

Cognitive Practices among Pre-Independence Movements in Ghana

Isaac Darko¹ and Francis Danso Boateng²

¹Burman University

²Affiliation not available

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Abstract

This is a qualitative document analysis paper that examined the historical documentations of Ghana's political system. Specifically we examined the development of social movements in days nearing political independence in 1957.

Introduction

Days and months prior to Ghana's independence on 6th March 1958 from the British, witnessed the emergence of many social movements and social movement organizations. The actions of these groups are highly regarded among factors that contributed to the attainment of independence. Many of these movements used different repertoires and tactics which were based on different ideologies and knowledge frames. In the ensuing lines, we hope to examine the cognitive practices among the social movements that emerged in the pre-independent Ghana. These cognitive practices are then analysed with antiracist,

Cognitive practices (praxis) is the journey to discovering social movements as empirical phenomena that exist independently of theories or a journey to deeper meanings into the histories, practices, actions, inactions, politics and knowledge production among social movements (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). In other words, it is a journey to uncovering the difficult concept of thinking and its role in movements. Cognitive practice makes it possible to see distinctions between the different particular movements in history. The main hypothesis that guides the paper is to understand what it means to read a social movement that emerged prior to Ghana's independence in a cognitive sense or way?

In this desire, the first part of the paper examines the major themes and ideas in Eyerman and Jamison's concept of cognitive praxis that are relevant to the study of pre-independent movements in Ghana. The second section analyses four historical phases in pre-independent movements, applying concepts discussed by Eyerman and Jamison, as well as other scholars to the activities of these movements. In conclusion, we use a cognitive approach analysis to provide a non-fragmented and impartial approach to the study of pre-independent movements in Ghana by examining social movements as cognitive actors with intellectual activities and human consciousness.

Cognitive Approach - Eyerman and Jamison's Approach

The increase in civil rights movements, student movements and the various groups of movements in history necessitated the sociological study of social movements. This sociological approach adopted the "scientific tradition to divide and conquer, to break reality down into its component parts so as to be better able to control it" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p.1). According to Eyerman & Jamison, (1991) the use of scientific application to understand social movements has become ineffective, since "science has largely become a process of reduction and objectification, and truth is seen as coming from distancing the subjective observer from the objects of investigation" (p.1). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) further note that the rise of modernity, and the differentiation of society lead to a form of social dominations in which power has come to be based on

the authority of scientific expertise... Sociology has reinforced the divisions of modern society by imposing its own disciplinary division of labour onto social movements. Social movements are conceptualized as external objects to be understood in terms of pre-existing frameworks of interpretation. The sociology of social movement thus provides a kind of knowledge that can be useful for the preservation of the established political order rather than for its critical transformation. (p.3)

Eyerman and Jamison (1991) are the earliest known authors to have consolidated the cognitive approach as an alternative to the sociological study of social movements. This approach “offers a form of analysis that seeks to study social movements in their own terms... it means that we look at social movements through the complex lens of a social theory of knowledge that is both historically and politically informed” (p.2). To describe a movement in a cognitive sense is to see an articulation of particular “cognitive products or types of knowledge” (p.65). The use of a cognitive lens in relation to social movements is considered by the authors as “processes in formation... forms of activity by which individuals create new kinds of social identities... where action is neither predetermined nor completely self-willed; its meaning is derived from the context in which it is carried out and the understanding actors bring to it/or derive from it” (p.3). This means that social movements are producers of knowledge.

Eyerman and Jamison (1991) first used the term Cognitive Praxis in discussing concerns that transforms groups of individuals into social movements and that give them their particular meaning or consciousness. In other words, dimensions of cognitive praxis are the relations to knowledge that distinguish particular social movements, and the concepts, ideas and intellectual activities that give them their cognitive identity (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). Additionally, the use of the term cognitive praxis emphasizes the inventive function of consciousness and cognition in all individual and collective actions of humans (ibid). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) hence identified the different dimensions of cognitive practices of social movement as knowledge production. Cognitive approach also presents a political historical context of social movements. With its political context, Eyerman and Jamison (1991) wanted to “understand social movements in relation to their particular time and place... a contextual theory of social change” (p.3). The authors’ analysis therefore looks at social movements both in historical moments and between political cultures (ibid). The approach by Eyerman and Jamison (1991) for that reason “focuses upon the process of articulating a movement identity (cognitive praxis), on the actors taking part in this process (movement intellectuals), and on the contexts of articulation (political cultures and institutions)” (p.4). Two actors in social movements are identified by the authors; the leader and the led. Leaders are the individuals who organize, while the led, are the individual members of the movement. This categorization is problematic as there are always individuals who are neither part of the organisers nor general members. In this case, it raises the question on how such individual voices get represented. Secondly, such division raises concern on how voices of activist - the led, get captured by necessary bodies concerned – governments, academics and others. This split (leaders and the led), also has the potential of creating a master-subject relationship in a movement. Nonetheless, in as much as this division poses a challenge, it enables scholars to recognize and perhaps measure the knowledge and intellectual contribution of the different actors to the making of a social movement (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991).

By conceiving social movements as processes through which meaning is constructed by instruments and strategies, we are exposed to the possibility of recognizing a range of intellectuals’ practices and contributions of different actors to the making of social movements. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) therefore suggests that though activists in social movements do not participate at an equal level, they are all regarded as ‘movement intellectuals’ because “through their activism they contribute to the formation of the movement’s collective identity, to making the movement what it is” (p.94). Cognitive praxis are shown as the “unreflected assumptions of analysis rather than the objects of investigation” (Eyerman and Jamison, 199, p.45).

It is worth noting that while Eyerman and Jamison (1991) box the concept of social movement into Cognitive praxis, others such as McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) see Cognitive praxis as one of the factors in resource mobilization. According to Bostrom (2004), concepts such as cognitive praxis (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991), frame alignment (Snow et al 1986), collective identity (Larana et al. 1994) have originated

as a way to better understand resource mobilization approach (which focussed on resources, rationality and formal organization) to the study of social movements. Resource mobilization was a response to collective behaviour approach that emerged in the United States in the 1960's and focuses analysis on an organization not the individuals (McCarty & Zald, 1973) For this reason, it does not centre around the question of why individuals join social movements, the rationality or irrationality of their intentions or behaviour as participants, but rather on the effectiveness with movement, that is movement organizations use of resources in attempting to achieve their goals (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991, p. 24).

Bostrom (2004) identifies three dimensions of cognitive practice; knowledge, meaning and rules. Knowledge he notes “encompasses both general and specific ideas about relationship in reality... and can be both theoretical and practical, abstract and concrete, systemized and diffuse, and professional as well as popular” (p.76). Because of its vague nature, which can easily make it susceptible to manipulation by all parties, knowledge must be filled with meaning (ideals, values, interests, and emotions). This will ensure that parties exploits of the “truth” is limited to some degree (Bostrom, 2004). Meaning making is a cognitive process because it involves “experience, consciousness and reflection... needs conceptions and communication for its discovery, development, and clarification” (p.76). The third dimension: rules, is “about socially accepted and sanctioned ways to act” (p.77). Three kinds of rules are identified by Brunsson and Jacobsson (2000). The first is directives. This form of rule is usually issued by an official authority and is mandatory on all subjects. Norms, the second, are usually a form of rule that is internalized and not taken seriously because of its couched nature. Standards are the last form of rules. Standards are often explicit with identified source, but are presented as voluntary. Notwithstanding the seemingly intricacies in the practice, the purpose of this paper is to use a cognitive lens to study pre-independent social movements in Ghana.

Why Cognitive Approach

Understanding the activities of pre-independent movements in a cognitive sense provides a hint to the similitude of the different learning processes, and offers a key to understanding knowledge creation as a collective process (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). In order to apply cognitive approach to these movements, it is necessary to remember that social movements are formation in processes or “transitory phenomena” (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991, p.62). In this sense, we are interested in formal, informal, organized scientific knowledge and the broader aspects of political and social consciousness in the development of human knowledge during this period in Ghana's history (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). The hope is to learn how specific social movements contributed to the information and knowledge bowl leading to independence. Furthermore, we hope to examine new ideas, repertoires, and tactics that were produced by these social movements and how they were characterized. Finally, we hope to identify the common cognitive processes or mechanisms central to social movements during this period in Ghana's history (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). With this logic, a cognitive analysis of the historical, political and intellectual nature of pre-independent social movements in Ghana seems appropriate.

According to Eyerman and Jamison (1991), a historical engagement of social movements allows them to be read in retrospective and within a dialectical theory of history since “social movements are at once conditioned by the historical context in which they emerge, their particular time and place, and, in turn, affect that context through their cognitive and political praxis” (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991p.62). Reflexivity is another important component of Cognitive practice that is not explicitly discussed by Eyerman and Jamison (1991). Gidden (1990, p.38) explains, “reflexivity involves a continuous questioning and evaluation of social practices in light of new information” (see Bostrom, 2004). Through a reflexive process, pre-independent movements embarked on constant change of tactics, repertoires and identities based on the fluidity or change in colonial governments' policies, and agendas as well as changes within social movements' structures, especially within the leadership. The increase in political and historical knowledge base of the local population also contributed to the reflective nature of movements. As more locals got formal education, they became conscious of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, which informed their activism at each stage of movement building. For example, the assessment of continuous violence that occurred across the country among the general Ghanaian population, especially, after the 28th February 1948 arrest and imprisonment of the leaders of the

CPP and TUC, forced the British to evaluate its political and social hold on the population. This informed the British decision to finally give Ghana independence. The Arrest of these leaders introduced nationwide violence and destruction of government (colonial) properties. Immediately the violence ceased, the colonial government organised an election from which a local government was established. The split of the CPP from the UGCC showed an instance of reflexivity among movements. Nkrumah's questioning of the slow pace nature of leaders of the UGCC towards independence informed the formation of the CPP in 1949.

As noted earlier, the conceptions on a social movement is shaped by the role a particular social movement plays in the political culture. Speaking of culture, Swindler (1986) notes that "culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values towards which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or "tool kit" of habits, skills, and styles from which people can construct "strategies of action" (p.273). Simply put, culture provides the cognitive machinery which people need to familiarize themselves in the world (Porta & Diani, 1999). Bostrom (2004) also notes how plurality of identities, especially of culture has shaped the cognitive practices of social movements. He argues that "movements interpret tensions in contemporary societies, demonstrate power inequalities, and suggest alternatives to existing conditions. Through its cognitive praxis a social movement opens up new conceptual spaces and in a way contributes to social change" (Bostrom, 2004, p.75; also see Eyerman and Jamason, 1991).

Cognitive Practices among Pre-Independent Movements: The Four Phases

In this part of the work, we hope to contextualize the cognitive practices among pre-independent movements in Ghana. It is important to note that cognitive practices of pre-independent movements developed over time; from the defeat of the Ashantis in the Yaa Asantewaah war of 1901, to the subsequent "annexing either by force or through what were described as treaties of friendship and protection in the early 1920's" (Buah, 1998, p.v). Over a hundred years of relations between indigenous Ghanaians and the Portuguese, Dutch and

British witnessed the emergence and development of human and resource knowledge, meaning, rules, and reflexive moments, that sought to mediate relations between these groups. The period boasts of a rich history of movements that created a form of social and cultural identity. We have divided the histories into four parts: the first part is the "period of the loss of independence of various ethnic groups and states"; the second period is the "first generation struggles" the third period is the "second generation struggles" and the last is the "third generation struggles" against British Colonial rule.

The first period - the loss of independence of various groups could be traced back to the first half of the fifteenth century with the arrival of the Portuguese explorers on the Coast of Guinea. We describe this period as the "movements of war and resistance" era. This era was characterized by uprising and physical opposition to European presence (Buah, 1998). Before this period, Africans along the (present) were composed of self independent nations and ethnic groups. Inhabitants were mainly "distinguished largely by language and, to a lesser degree, by their political, social and other cultural institutions" (Buah, 1998, p.3). These societies had complex and well organized social and political institutions, evident in traditions such as marriage, childbirth and puberty rites, funerals and inheritance, religious practices, social classes and independent states organization (Wilks, I. (1975, Buah, 1998). Economically, pre-colonial societies were involved in four main activities: agriculture, hunting and fishing, a variety of manufacturing and trade (Buah, 1998). By1471, the Portuguese had managed to reach the Gold Coast (modern). The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch and later the English (). These explorers, mostly traders dealing in gold, spices, slaves, ivory and other commodities, began a process that could be described as the "gate" to losing one's, culture, language, and resources (basically, it is the loss of independence). To secure their control over resources and the people, Europeans, especially the British, first, started forming alliances with particular ethnic groups along the coast especially the Fantes. Locals in alliances were enrolled in formal education schools (the earliest dates back to 1529 by the Portuguese) which was considered superior to local artisan and apprenticeship training that the indigenous were familiar with. Secondly, locals along the coast were made middle men between merchants from the interior and the British merchants along the coast. This reduced the bargaining power of merchants especially from the interior. Christianity was also introduced among the locals and had a profound effect on their relations especially with the chiefs who were considered

the spiritual heads and representative of the divine.

These concerns transformed the individual ethnic groups into social movements that gave them their particular meaning or consciousness. It was therefore not a surprise that in no time, many uprisings resulted in wars between the British who wanted control over the whole colony (Gold Coast) with the support from some Fantes and other ethnic groups as allies, against the Asantes who had control over major parts of the interior and had the persistent desire to expand their empire. The Asantes especially, saw the actions of the British as acts of slavery and usurpation. These confrontations were the results of complex pattern of events and circumstances (Buah, 1998, Agyeman et al, 2008, Edgerton, 1995). The first war, fought between 1823 and 1831 saw the British and its allied forces suffering a big defeat at the hands of the Asantes. The second war, 1863-1864, ended an impasse. By 1874, when the third war ended in a peace-treaty, the British had claimed the rest of the Gold Coast as a Crown Colony, with as its capital from 1877. The fourth war was fought 1894-1896 (Lloyd, 1964, Edgerton, 1995). The defeat of the Asantes in the Yaa Asantewah war of 1901 probably ended the first phase of social movements uprising in the Gold Coast as Asante was annexed as a British Colony in 1902 (Boahen, 2000; Agyeman et al, 2008, Edgerton, 1995). In this war, Nana Yaa Asantewah, a Queen Mother at Adwesu, defied all odds and led an army of warriors against the British who wanted to take away the Golden Stool. Though defeated in the battle, substantial damage was done to the British army by the Asante warriors. This action came to serve as a source of inspiration for later nationalist like Kwame Nkrumah, J.B. Danquah, Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, Edward Akufo-Addo, Emmanuel Obetsebi-Lampitey and William Ofori who are regarded as the pioneers of freedom movements in Ghana. In other words, her action became an ‘artefact’ that was later used to support organizing activities.

In their resistance to British usurpation during this period, movements articulated economic and political knowledge evident in three separate movement actions. These different relations to the knowledge of British exploitation differentiates one movement from the other. Whiles some movements saw the usurpation as a political concern, others were much interested in the economic consequence. First, there was the movement against the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 by Ghanaians in the south. This tax levied on the people was rejected (refused to pay) because it was not approved in consultation with the people. Mass protest and violent resistance were mounted in the south, where locals voiced their concerns to the colonial office. These actions resulted in the “natural death” of the tax scheme (Buah, 1998). Secondly, there was the formation of the Fante Confederation as a movement against the exchange of territories and possession on the coast between the British and the Dutch in 1867. The confederation became the official mouth piece for locals along the coast, organizing protests, rallies and speaking against British inability to protect them from the Asantes, and the abuse of rights of the people against an earlier commitment against that in 1865 by the British. (Buah, 1998; McCarthy, 1983). As early as 1868, when the Dutch resorted to force to coerce the people of Komenda and Dixcove to submit to their authority, some other states in the south assembled at Mankessim to form a union movement against the foreigners’ oppression. They also outlined detail a program of political, social and economic developments for their land in case they break free from the Dutch (Buah, 1998). The third wave of movement witnessed the formation of the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society in 1897 to protest the control and alienation of lands by the British. This movement was formed from the carcass of the Fante confederation. The formation of the Fante Confederation and the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society (ARPS) marked a new phase in pre-independent movements as it led to the rise of a new generation of nationalist activities into the developing movement. This period also produced and shifted the strategic focus of movements’ knowledge and actions from war resistance towards a diplomatic orientation.

The second generation of struggles (1905-1945) against British Colonial rule was marked by the continuation of moves by other movements fighting for independence within . Second generation struggle movements were characterized by formal (Europeanised style) politics and “elites intellectualization” of movement actions. Why do I say this? With the defeat of the Asantes, the British had total control over the lands and people of the Gold

Coast. The British were now administering the Gold Coast as a colony of Britain; hence any group or movement was required to work within British laws. Locals were coerced to organize themselves

into groups with formal representation before they could be heard or speak. Grievances were now heard at courts of law and magistrates instead of the chiefs' palaces. Leaders of movements (educated intellectuals), who were formally educated in Britain such as John Mensah Sarbah and others, were regarded as the face of movements. They had become the acceptable face and voice of social change. Even though, movements' activists at the grassroots also contributed to the shaping of cognitive practices, these elites became the organizers, leaders, spokespersons and known face. This exemplifies Gramsci argument that all activists are intellectuals (because their activism contributes to cognitive practices of the movement); however, not all activists have the function of intellectuals in social movements (see Eyerman and Jamison, p.94). In this instance, the educated elites in the Gold Coast became the face of social movement intellectuals. This period also witnessed a rise in literacy and some appointments to the civil service. This period was also characterized by many internal rumbling and discord among the leadership of the various movements. Politically, between 1916 and 1950, the British introduced several constitutions (1916 Clifford Constitution, 1925 Guggisberg Constitution, and 1946 Allan Burns Constitution) (Awoonor, 1990, Buah, 1998, Kimble 1965) which were vehemently opposed by the locals. The Asante Kotoko Union Society, a movement that advocated for a new national educational policy with a focus on Agriculture and industrial training was formed in 1916. The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led by Casely-Hayford became the legitimate successor of (ARPS) by 1913 (Awoonor, 1990). A rivalry between Casely-Hayford and the ARPS over donation to the British war efforts against resulted in the creation of this movement. This left African intellectuals quarrelling among themselves as they saw Casely-Hayford's action as a betrayal. The NCBWA which was mostly constituted of British trained intellectuals demanded for immediate constitutional reforms, a House of Assembly, and an electoral system supplemented by a system of nomination in central and local governments in the Gold Coast. These movements challenged political system imposed by the British and contributed in raising political consciousness among the local population.

By 1947, events of great moment grinded political consciousness and changed the phase of social movements. These events, apparent in several political, social, economic events which are discussed in subsequent paragraphs, changed the assumptions many Ghanaians had on the superiority of the Colonial masters'. The awakening to none superior nature of the colonial master, ushered most Ghanaians social movements into the third phase - that is the "second generation struggles" against British Colonial rule. Notably among these events was the Second World War (1938-1945). Many young Ghanaians were recruited, to serve in Burma or the Middle East. During these wars, some African soldiers were shocked of screens of "white" soldiers dying like fellow black soldiers. The myth of the "god" nature of the white man was broken. Furthermore, the over fifty thousand soldiers returned home to meet a trifling discharge settlement (Awoonor, 1990). The discontent of these ex-servicemen provided a vital fuel for later actions of pre-independent movements. Secondly, most Ghanaians had grown "discontent about the tightening stranglehold of the British and other European merchants on the economic life of the people" (Awoonor, 1990, p.134). In their desire to monopolize and control African business pretensions, the British formed the Association of West African Merchants under the leadership of the United Africa Company. This group controlled and enjoyed preferential treatment from the colonial administration in matters of price manipulation and licence allocation. This action angered local merchants as the production systems became undermined, destroyed and rendered irrelevant their roles. Politically, the 1946 Burns Constitution did not meet the aspirations of Ghanaian especially the elites. The 1946 constitution neglected calls to have more educated elites on the executive and legislative council. The chiefs rather maintained a disproportionate volume of power. Most people became suspicions of the chieftaincy institutions because of the way they had become tools in British hands. To the ordinary people, more educated elites on governing councils meant a faster ride towards independence.

It is against this background that we need to examine the cognitive practices among pre-independent social movements and organizations in Ghana. The analysis of the historical, political, social, and relations of knowledge production, which developed during pre-independent struggles offer a better examination of the different social movements that developed during the period. The demise of the NCBWA and ARPS signified the resurrection of a united front of the educated in the fight for independence. The movement for "self-government" was born for the first time in Ghana. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) became the

first “political” movement in Gold Coast. Its primary aim was “to ensure that by legitimate and constitutional means the direction and control of government should pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs in the shortest possible time” (Awoonor, 1990, p.136). UGCC understood itself as a nationalist movement not a political party though it later transformed itself into a political party. The UGCC by this stand opened up new conceptual spaces for other movements to think about social change. The third generation of struggles lasted till 12th June 1949, when a new phase of movement building begun with the establishment of the Convention Peoples’ Party (CPP) out of the youth wing (Convention Youth Organization) of the UGCC. This movement was led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The creation of the CPP marked a new phase in pre-independent movements for a number of reasons. First, it brought in a new generation of the masses and uneducated into the struggles. Secondly, it shifted the strategic focus from independence in the “shortest possible time” to “independence now”. In other words, it shifted focus from a more diplomatic, defensive direction to a more offensive and direct orientation. The calling out for a “positive action” in the form of a general strike in December 1949 and January 1950 by the Trade Union Congress further changed the phase of pre-independent movements in . This raised consciousness especially among the colonial masters on the power of the local leaders and movements. The subsequent arrest and imprisonment of the TUC and the CPP leaders threw the whole country in a state of confusion and uprising that ultimately forced Britain to accept Ghana independence on the 6th of March 1957.

Cognitive Practises

The cognitive (praxis) practices of pre-independent movements were formed in relation to these four phases. Each phase had at least two practices, either working together or happening at separate periods in time. The first phase was characterized by violent uprising, legality and physical resistance. The major wars fought between the British and the Asantes, the fight against the poll tax ordinance, and many power contextual factors for example ethnic splits (Akyems in support of the Dutch occupation against the Asantes) that emerged during the period led to the affirmation of the violent uprising strategies adopted by these movements. The Asantes for examples fought at least four separate wars with the British. In some cases, treaties and agreements that carried legal (as agreed to by both parties) backing were signed. The introduction of constitutions and the subsequent powers of the judiciary also highlight the legalistic perspective during the time. The movement intellectual such King Aggrey , J.F Amissah (1865), J. Hutton Brew and F.C Grant employed legal instruments such as petitioning to also shows the legal aspects of movements during the second part of the 18th century (Buah 1998).

Cognitive dimension of movements became explicit even from the very beginning of the movement formation (i.e. that is the first phase). In their actions and struggles, movements were reaffirming as well as creating Ghanaian ideas of freedom and justice, claiming rights to rule in their own land and over their own people. At the same time, they were embodying archetypal indigenous and nationalist beliefs of respect, reconciliation, origin, common destiny, and spirituality (Kimble, 1963). The technical dimension of pre-independent movement’s cognitive practices consisted of the “specific objects of opposition and, even more importantly, the tactics, the techniques of protest, by which those objects are opposed” (Eyerma and Jamison, 1991, p. 123). Several objects of opposition became evident during pre-independent struggles. Before the final defeat of the Asantes, movements’ actions were tailored towards the fight against exploitation, control of local natural resources and the land by the British. The Asantes, advancing their control over the lands through the conquering of other smaller groups came into a fist opposition with the British who also sought control over all the lands and people of Ghana. Knowledge on the exploitation and imperialism created a kind of social and political awareness or identity among the local population, with specific meaning into their daily norms and values. This also explained the vicious and aggressive tactics and repertoires used during this period. The defeat of the Asantes at the Yaa Asantewah war of 1902, and the subsequent introduction of constitutional rule, raised the political consciousness of the local people and changed the object of opposition. Now, freedom from British rule, self-governance, and anti-nationalism became the object of opposition. The change in object of opposition therefore resulted in a change of repertoires and tactics. Less violence and diplomacy became instrumental in movements activities during this period. Central to the cognitive practice of pre-independent movements were the techniques of positive action (sit-down strikes), wars, direct action,

spirituality (belief and action embedded in the essence of a supreme power and the need for community and interconnectedness), diplomacy and forceful resistance. Unlike the civil rights movement in America that upheld a nonviolent technique as part of its cognitive practice, pre-independent movements in Ghana adopted any and all techniques required, based on prevailing historical and political circumstance. Some of these practices were systematically and professionally taught by movement intellectuals. War tactics and skills were specifically taught “the intellectuals” or professional trained in war fare strategies. Nkrumah, J.B Danquah and the rest of the nationalists who led pre-independent movements had acquired knowledge and experience from their schooling in Europe, hence could organize protest, demonstrations and used in some cases legal tactics/repertoires to fight for their rights.

Multivariate actions were used as tactics by pre-independent movements in their movement-building phase. Movements that emerged during the initial resistance periods of British imperialism and exploitation were mostly violent in nature. Politically, as well as military wise, the advances and interest shown the by the British to control the Gold Coast (now Ghana), became a formidable opposition to Asantes quest for expansion. With its military strength and achievements, the Asantes saw a direct, violent confrontation as the best action; hence, the vicious resistance that climaxed phase one of movement building. However, with the defeat of the Asantes, the subsequent annexation of the Asantes Kingdom to the British colony, and the seemingly sophisticated nature of British leadership style (as compared to the less bureaucratic chieftaincy structure), less violent approach was adopted by movement after 1916. The shooting of the ex-service men on February 28th 1948 (phase three), and subsequent riots and disturbances after TUC and CPP leader were imprisoned (phase 4) produced a less violence but a general strike actions by the populations and workers respectively. Historically, democratic governance, had gain much prominence the world over as result of the defeat of communism with the demise of the Soviet Union in the Second World War.

One other interesting event was the group integration that took place during the period. Shared political and historical interests’ transformed these groups of individuals into social movements with a different meaning or consciousness. For example activists from smaller movements such as the Asante Youth Society (AYS) joined the CPP’s positive action, strikes, boycotts and aggressive demands for independence, though some of these resulted in jail terms, and even deaths. These smaller groups joined the CPP because the knowledge produced from the CPP movement opens up new conceptual spaces from which they could easily identify themselves. The plurality of identities forming the CPP, especially of culture shaped the leadership style, governance, resource mobilization, repertoires and tactics. Like the civil movement in America, the immediate need for self-governance was based on a kind of personal and national politics where putting your body on the line was a taken-for-granted symbol of commitment. These activists risked danger, injury, and even death in putting their beliefs into practice.

The cognitive practice of the pre-independent movement in Ghana also had organisational, emotional and social dimensions, a structure or form that became characteristics of the period. This structure was repeatedly revealed in the different forms of resistance: strikes, boycotts, freedom walks, religious acclamation, ethnocentrism, political rhetoric, mass protests and larger political efforts to spread the message and to involve whole communities, especially the uneducated in the struggles for independence. What pre-independent movements represented, on this organizational dimension, was the innovation of organized mass actions and variance protests, an innovation that would characterized post independent student, political, and social movements (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). Socially, the multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic nature of the Ghanaian landscape had a strong impact on pre-independent movements’ cognitive practice. Initial movements were ethnically based and sought for changes that directly affected particular individuals belonging to the group. This structure translated into later, post-independent movements, especially political movements. The structural shift in power, economy, cultural and political relationships among the various ethnic groups conditioned the social cognitive practice among movements. Independent struggle movements served as training grounds for raising national consciousness, political commitment, cultural awareness, communal unity. The Ghanaian culture carried movements’ momentum through the period. The culture apparatus “consist of a multiplicity of cultural and ideational elements which include beliefs, ceremonies, artistic forms and informal practices such as language, conversation, stories, daily ritual” (Swindler, 1986, p. 273). Like

the civil rights movements, pre-independent movements in involved much more than collective behaviour and resources mobilization. It embodied the very essence of living for some individual involved, and crystallized the history of Ghanaians, which first took a form at the micro organization (family, and ethnic groups) of movement organization, and then diffused into the macro level (inter-regional movements) and eventually into a national organization and national culture (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991).

Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to state that the fact that even though an implicit sense of “Ghanaian” (people that shared similar culture, language, music and religion) existed before colonialism, the changing conditions especially during the third and fourth waves of movements formation in Ghana made this sense of “Ghanaianness” explicit. Organizing at a time where democratic dispensation and the loss of political and economic goodwill characterized relationships between the colonial master and the colonized, especially in Africa, actions of pre-independent movements were affected by these developments. Pre-independent cognitive practices were conditioned by historical, cultural and political developments in the country and around the world especially the Asantes resistance to British rule and the Second World War. Histories of Asante and British relations raised cultural, social and political consciousness among the general population. It provided a reference point for resistance and anti-colonial consciousness, informed tactic and repertoires adopted by earlier social movements. The second, third and fourth phases of struggles represented the transition from old to new social movements. Not only did they lead to building a national consciousness but also served as training ground for young activists who later led independent struggles that finally gave Ghana its independence from the British. Pre-independent movements reflected the shift in focus from a material to cultural and communal focus as the driving force in cognitive practice among these movements. Movement intellectuals constituted a major part of the political and social consciousness in the development of human knowledge during this period in Ghana’s history. British local educated intellectuals like Kwame Nkrumah presented a different phase to activism as they navigated the use of diplomacy and limited violence in the process.

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