue to sustaining its ecology.

Significantly, the first six themes of the book hinge on different, but interlinked facets of traditional African cultural values. On religious values, he first provides an operational definition of religion as "the

awareness of the existence of some ultimate, supreme being who is the origin and sustainer of this universe and the establishment of constant ties with this being" (p. 3). From that definition, he then argues that in terms of heritage, the African is "intensely religious" and "lives in a religious universe" (p. 3). Thus, he deflates the notion as though the African had no knowledge of the existence of God until the arrival of the European Christian missionaries in the late seventeenth century. Strong and convincing as this argument sounds, it lacks an important argument: the author fails to discuss what accounts for the conversion of the African to, particularly European Christian religion, given that the African had a deep sense of the belief in the existence of a supreme God which concept, he argues, was not imported into Africa.

Gyekye proceeds to touch on the centrality of humanity and brotherhood which undergird the communalistic values which the African upholds. However, he notes, as much as the communalistic values are held in high esteem, individualistic values are equally valued if the individual member were to be accorded respect and dignity within the community and the larger society. The strong nexus between the African idea of humanity and brotherhood on one hand, and communal and individualistic values on the other, could have been treated under one chapter rather than two separate chapters as is the case here.

The chapter on moral values is particularly enlightening as it throws the searchlight on the mores of the African from the social and humanistic stances. It explains how morality is germane and, without which there can be no human society, at least, within an African context. It, however, argues that it would be more correct to say that African moral values derive from the experiences of the people living together, or in trying to evolve a common and harmonious social life (p. 57).

Enveloped in African social moral values is the ethic of responsibility which suggests 'a care' for others, including their emotional, physiological and other needs in its entirety. The discussion of the African idea of the family is yet another hub of this book, as indeed, is the discussion of chiefship and political values. Although the author discusses economic values as a sequel to the family, I would have preferred it if the discussions

of chiefship and political values preceded economic values. This is because there is, to all intents and purposes, a more direct symbiotic relationship between family values and chiefship and political authority than, in many respects, [in] economic values. After all, chiefship is a spin-off (product) of the family which—within the African context—connotes other extended members as distinct from the Western sanguinary, nuclear system. And if the Transvaal maxim "Chieftainship is people" is a sound argument to make, then it presupposes that the chief, like the family, is a microcosm of the people. Gyekye also notes the importance of wealth to the African, citing maxims to support his claim. For instance, the Akan maxim, *when wealth comes and passes by, nothing comes after,* presumes wealth is the most important thing in life, the ultimate possession. Could this be the reason for the hunger and thirst, the scramble for wealth in recent history, for example, in Africa? The author, however, fails to establish the relationship between this maxim and its expression in the real world. This is perhaps so because of the differences in each epoch and what its social and economic characteristics and dynamics are. Be that as it may, the author makes a strong point when he underscores frugality rather than profligacy of money, meaning money is better saved than spent in the traditional African economic system.

Again, the book raises the critical question of aesthetic values in relation to the functional and purely aesthetic qualities of African art, including artistic symbolism and standards of aesthetic judgement. Meanwhile, it prescribes beauty as a comprehensive aesthetic idea. Indeed, African beauty deals with standards of value in appraising other aspects of human life and culture, such as humanity itself and morality. This, some scholars hold, contrasts with European art, described as purely aesthetic and African art as functional, symbolic and bereft of aesthetic element. But the book issues a caveat about any kind of distinction in that regard. It argues, for instance, that in African art production and appreciation, equal value is placed on functionality, symbolism and the purely aesthetic (p. 127).

Theme after theme, this book points to one major argument: that modernity is, in large part, in sync with tradition; therefore, the total jettisoning of the cultural heritage of a people, (in this instance),

traditional African cultural heritage is, to say the least, a tragedy, which accounts for its snail growth. In other words, the thesis of this book is to defuse the tension between traditional African values and modernity and the extent to which the former can be melded into the latter to attain the tenets of human rights and human dignity. Aside a few typographical lapses and, indeed the occasional unduly long sentences, this book is without, a butt of an eyelid, a useful resource for social scientists of all persuasions, researchers, students of African studies and African Social Thought.

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Religion and Social Change in West Africa: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion (2nd edition). By Max Assimeng. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2010. Pp. 291. ISBN 978-9988-626-938.

It is general knowledge that the expression of religion has indeed changed over the years in West Africa as is the case in most other parts of the world. In the African and for that matter the West African sub-region, social change readily brings to mind external religious factors and their influence on the traditional social structure. Organized under six main chapters, this sociological study examines religion and the circumstances under which this institution has and still is undergoing profound transformations. The book in the words of the author "seeks to systematically examine the nature of religion in West Africa and to portray and analyse the dimensions of religious expression in the sub-region, from a sociological perspective" (p. 1). To do this, he draws heavily on secondary data to advance his ideas and further contributing to the already existing knowledge in this sphere.

The author introduces religion as a social institution which is a subject of interest in both academic and non-academic circles. He points out that the sociologist particularly pays attention to religion as it is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure and as such in diverse ways, meaningfully affects the lives of its adherents. With specific reference to the Akan and Igbo societies of Ghana and Nigeria respectively, the picture drawn of religion is that which is almost inseparable with traditional society. Religious beliefs and practices are present in all other social institutions around which the person of a traditional society has his or her lifebuilt. Essentially, however, the fear of evil and the quest for security are identified as the main driving forces of devotion to religion. Irrespective of the varieties that may exist in what constitutes traditional religion among West Africans, Assimeng argues that a fundamental commonality is the belief in the Creator as well as the evil spirits.

He mentions traditional religion as the elementary form of the religious life of the West African. The factors which have accounted for socio-religious changes in West Africa were categorized into two namely, internal and external. It was established that the missionary activities of the Christian and Islamic faiths have impacted the religious scene the most.

Whilst recognizing the role of the influences from without these societies, the author also sheds light on the often ignored internal causes of change. He states for example that "in the course of inter-tribal warfare, geographical mobility, and societal evolution, new gods, fetishes and charms were incorporated into the structure of the existing arrangements" (p. 80). This statement embodies the argument made by the author that religion was such an intrinsic part of the traditional person that changes in his life almost automatically implied modifications in his religious life as well. As a result, religious changes have also meant changes in people's identity.

Judging from the book's title, the reader is tempted to expect cases drawn from a significant number of West African countries. On the contrary, Ghana and Nigeria happened to be the two countries which principally served as points of reference, and even with that, the Akan and Igbo were the main focus. The ethnically diverse nature of these two countries and that of the sub-region means that these two ethnic groups are not representative. Similarly, Assimeng acknowledges in the preface to this book that there were attempts to make it less voluminous. This attempt, however, makes the book one with much compressed information captured under the numerous sub-sections.

In spite of the book's shortcomings, there is clear evidence of the wealth of secondary data within which the study is embedded. This gives justification to the methodological approach that was used. As an introductory book to the sociology of religion, the author does well in making reference to classic and contemporary works on religion. It, therefore, passes as a required reading for the student of sociology of

religion and a general reading for anyone interested in religion in a West African society.

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