

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

**ISLAM IN THE VOLTA REGION
A CASE STUDY OF AVE AFIADENYIGBA**

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2010

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BY

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(Thesis submitted to the Department of Religion and Human Values, Faculty of Arts, University of Cape Coast in partial fulfilment of requirements for award of Master of Philosophy Degree in Religion and Human Values)

MAY 2010

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: Date.....

Name: Ibrahim Bah

Supervisors' Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature: Date.....

Name: Rev. Dr. Eric B. Anum

Co-Supervisor's Signature: Date:

Name: Mr. Mustapha Abdul-Hamid

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to find out the history and impact of Islam in the Volta Region of Ghana with special emphasis on Ave Afiadenyigba. The design used for this research was that of a case study. Unstructured interview and participant observation were used as the instruments for the study. In selecting the sample for the interview, this study made use of the purposive and simple random techniques. These sampling procedures helped the researcher access relevant information on the history and impact of Islam in the study area. The key findings from the research showed that although Islam has been present in the Region for about two hundred years now, its overall influence has remained marginal. The study further discovered that in spite of the sparse distribution of Muslims in the Region Ave Afiadenyigba has a large Muslim community consisting of both migrants and indigenes.

The study also discovered that there are several challenges facing the Muslim community in the study area paramount of which is the lack of holistic education as demanded by Islam and the inability by some Muslim traders to live according to the Islamic business ethics. Key among the recommendations made was for Muslim parents to change their attitude towards secular education and avail their wards of this form of education. This will enable them compete favourably for employment and other opportunities that may present themselves. The study concludes that Muslim scholars should take up their Islamic duty of propagating the faith through logical and peaceful means. This is because Islam is a religion which, when presented well and consistently will win the hearts of other people

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to first and foremost express my profound gratitude and appreciation to Rev. Dr. Eric Anum, senior lecturer and head of the Department of Religion and Human Values, University of Cape Coast, for his expertise, dedication and tolerance as my able principal supervisor.

My sincere thanks and gratitude also go to Mr. Mustapha Hamid, lecturer in the Department of Religion and Human Values, University of Cape Coast for his contribution and commitment to the successful completion of this work. As my co supervisor, his comments and guidance were critical in getting this work done.

I also wish to express my thanks and appreciation to Rev. Professor Ntreh, Dean of Students and senior lecturer in the Department of Religion and Human Values for his encouragement and support throughout this study. Further, I express my sincere thanks to Professor B. Der in the Department of History, University of Cape Coast for his guidance and reading materials he made available to me in the course of this study.

Let me also express my gratitude to Alhaji Ibrahim Hussein, senior lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies, Islamic University College, Ghana for his continued support and guidance throughout this study. To my senior colleagues in the Department of Religion and Human Values, especially Mr. Vincent, Shaibu, Kojo, Jibril and Manuel who took a keen interest in bringing this work to fruition; I say may God bless you all.

May God also bless all the above mentioned people and all those who in diverse ways contributed to the completion of this study.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Mr. Reza Radmard.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This chapter consists of the background to the study, statement of problem aims and objectives, significance of the study, literature review, methodology, limitation, delimitation and organization of the study.

Background to the Study

Qur'an 21: 107 describes Islam as a universal religion. It states that: 'We have sent you (Muhammad) as a mercy to all nations'. Accordingly, throughout his twenty three years prophetic mission, Prophet Muhammad's (S.A.W) foremost priority was to spread the message of Islam across the world. He spread the message not only to the hitherto heathen Arab tribes in and around the Arabian Peninsula but also to other peoples in various parts of the world. He did this by preaching to people in Makkah and Madinah and by sending missions to foreign rulers like 'Heraclius or Kaiser of Rome (Byzantium), Chosroes of Persia and the Negus of Abyssinia' among others (Subhani 2007, 543). Following his demise and in line with his mission of getting the message of Islam across the world, his successors (caliphs) and his followers faithfully continued with his mission:

In North Africa, Arab fighters on the orders of Caliph Umar mounted a successful expedition and introduced Islam to Egypt. Here, the new faith encountered a patriarchal and hierarchical society in which women were barred from inheritance while ‘young and beautiful maidens were sacrificed to the River Nile’ (Zidan1998, 28). Islam transformed this society into one that respects the sanctity of human life and guarantees women the right to inheritance.

In West Africa, Arab and Berber merchants from North Africa brought Islam to the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhay. In these states, Islam came into contact with ‘polytheist and non-literate cultures and established schools, libraries, and founded cities and universities’ (Callaway 1994, 10) while peacefully spreading its message of *tawhid* (belief in one God) to the people.

In modern Ghana, *Faqih* Muhammad al-Abyad, a Muslim cleric from Begho (present day Brong Ahafo) introduced Islam to Northern Ghana through the conversion of the founder of the Gonja State, Ndewura Njakpa. In so doing he brought Islam into contact with traditional and class-based cultures which divided people into ‘noble, commoner, serf and slave’ (Skinner 1966, 351). Islam reoriented these cultures and restored their God-given freedoms and dignity.

Now, since its introduction to modern Ghana, Islam has generally been associated with the North and Zongo Communities. For example, following its introduction to Southern Ghana, particularly to Kumasi, besides serving the needs of Ashanti royalty Islam was basically quarantined in quarters known as zongos.

Thus, a topic like *'Islam in the Volta Region: A Case Study of Ave Afiadenyigba'* may seem to the average Ghanaian a misnomer since the Volta Region is generally associated with either Christianity or Traditional Religion. In the course of this researcher's study however, Sheikh. Dr. Mark Sey talked about the presence of a vibrant Muslim community in Ave Afiadenyigba. This aroused the researcher's curiosity and interest hence his decision to undertake this research in order to unearth and document the history and development of Islam in an area many believe to be a bastion of Traditional Religion and Christianity.

Statement of the problem

In spite of the fact that one of the saints of Islam in Ghana, Sheikh Umar Krachi actually lived, taught and died in the Volta Region, there is this widely- held notion that, the Region has largely remained unaffected by Islam. In fact, according to Gaba (1997), Muslim converts in the South-east of the Region, particularly Anlo Afiadenyigba 'can be numbered on the fingertips' (p. 101).

This notwithstanding, a few settlements such as Ave Afiadenyigba have been an exception. Here, there is an appreciable number of Muslims consisting of both migrants and indigenes. The present work therefore seeks to find out why in the midst of the sparse distribution of Muslims in the Region, the study area has a very large and vibrant Muslim community.

Conceptual framework

This research was carried out within the framework of the phenomenology of religion. According to James (1995) phenomenology of religion concerns the 'experiential aspect of religion, describing religious

phenomena in terms consistent with the orientation of the worshippers' (p. 66). It is the task of phenomenology of religion, he argues, 'to prepare historical data for philosophical analysis through a collection, a grouping, an arrangement, and a classifying of the principal groups of religious conceptions' (p.67). This approach has been chosen because as mentioned above, it is descriptively oriented.

Phenomenologists do not seek evaluative judgments; rather, they seek accurate and appropriate descriptions and interpretations of religious phenomena. Such phenomena may include rituals, prayers, ceremonies and other religious exercises. Phenomenologists have as a goal the maintenance of a descriptive outlook in gathering, sifting, comparing, and analyzing the data of their studies.

Above all, in the phenomenological approach one attempts to describe as accurately as possible the phenomena under consideration, including not only the events that occur but also the motives behind the events. Accordingly, in this study, the researcher collected information from the study area and analysed it without any attempt at value judgement.

Methodology

In order to satisfactorily achieve the objectives of this research, the historical method was used. According to Landman (1988) the historical method, as the term implies, is a method based on describing the past. This type of method includes for instance investigations like

the recording, analysis and interpretation of events in the past with the purpose of discovering generalizations and deductions that can be

useful in understanding the past, the present and to a limited extent, can anticipate the future' (65).

This method proved very useful as the researcher set out to record and analyse the advent and spread of Islam in the study area. Phenomenology as a method of investigation was also used. According to (Cox 1996), phenomenological method is concerned with the examination of human experiences and 'involves researching a small group of people intensively over a long period of time' (p.51), was used to observe and record the statements and actions of the subjects without placing any value judgement on their beliefs and practices.

Research design

The design used for this research was that of a case study. Case study according to Yin (1984) is 'an in depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey' (53). It is the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. In a case study the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon and collects detailed information through a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. This method proved valuable in this study in that it created the necessary environment for a focused and thorough research of the population of interest.

Research instruments

Unstructured interview, participant observation and data analysis of both published and unpublished materials were used as the main research instruments for this study. Cohen (2006) defines unstructured interview as a research method involving 'extended and open-ended interaction between an

interviewer and interviewees' (p.45). Kumekpor (2002) refers to participant observation as a set of research strategies which aim to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given 'group of individuals such as a religious, occupational, or sub cultural group, or a particular community' (p. 186).

The rationale for choosing unstructured interview and participant observation as research instruments was that unstructured interview is according to Kumekpor (2002) 'simple and flexible' (p.188). It allows the researcher to not only add or delete questions on his interview guide as he deems appropriate but to also ask follow up questions. On the other hand, participant observation allows the investigator to observe and record happenings within the community. Be they 'rites, rituals' or other socio cultural 'ceremonies' which will help to shed more light on the socio-cultural beliefs and practices of the people (p. 188-9).

Population and sample

According to Newman (2000) population sampling is the process through which 'a group of representative individuals is selected from a population for the purpose of statistical analysis' (p.21). The 2000 population census puts the number of settlements in Ave Afiadenyigba at nine with a population of three thousand six hundred and nineteen (3,619) inhabitants. Out of this number a sample size of fifteen (15) subjects made up of men and women drawn from all the settlements was selected. The sample comprises Imams, Traditional Priests, Chiefs, Clan Elders, Students, Drivers and ordinary worshippers.

Sampling procedure

In selecting the sample size, the purposive and simple random sampling methods were used. According to Babbie (1992), a purposive sample is a sample selected in 'a deliberate and non-random fashion to achieve a certain goal' (p.41). It is a sample which permits the researcher to 'preferentially recruit subjects who have the best knowledge and experience in an area' (p.42). This sampling procedure was found to be particularly suitable for this study because it made room for the researcher to organize exclusive discussions with identifiable information holders such as Imams, Chiefs, Clan Elders and Traditional Priests in the study area with a view to accessing their knowledge of the subject under discussion.

On the other hand, Schutt (1996) describes simple random sampling as 'the type of sampling in which each possible sample of a given size has the same probability of selection' (p.51). It entails defining the population to be studied, determining the percentage of this population to be interviewed or studied, assigning each individual within the population a number and then using arbitrarily selected numbers from a table of numbers, giving each individual an equal chance to be selected for inclusion in the study. In this manner, a sufficiently random sample of the general population becomes representative of the larger whole.

This sampling technique unlike the purposive one which focused on Imams, Traditional Priests, Chiefs and Clan Elders, was used to access relevant information on the history and impact of Islam in the study area. Three members of each identifiable group were interviewed. The reason for the number three is, to enable the investigator validate whatever information the other two respondents had given.

Limitations

In the course of this study, the researcher was faced with a number of constraints. To begin with, many of those who could have given relevant information on the history of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba had either passed away or were too old to remember the facts surrounding the advent of Islam in the area. Furthermore, there was scarcity of relevant literature on the history of Islam in the study area.

To overcome these challenges, first, this researcher made use of information gathered from the widows, children and other experienced surviving relatives of deceased information holders. Second the researcher made use of oral traditions on the history of Islam in the area as given by Chiefs, Priests, Imams and other members of the general public.

Delimitation

It would have been ideal to conduct this study in the entire Volta Region but the region occupies a large landmass and could not all be covered in this research. For this reason this study was restricted to Ave Afiadenyigba even though where necessary references were made to other parts of the region.

Literature review

A study of this nature requires taking a close look at available literature on the history and expansion of Islam into West Africa. Further to this, a study of this nature requires understanding the origin, history and religion of the people of the Volta Region in general and of Ave Afiadenyigba in particular. Consequently in spite of the scarcity of relevant literature on the topic under

discussion, a number of relevant works on Islam in West Africa and modern Ghana were consulted and reviewed under the following sub-headings:

- Historical background of the Ewe of modern Ghana
- Traditional religion among the Ewe of modern Ghana.
- The advent of Islam in West Africa.
- The advent of Islam in modern Ghana.
- The impact of Islam on modern Ghana.

Historical background of the Ewe of modern Ghana

In order to fully appreciate the level of progress Islam has made in the study area one needs to examine the area's pre Islamic history and put it into perspective. Thus, in his contribution to the history of the Ewe of modern Ghana, Asamoah (1986) traces the origin of the Ewe to Ketu, a city state of the erstwhile powerful Oyo Empire situated in the south eastern part of the Republic of Benin. It was from here, he observes that the Ewe made their way to their present location in modern Ghana.

Adding his voice to the debate, Kumassah (2005) presents a slightly different view on the supposed point of departure of the Ewe. He considers Adzatome, an ancient suburb of present day Iraq, to be the ancestral homeland of the Ewe. He says the initial Ewe migration from Adzatome started just after the Great Floods when a tower they built to serve as a refuge in any future floods convinced God of their great 'ingenuity' and led Him to disperse them across the earth. This then ignited their exodus to Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia before finally making their way to modern Ghana.

In his contribution, Amenumey (1986) also identifies Ketu as the ancestral homeland of the Ewe. He however describes views linking the Ewe to Iraq as a mere attempt to 'establish a biblical ancestry for the Ewe'. These differing views notwithstanding, the above cited authors have presented useful historical data on the history and religion of the Ewe. This data will serve as invaluable reference material as the researcher attempts to discuss the pre Islamic history of the Ewe of the study area.

Traditional religion among the Ewe of modern Ghana

On their traditional beliefs and practices, Asamoah (1986) presents the Ewe as followers of traditional religion worshipping various objects ranging from sky to earthly gods that are served at different times for different purposes. He describes *Mawu* as the most senior of the sky gods and the creator of the universe and mankind while he considers goddess *Miano*, regarded as the wife of *Mawu* as the head of the earthly gods with responsibility for the creation of plants, animals and other earthly gods. Gavua (2000) affirms Asamoah's observations on Ewe indigenous religion. He indicates that while the Ewe believe in an all encompassing omnipotent God they also believe in smaller gods that serve as agents of the High God and spirits through which the people reach and interact with the High God.

Gaba (1997) shares similar sentiments on the topic under discussion, he describes the Ewe of South-eastern Ghana, as a very religious people who consider 'the sacred as comprising a number of spirit entities both human (ancestors) and non- human (deities)' (p.100).

In addition to what the above mentioned authors have done, this study as a background to the introduction of Islam to the study area highlighted the

traditional beliefs and practices of the people of Ave Afiadenyigba with particular emphasis on their much revered ancestral deity known as Amesikpe. Further, the study considered the impact of Islam on these traditional beliefs and practices.

The advent of Islam in West Africa.

As a universal and a missionary religion, Islam has since its inception in Arabia in the seventh century, spread to many parts of the world. With respect to Africa south of the Sahara scholars have presented various views on its advent and influence on the sub-region. On the exact period of Islam's initial contact with the sub-region, Clarke (1982) and Hiskett (1984) place the date at the eighth century while Ayoub (2004), Abu Nasr (1987) and Lewis (1966) put theirs at the ninth century respectively. For his part, Boahen (1986) believes it all started in the tenth century when the first black ruler, king of Gao, embraced Islam. He supports his views with what he refers to as 'Arabic sources' (p.15) but does not specify which Arabic sources he is citing. This vagueness leaves the researcher with no option than to agree with Clarke and Hiskett on this subject. This is because their views are based on those of *al-Fazari*, and *al-Bakri* both of whom were renowned Arab astronomers and geographers believed to have visited the area around the eighth century and were therefore more likely to have witnessed the presence of Islam into the area.

With regard to who initiated Islam's maiden contact with West Africa, Hiskett (1984) and Trimingham (1962) are of the view that Islam was first brought to the area by Arab and Berber merchants from North Africa. These traders they explain were attracted to the area by the gold trade and settled in

the commercial centres dotted across the trans-Saharan trade routes to facilitate their commercial activities. These centres they contend proved very useful in the introduction of Islam in the sub-region as they did not only serve as platforms for the exchange of goods and services but also served as staging posts for the introduction of Islamic beliefs and practices into West Africa. They allowed the merchants to demonstrate their honesty, truthfulness, and purity as reflected in their care to perform ritual ablutions and say their five daily prayers to the locals and by doing so they attracted them to Islam.

Contributing his quota to the debate, Clarke (1982) presents a somewhat different view from those of Hiskett and Trimingham. He believes that whereas Muslim merchants played a very important role in the introduction of Islam to West Africa, it was North African Arab fighters engaged in slave raids around ancient Ghana who first brought Islam to the sub-region. To him, trade between the two peoples only became a reality after the above mentioned raids had convinced Arab governors and traders of the presence of large quantities of gold and slaves in the area.

While Clarke's view may be accurate, one wonders how Arab fighters bent on slave raids with no respect for local customs and sensibilities could have introduced Islam to the area. This notwithstanding, the above mentioned authors have provided valuable historical information for those interested in tracing the history and development of the Islamic tradition in West Africa. Indeed, this material proved to be very useful as background information to the researcher as he attempted to trace the history and development of Islam in the study area.

On the subject of who facilitated the spread of Islam in West Africa. Abu Nasr (1987) and Trimingham (1962) point to the *Al Moravids* and highlight their role in the expansion exercise. According to them, this nomadic Sanhaja group whom the Arabs called *al-mulathamun* (the muffled), played a crucial role in the dissemination of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. This is because in the above mentioned authors' estimation, the *Al Moravids* were the first to invite a Muslim scholar from North Africa to come and educate West Africans about the true doctrine of Islam. They were also according to Trimingham (1962), the first to wage a *jihad* (Muslim holy war) against ancient Ghana and 'compelled the Soninke of Ghana to adopt Islam and' thereafter 'spread it amongst the many people over whom they still ruled' (p. 29). Generally, Clarke (1982) agrees with the role of the *Al Moravids* in the spread of Islam in West Africa. He however disagrees with the widespread notion that they conquered ancient Ghana and converted millions into Islam. To him if this were true the many Arab historians who visited ancient Ghana at the time of the alleged conquest would have made reference to it.

For his part, Clarke (1982) focuses on the role of ancient West African leaders in the spread of Islam in their respective territories. In ancient Mali, he discusses the contributions of Mansa Musa. He credits him with the establishment of Islamic schools, libraries and universities in the city of Timbuktu. He praises his role in securing the services of Muslim scholars from Egypt for the purposes of educating his people in the Islamic sciences. These efforts he argues went a long way in facilitating the entrenchment and diffusion of Islam in West Africa.

In the same vein, Hiskett (1984) considers the role of Askiya Muhammad of ancient Songhay in the development of Islam in West Africa. He praises Askiya for embracing Islam and for 'listening with respect and attention to the views of Muhammed Abdul Karim al-Maghili and Jalal-al-Din al-Suyuti' (p.34) two of the most prominent Muslim intellectuals of his day, 'on how he ought to govern his empire in the way of Islam' (p.36). He credits the king with forging close ties with Muslim Egypt and Morocco and for allowing Muslim merchants and scholars to freely travel across Songhay and spread the Islamic message of *tawhid* among its inhabitants. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly to the present study, he talks about the king's attempt to export Islam to the Mossi kingdom of Northern Ghana. This effort, he argues, though not particularly successful represented the early beginnings of the Islamic tradition in the above mentioned kingdom.

In addition to this insightful exposition on the contributions of groups and personalities to the expansion of Islam in West Africa, the authors should have also taken note of the efforts of members of the general public. They should have told readers about some of the personal experiences of the farmers, hunters and housewives who moved from traditional religion to Islam. The authors should have educated readers about the contributions of the ordinary converts to the development of Islam into the region. This study assessed the contribution of ordinary converts to the development of Islam in the study area.

On the reasons which accounted for the conversion of West Africans into Islam, Boahen (1986) points to the religion's 'acceptance of polygamy, its tolerance of Traditional African Religions, its simplicity of doctrine and mode

of worship and the making and sale of charms and amulets' (p. 10) as the main reasons behind the conversions. Further to this, he cites the activities of Muslim 'traders, scholars, rulers and soldiers' as additional reasons of conversion (p. 11). On a similar note, Levtzion (1973) attributes the popularity of Islam in the sub-region to its mystical tendencies rather than the purity of its doctrine. According to him 'it was the magical aspects of Islam that aided Muslims to win over the chief in competition with local priests' (p.91).

For his part, Shillington (1989) acknowledges the role of Islam's accommodation of important customary practices such as polygamy in the conversion exercise. However, to him, it was Islam's lack of direct association with colonial rule which endeared the faith to many peace loving West Africans and led them to profess the *kalima* (the Islamic first article of faith).

Generally, one tends to agree with the above mentioned authors. In fact, results of preliminary investigations conducted by this researcher in to the study area suggest that many of these factors played a part in the introduction of Islam in the study area. Having said that, one finds some of the authors' views hard to believe: Firstly, Boahen's assertion that, the fear of being killed or injured by Muslim fighters informed the conversion of some West Africans into Islam. This position is hard to accept because according to (Clarke 1982) although Muslim scholars were involved in a couple of wars in the Senegambia and elsewhere in West Africa these were defensive rather than offensive wars. These battles occurred only in places where Muslim communities 'were discriminated against or obliged to undertake duties which were contrary to the tenets of Islam' (p. 82). Secondly, Islam is against coercion and compulsion in matters of religion. Qur'an 2: 256 states that:

Let there be no compulsion in religion. Verily, the right path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever disbelieves in *taghut* and believes in Allah, then he has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that will never break. And Allah is All-Hearer, All-Knower.

This verse clearly tells Muslims never to force people to convert to Islam because anyone who accepts Islam under pressure might not be sincere, and conversion in name only is useless and harmful to the sincere members of the Muslim community. To further emphasize this Islamic principle, during his life time, the Prophet instructed his followers to be tolerant to members of other religious persuasions. In the Constitution of Madinah he said ‘the Jews are one with the community of the believers, they will profess their religion and the Muslims theirs’ (Subhani 2007, 341). As a matter of fact he himself is believed to have held several discussions with Jews, Christians and polytheists in which he explained Islam’s position on several doctrinal issues to them. Thirdly, the authors neglected to highlight the reasons which inhibited the spread of Islam among certain ethnic groups in West Africa. For instance, they did not tell readers what accounted for the spirited anti Islamic stance of the Mossi of Northern Ghana. Finally, they did not throw light on the challenges Muslim missionaries encountered as they spread the message of *tawhid* across the sub-region. For instance no mention was made of the restrictions placed on Muslim missionary movement in Kumasi in 1850. This study looked at both the factors which facilitated the expansion of Islam to the study area and those that militated against it.

The advent of Islam in modern Ghana

While there is little controversy about the impact of Islam in West Africa, the history of the Islamic tradition in modern Ghana has generated a lot of discussion among scholars. Much of the debate has centred on the date and the method employed in its introduction.

Levtzion (1968) indicates that Islam was first brought to modern Ghana in the fifteenth century by *Faqih* Muhammad al-Abyad from Begho. He believes that it was Al-Abyad's use of a staff to successfully defend Gonja from its adversaries in the battlefields of Kolo, which laid the foundations of the Islamic tradition in modern Ghana. It was that rare display of supernatural power by the Muslim cleric he argues that persuaded the king and his advisers to renounce their religion and embrace Islam. Levtzion backs his argument with oral traditions from Gonja as well as Arabic manuscripts on the history of Islam in Gonja.

For his part, Hiskett (1984) traces the advent of Islam in modern Ghana to the sixteenth century and credits 'Mande-speaking cavalry raiders thought to have come from Mali' (p.120) with its introduction. These Muslim raiders, he explains, succeeded in bringing many areas in Northern Ghana under their control and in setting up their 'independent kingdom in Gonja' (p. 120).

Of these two views Levtzion's appears to be more plausible. This is because he supports his view with information gathered from the *Gonja Chronicle*, a reliable historical material on Islam in Gonja. Furthermore, many scholars do not necessarily agree with Hiskett's account on the introduction of Islam to Gonja. Clarke (1982) for instance is of the opinion that even if there

was a Muslim invasion in the area it would have been for reasons other than the spread of Islam. This is because in his view at the time of the supposed invasion 'there may have been Muslims in the Gonja area who had arrived there from Be'0, Hausaland and Borno' (p. 94). Whereas there might well have been Muslim invaders possibly in search of slaves, this view coupled with the fact that Islam is a missionary and not militant religion make Hiskett's account somewhat hard to believe.

With regard to the spread of Islam in modern Ghana, several Muslim clerics and traditional rulers have been identified and praised for their respective roles in the dissemination of Islam across the country. In this regard, Levtzion (1968) talks about the spread of Islam in the Volta Region and describes the contributions of Alhaj Umar of Salaga. He indicates that Alhaji Umar was among the first group of Muslim settlers in Kete-Krachi of the Volta Region following the 1892 Salaga Civil War. He praises the cleric's pioneering role in the establishment of the first mosque and Qur'anic school in Kete-Krachi. He believes that these facilities played a crucial role in building the Muslim community in the settlement and reaching out to other non-Muslims with the message of Islam. Levtzion also talks about the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana. Here he considers the roles of the Wangara and Hausa Muslims in Dagomba. He credits *yarna* Sulayman, the Wangara chief of Sabali with the introduction of Islam in Dagbon and the conversion into Islam of Na Zangina, its first Muslim chief. He further talks about the Hausa and acknowledges their role in the introduction of Islamic education and culture in Dagbon. According to him, it was the Hausa who replaced Na Zangina's official lion skin attire with a Muslim gown, a hat and a pair of

trousers. It was they; he continues who taught him how to say the five daily ritual prayers and encouraged him to institute the Islamic ritual of male circumcision in his kingdom. Elsewhere, Levtzion (1969) highlights the role of Hausa and Mossi economic migrants in the expansion of Islam to the forest zones of Southern Ghana. He praises the thousands of Muslim labourers who settled in remote Ashanti towns and villages to work in cocoa plantations and gold mines for the spread of Islam to the forest zones of Ashanti.

In his submission, Wilks (1966) discusses the role of prominent Muslim scholars and monarchs in the spread of Islam in Southern Ghana. He highlights the contributions of Muhammad *al-Gamba*, the first *imam* of Kumasi and his pioneering role in the development of Islam in Kumasi and its environs. He describes al-Gamba as the first *qadi* (Muslim judge) of Muslims in Kumasi and the founder and proprietor of its first Islamic school. He talks of *al-Gamba's* close relationship with different Ashanti monarchs and its positive effect on their relationship with Islam and Muslims. He also talks about the contributions of *Asantehene* Osei Bonsu (1799-1824) and his predecessor Osei Kwame (1777-1797). He refers to them as 'devout Muslims at heart' and attributes the latter's dethronement to what his chiefs described as his 'inclination to establish the Korannic law for the civil code of the empire' and 'his prohibition of many festivals at which it was usual to spill the blood of victims devoted to the customs' (p. 160). On the same note, Clarke (1982) quotes Osei Bonsu painting the Qur'an in the following glorious terms: 'the Qur'an' says the monarch, 'is strong and I like it because it is the work of the great God; it does good for me and therefore I love all the people that read

it (p. 177). He also notes the monarch's inclusion of Muslim advisers in his empire's 1807 negotiation with the British.

Similarly, Charles (1989) discusses the contribution of Chief Kramo Dauda of Kamgbunli to the introduction of Islam to his township. He praises the chief for not only embracing Islam but for inviting his subjects to do same. He hails the chief's efforts in bringing in renowned Muslim scholars from Tamale and Yendi to teach his people the true doctrine of Islam and for putting up Islamic schools for that purpose. This work was very relevant to this study because it dwells on the Islamization of a community which was hitherto firmly rooted in traditional religious beliefs and practices just like Ave Afiadenyigba before the introduction of Islam.

For his part, Hiskett (1984) restricts his analysis to the role of Muslim advisers, physicians, astrologers, and most important of all Muslim clerics whom he describes as 'the most successful manufacturers of Islamic charms for the dissemination of Islam among the citizens of Southern Ghana. He also praises the efforts of Fulani and Sufi scholars for establishing Qur'anic schools in Gonja, Dagbon and Kumasi and devoting their lives to the instruction of the Islamic sciences.

While the above mentioned scholars must be commended for their insightful views on the spread of Islam in modern Ghana, they did not throw light on the introduction of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area. In fact the entire Volta Region was only mentioned in passing. None of them delved into any detailed discussion on the introduction development and expansion of Islam into the Region. This study presented an overview on the history of

Islam in the Volta Region with particular emphasis on its introduction and development in Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area.

The impact of Islam on modern Ghana

In view of the fact that Islam is not just a religion but a complete way of life with its own system of governance, laws and education, it is not surprising that ever since its introduction to modern Ghana, the faith has made a considerable impact on the socio-cultural life of its people

In the field of religion, the 2000 Population Census put the number of Muslims in modern Ghana at 2, 900,000 representing 15.6 % of the total population. This shows that since its introduction Islam has found its way into the hearts of many Ghanaians who were hitherto firmly rooted in Traditional Religion.

In the field of education, Samwini (2006) discusses Islam's contribution to 'literacy in Arabic, the Qur'an and other Islamic sciences'. He highlights the role of prominent Ghanaian and other Muslim scholars in the establishment of Qur'anic and secular schools across the country between 1820 and 1950 for the promotion of Arabic and Qur'anic literacy in their various communities.

In Accra he credits Mallam Nuhu with the establishment of Qur'anic and Arabic language schools at Zongo Kadiri, Fadama, Mallam Atta and Okaishie. In the central region he acknowledges the role of Benjamin Sam and Mahdi Appah in the establishment of a secular school at Ekumfi Ekrawfo. In the northern region, he cites Arabic schools built by Muslim scholars at Banda, Wenchi, Yendi and Gambaga among others (p. 59).

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Islamic Education Sector Study /Ghana (2007) holds similar views on Islam's contribution to education in post independent Ghana. It puts the number of children enrolled in Islamic Education Unit schools alone at 213,893. In its estimation, these schools, combined with private Arabic English schools, and to a lesser extent, Arabic schools, 'constitute a fairly significant source of access to education for a large number of Ghanaian children, children whose parents might not otherwise send them to public schools' (p. 6)

In a slightly different take on the topic under discussion, Idrissu (2005) also acknowledges the role of Islam in the Ghanaian education sector. He however expresses concern over the absence of a standardized syllabus and text books in most of the privately owned Islamic schools across the country. In Northern Ghana he explains, most Islamic schools have no syllabus and mainly rely on donated text books from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Iran and Nigeria for teaching and learning. This he argues does not equip the children with the requisite skills for self development and is therefore not in the best interest of society.

Similarly, Sey (2003) praises the system for training scholars like Shiekh Marhaba, Alhaji Umar of Kete-Krachi, Shiekh Baba al-Waiz of Kumasi and Mallam Nasiru Kabara among others. He however raises concerns over the system's inability to produce employable graduates in today's competitive job market. In his view, since Islam does not oppose secular western education, Qur'anic and Arabic schools should modernize and include secular courses in their curricular so as to better the employment chances of their students.

While the above cited scholars have presented useful data on Islam's contribution to education in pre and post independent Ghana; none of them went beyond the traditional Islamic schools to tell readers about Islam's role in the provision of tertiary education in Ghana. For instance, no one mentioned the Islamic University College and its role in producing well trained Muslim and non-Muslim graduates for various sectors of the Ghanaian economy. This institution has been in business for about a decade now and is providing quality and affordable tertiary education to many Ghanaians who would have hardly had access to tertiary education. Furthermore, the writers made no mention of Islam's contribution to education in Ave Afidenyigba, the study area. This study highlighted Islam's role in education in the study area.

Closely related to Islam's contribution to education, is its literary or intellectual contribution. Here, Skinner (1966) discusses the role of Muslim scholars in the recording and preservation of religious and political history of modern Ghana. Here, he points to Mallam al-Hassan's compiled *Qissat Salagha ta'rikh Ghunja* on the campaigns of Jakpa, the origins of the various Muslim communities in Salaga and the genesis of the 1891-2 Gonja civil war, as evidence of Islamic education's contribution to the local and Islamic historiography of modern Ghana. Further to this, he cites Hajj Muhammad Mustapha's *Isnad al-shuyukh wa'l-ulama, or Kitab Ghunja*, on both the history of Islam in Gonja and the political, social, economic and military history of the period as further proof of Islam's literary contribution to modern Ghana.

Moving on to the field of politics, Pobee (1991) believes that Muslim influence started way back in the nineteenth century when their scholars

served as scribes, diplomats, teachers and military advisers at the court of the Asantehene. He supports his stance with this statement by Muhammad al-Gamba, Imam of Kumasi

My avocations at Coomassy are several; but my chief employment is a school which I have endowed and which I preside over myself. God has compassionated my labours and I have seventy pupils and converts at this time. Besides this, the king's heart is turned towards me and I am a favoured servant. Over the Muslims, I rule as Cady, comfortably to our law; I am also a member of the king's council in affairs relating to the believers of Saren and Dagomba; and I trade with foreign countries through the agency of my friend Abu Bear (Dupuis 1966, 245).

Wilks (1966) espouses similar views on this subject. According to him several influential Muslim figures including Shaikh Baba, Muhammad Kama'atay and Abu Bakr Turay 'enjoyed rank at court, or were invested with administrative powers, entitling them even to a voice in the senate' (p.154).

In post independent Ghana, according to Boahen (1986), Muslims continued to be active in local and national politics. In 1954, they formed the Muslim Association Party (MAP) and contested in both Council and Municipal elections in Accra and Kumasi. On the same note, Abass (2000) affirms contemporary Muslim participation in politics. He indicates that Muslims continue to play active role in the consolidation of multiparty democracy in Ghana. In the National Democratic Congress (NDC), he talks of

Muslim cabinet ministers and identifies Alhaji Baba Kamara and Alhaji Issaku Salia as big time party benefactors. In the New Patriotic Party (NPP), he points to the former vice president, Alhaji Aliu Mahama as evidence of Muslim involvement in the highest echelons of the former Kufuor government.

For his part, Muniru (2009) focuses on Muslim participation in parliamentary politics. According to him, since 1993 Muslims have had an average of 32 members of parliament in each parliamentary session. He further states that, in addition to their regular parliamentary duties, Muslim members have formed a caucus and a *Zakat* fund with a view to mobilizing resources to cater for the needs of their constituents in general and fellow Muslims in particular. He praises the groups' role in the creation of the *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha* public holidays, and their constructive engagement with the National Hajj Committee to facilitate a hustle-free Hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah) for those who wish to embark on the annual spiritual exercise.

Notwithstanding the commendable submissions of the above mentioned writers, it is obvious that they did not tackle the issue of perceived Muslim involvement in election related violence. They also neglected to mention the role of some Muslim politicians in pitching Muslim ethnic groups against each other for political gains. Furthermore, none of them talked about the impact of Islam on politics in the Ave Afiadenyigba. This study will assess the contribution of Islam to the politics of the study area.

With regard to healthcare, Seibaway (1999) outlines Islam's role in the provision of affordable and in some cases free healthcare to the Ghanaian populace. He praises the Rashidiyya Islamic and Herbal Clinic in Tamale for

providing various kinds of physical, mental and psychological and spiritual remedies to both Muslim and non-Muslim patients in and around its catchment area.

Aside this clinic, there are other Islamic Non Governmental Organizations which have over the years been providing affordable healthcare to the Ghanaian public. For instance the Iran Clinic is one of those Islamic health institutions noted for its contribution in the Ghanaian health sector.

The above mentioned scholars have presented very useful and insightful historical material on the advent and spread of Islam in Africa and modern Ghana. These materials, though not directly related to Ave Afiadenyigba, provided the researcher with valuable reference materials as he attempted to unearth and document the history and impact of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this research has been to unearth and document the history of Islam in the Volta Region with particular emphasis on its advent, spread and impact on Ave Afiadenyigba. This will hopefully highlight the high presence of Islam in the study area and change the widely held perception of low Islamic presence in the Volta Region. Further more, this will enable concerned individuals, foreign missions and non governmental organizations to reach out with much needed developmental assistance to the Muslim community of the study area and others in the region.

Research objectives

The objectives of this study are to find out the:

- Origin and introduction of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba

- Impact of Islam on the religious life of the people Ave Afiadenyigba
- Impact on the socio-economic life of the people of Ave Afiadenyigba
- Challenges faced by the Muslim community in Ave Afiadenyigba and to make
- Recommendations to improve the lives of the Muslims in the area.

Research questions

The following questions were used to guide the researcher towards the objectives of his research.

- When and how was Islam introduced to the Volta Region?
- At what point did it reach Ave Afiadenyigba?
- What impact has Islam had on the religious life of the people of Ave Afiadenyigba?
- What impact has Islam had on the economic life of the inhabitants of Ave Afiadenyigba?
- What impact has Islam had on the socio-cultural lives of the people of Ave Afiadenyigba?

Analysis of data

Data analysis according to Silverman (1983) is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. The purpose of analysing data is to obtain usable and useful information. Accordingly, all information gathered for this study were collated and thoroughly scrutinized and analysed to avoid any unwanted material.

Significance of the study

As at now, the researcher has not come across any available written document on the history of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba, this study will therefore be significant in that it will:

- Be a modest contribution to the historiography of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba.
- Add up to existing literature on the history and development of Islam in modern Ghana.
- Serve as a basis for further studies in the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Volta Region.

Organization of the study

Chapter One

This study is presented in five chapters: Chapter one deals with the introduction which includes background to the study, statement of problem aims and objectives, significance of the study, literature review, methodology, limitation, delimitation and organization of the study.

Chapter Two

Ave Afiadenyigba before the advent of Islam: This chapter presents a geographical description and a historical background of Ave Afiadenyigba. It outlines the belief systems and rites of passage of the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement

Chapter Three

History and Development of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba: This chapter is the first of two chapters that collect and analyse data on Islam in the Volta Region of Ghana with special reference to Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area

As such, after presenting the historical antecedents of how Islam entered Africa, West Africa and modern Ghana, this chapter looks at how Islam was introduced to Kete Krachi, Hohoe, Ho and ultimately Ave Afiadenyigba.

Chapter Four

The Impact of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba: This chapter is the final of two chapters that deal with data collection and analysis in this study. As such, this chapter collects and analysis data on Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba. It looks at Islam's religious, economic and social impact on the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement.

Chapter Five

Summary, conclusion and recommendations: This chapter is devoted to the summary of the discussions, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

AVE AFIADENYIGBA BEFORE THE ADVENT OF ISLAM

This chapter presents a geographical description and historical background of Ave Afidenyigba. It outlines the belief systems and rites of passage of the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement.

Geographical location and Population

The study area, Ave Afiadenyigba of the Akatsi District in the Southeast of the Volta Region is according to Kwadjo (2002) 'situated between Ave Havi and Ave Dakpa on the Ho-Denu trunk road 14 kilometers from Dzodze' (p. 23). Ave Afiadenyigba has a total land area of 32 sq km and lies within latitudes 6°20'S and 0°55'E and between 6° 15 and 6° 20 longitudes. It is bounded on the north by Ave Havi, on the east by Sanyi on the south by Kpedome and on the west by Akpaklikope.

The population of Ave Afiadenyigba is three thousand six hundred and nineteen (3619) made up of five ethnic groups namely Ewe, Hausa, Yoruba, Zabrama and Dagomba (The 2000 Population Census). Of these, only the Ewes are natives of the study area. The others are believed to have found their way to the area in the 1920s either as cattle and textile traders plying the Ghana Togo route or as officers serving in the British Frontier Police Force in the settlement.

Historical background

According to Amenumey (1986), the Ewes of modern Ghana including those of the study area originated from Notse, a town 'about 90 kilometers from the coast on the Lome to Atakpame railway in the Republic of Togo' (p. 4). On their way to modern Ghana he continues 'the people split into three broad groups' and founded settlements in the north, south and the coastal areas of their present locations in the Volta Region (p.3). This event according to Asamoah (1986) took place at 'about 1670' (p.5).

With respect to Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area, Kwadjo (2002) explains that the settlement was founded by Dzayi in 1755. According to him, this was when Dzayi, considered by the Aves to be the founder and premier leader of the Ave state, successfully led his people from Notse to Dzayimeh, the first of the nine settlements that constitute Ave Afiadenyigba. On his way to Dzayimeh the writer goes on, Dzayi and his people made brief stopovers at Kevei Avedome and Dzodzevenu with a view to settling. However, they were forced to continue their journey on each occasion either by outbreaks of epidemics or stiff competition for land and other resources with other settlers until they finally arrived at their present settlement of Ave Afiadenyigba.

This account is in conformity with that of Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor 111 of Ave Afiadenyigba. In an interview with this researcher, the chief corroborated the above stated account and provided additional information on the history and development of Ave Afiadenyigba as a settlement. He explained that years after his forefathers settled in Dzayimeh, Torgbui Gagba, head of the Tornigbe clan decided to move from Dzayimeh and established a

new settlement at what is now Old Ave Afiadenyigba. While there, the chief said, the fertile nature of the land attracted many clans into the area including the Avetsidome, Logofeme, and the Atsiafeme clans. (T. F. Gbordzekpor 111, personal communication, June, 5 2009).

Apart from these pioneers, other settlers in Old Ave Afiadenyigba included Muslim clerics, merchants and retired colonial police officers serving in the settlement's police post. According to Iddrissu Salih, *Sarkin Zongo* (chief of the Muslim community) of Ave Afiadenyigba, after many years of living together, the Muslim community's desire to move closer to the highway and the police post where many of their fellow Muslim brothers served as officers became intense. Consequently, in 1939, Mamah Yaro, head of the Muslim community in the settlement approached Torgbui Gbordzikpor 11 and asked for a piece of land along the highway to relocate his community. The chief granted his request and gave the Muslims a large tract of land at what is now known as New Ave Afiadenyigba where they still live today. (I. Salih, personal communication, June 5, 2009).

Traditional Beliefs and Practices of the People

Closely related to the history of any people are their culture and belief systems. While this researcher is aware of the many belief systems and cultural practices of the study area, this study finds it necessary to limit its focus on the locals' belief in *Mawu* (God) and other deities, their marriage and funeral rites. This is because it is these areas that will lead the discussion in the subsequent chapters of the work:

The Supreme Being

There is no denying that religion is deeply rooted in African culture. According to Gyekye (1996),

In African life and thought, the religious is not distinguished from the nonreligious, the sacred from the secular, the spiritual from the material. In all undertakings whether it be cultivating, sowing, harvesting or traveling religion is at work. (p.4)

Accordingly, as Africans, before the advent of Christianity and Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba, its citizens were mainly adherents of Traditional Religion. Thus, they according to Gaba (1997)

See the sacred as comprising a number of spirit entities both human (ancestors) and non-human (deities) all presided over by an overarching manifestation of the sacred (God) (p.100).

This submission attests to the locals' combined belief in a Supreme Being whom they consider to be the 'Originator of the universe' and other objects of worship that they regard as 'God's vicegerents' on earth (p.100). This belief has led to the multiplication and worship of many deities in the community. Among these is a deity called Amesikpe. This deity is believed to be the sovereign of Ave Afiadenyigba and the most responsive to the needs of its inhabitants. For this reason, every year, in the month of *Dame* (the fifth month of the local Ewe calendar), his followers embark on an annual journey to his shrine (a rocky grove at Ave Agbozumah) to offer prayers and sacrifices.

To be able to fulfill this religious duty however, in addition to the hand and feet washing ritual at the Traditional Priest's compound at Dzayimeh, according to Torgbui Kumah Dzamesi, all intending pilgrims must:

- Abstain from sex for a minimum of twenty four hours.
- Abstain from eating oily foods for a minimum of twenty four hours
- Abstain from eating leftovers for a minimum of twenty four hours
- Not be menstruating or bleeding
- Not be a witch or wizard
- Not be a murderer.

These rules represent clear religious guidelines meant to strengthen the moral fiber and fortify the spirituality of Amesikpe's followers. These rules are designed to put this deity's followers on a good moral and spiritual footing as they set out to approach him in worship. They are meant to remind his followers that they must always endeavor to be at peace with their fellow human beings even as they seek Amesikpe's pleasure in worship.

Regulations of this nature are not peculiar to traditional religion. In fact most of them are in line with the letter and the spirit of some Islamic guidelines and ritual practices. For example, in Islam, before a worshipper approaches prayer and other acts of devotion they must first ritually cleanse themselves. They must perform ablution. This involves the ritual washing of the hands, face and feet among others. In case of sexual intercourse, they must take a ritual bath. Muslims are also forbidden from killing or harming their fellow human beings either by words or by deeds.

Furthermore, these regulations are in agreement with those of other deities in Southern Eweland. In that part of the Volta Region, different deities place different dietary and behavioral disciplines on their followers. For example, according to Gaba (1997) 'the deity Niygbla of Afife proscribes the eating of any spotted animal or fish for his cult members' (pp 85-6), the deities *So* and *Da* forbid their followers from eating 'mud fish and another fish locally known as *lidzi*' (p.86).

Other 'divine prohibition' in the area according to the author are behavioral and include: 'abstention from the practice of witchcraft and sorcery, stealing and murder, adultery and the harboring of evil thoughts about one's neighbors' (p. 86).

Violators of these rules have often been punished by their objects of worship. A case in point according to Torgbui Kumah Dzamesi is the May 2006 destruction of Ave Afiadenyigba's only irrigation dam by a heavy down pour. This he claimed was the handiwork of Amesikpe as a consequence of the continuous disregard of his regulations by some members of the community (K. Dzamesi, personal communication, June 10, 2009).

Marriage rites

As stated earlier, aside their religious beliefs, the people of Ave Afiadenyigba have a number of important social institutions which have over the years contributed to the social harmony and development in the community. One of these institutions is marriage. In Ave Afiadenyigba like everywhere else, marriage is seen as a source of unity and happiness.

Consequently, before a man and a woman can be pronounced duly married in the community, they must have observed certain rites and procedures. These rites and procedures are generally the same everywhere in Southern Volta Region including the study area. According to Nukunya (1997), these rites include ‘the formal asking of the hand of the bride by the groom’s people, the marriage ceremony’ and ‘the payment of the bride-price’ (p. 56).

Thus, in Ave Afiadenyigba once the bride selection is over with, the other marriage rites are performed. These are knocking, asking for the hand of the would-be bride, payment of the bride-price and the marriage ceremony.

The knocking is the initial stage when representatives of the parents of the suitor consult the parents of the woman to make their intentions known. This stage involves paying of the knocking drink which is usually two bottles of Schnapps. This is followed by the formal asking of the hand of the bride in marriage. This stage also involves the giving of two bottles of Schnapps. If this final drink is rejected, it means the parents of the woman have rejected the marriage proposal. This could be due to some tangible reasons which may be gathered through investigations. But if it is accepted then the parents of the suitor can go on with the next stage which is the payment of the bride-price.

According to Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor 111, in Ave Afiadenyigba, the bride-price (*sronu*) which is a combination of the engagement items and the dowry itself include many items. These items he explains are ‘an absolute requirement for traditional marriage in the settlement’. Thus, all young men and women intending to get into matrimony often make sure that they can

afford them before getting on with marriage (T. F. Gbordzekpor 111, personal communication, June 10, 2009).

The following are some of those items as contained in a document titled ‘Marriage Rites’ in the Chief’s palace. Table 1 presents a list of the engagement items while table 2 enumerates the marriage items as follows:

Table 1

No	Item	Quantity
1	Schnapps	2 bottles
2	Whisky	2 bottles
3	Minerals	2 crates
4	Beer	2 crates
5	Wine	2 bottles
6	Palm wine	1 pot
7	Local gin	4 bottles
8	Yam	2 tubers
9	Engagement ring	1
10	Native Sandals for father	1 pair
11	Love money for bride	GH 500.00
12	Cash for mother	GH125.00
13	Cash for father	GH250.00

Table 2

No	Item	Quantity
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1	Schnapps	4 bottles
2	Whisky	2 bottles
3	Campari	2 bottles
4	Akpeteshi	4 bottles
5	Assorted minerals	2 crates
6	Wedding ring	1
7	Bible	1 copy
8	Necklace	1
9	Headscarves	4 sets
10	Suitcase	1
11	Cloth for bride	6 half pieces
12	Cloth for father in-law	1 piece
13	Cloth for mother in-law	Half piece
14	Crocodile hatchet for brother in-law	1
15	Cash for brother in-law	GH 5.00

The next stage which may be called the actual wedding ceremony crowns the whole process. This comes after the payment of the bride-price and involves the handing over of the bride to the groom in the father's house. This final stage of the ceremony brings together both families. Friends, neighbors and well wishers also partake in the ceremony. Food and drinks are prepared and served to all and sundry amidst merry making.

These rites show that in traditional religion, like in other religions, marriage is so important that it is regarded as the only legitimate means by which a man can satisfy his sexual desires. These rites are well placed and if strictly observed can go a long way to check some of the moral corruption in contemporary Ghanaian societies. They can help avert teenage pregnancies, abortions and the spread of diseases in the community among others.

Polygyny

Inextricably linked to the institution of marriage in Ave Afiadenyigba, is the practice of polygyny. According to Prosper Modey, a 46 year old health inspector at the Akatsi District Assembly, for many male folks of the settlement, marriage does not end with the first wife. Rather, 'after the first wedding many go on to marry a second or more wives'. This he claimed was both tradition and a means to 'ease the household chores and farm work on the first wife'. (P. Modey, personal communication, June, 1, 2009).

As for the practice of polygyny, it is a custom that is found all over Ghana including the Volta Region. According to Nukunya (1992), the practice is so widespread that the 'common figures' Ghanaians marry 'range between two and three with two the most frequent' (p.42).

This notwithstanding, the practice is not without its critics. In an interview with Hadijatu Agbalekpor a 60 year old female herbalist, she described polygyny as an 'obstacle to development' in her community. This is because most polyginous men in the area did not treat their wives and children fairly and equally. Rather, she claimed that they had preferential treatment for

their most favored wives and their children at the expense of the others. This she explained has led to a lot of tension and rivalries to the detriment of the overall wellbeing and development of such families (K. Yaro, personal communication, December 15,2010).

Now, it should be noted that in spite of the many personal and familial challenges that are often associated with polygyny, scholars have identified many individual and societal benefits that are derived from this type of marriage. For example Mbiti (1990) states that in spite of the frequent 'quarrels and fights among the wives and among the children' (p. 140) in such marriages, the custom has the ability to 'prevent or reduce unfaithfulness and prostitution' (p. 140) in communities where it is practiced.

This observation is reasonable in that in situations where, for some reason, a man is unable to have sexual intercourse with his wife or a single woman has no other legitimate means of meeting her basic needs, polygyny becomes the surest way to avert sexual immorality and its attendant consequences on the community.

It is for the same reason that Islam also permits limited polygyny when it in Qur'an 4:3 states that: 'Marry women of your choice in twos' threes' or fours' but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly, (with them), then only one'. This means that if a man were to find himself in a situation where one wife could not satisfy his sexual desires or bear him children, then he is allowed to marry up to four wives.

Funeral rites

Like everywhere else, in Ave Afiadenyigba, death is seen as a natural phenomenon which embraces all human beings regardless of political economic or social status. It is seen as the event which initiates one's journey from this world to the land of the ancestors. For this reason, the indigenes of Ave Afiadenyigba place a very high premium on funeral rites. In their view one's acceptance in the land of the ancestors depends on how well their funeral rites are performed.

Funeral rites for the dead in Ave Afiadenyigba begin immediately after death. According to Joseph Tsewu, a 72 year old herbalist and community elder, when a person dies, the body is immediately smeared with lime and made to sit on a hole dug in the bath house to drain all liquids. Thereafter, in the case of a barren man, the rite of inserting a piece of stick into the male organ is performed to protect other family members from the abomination. The deceased is thereafter bathed, dressed and laid in state by clan elders. Here, if he or she was married the widow or the widower is made to come and sit in front of him or her and bid farewell. Then, the deceased is presented with gifts ranging from clothes to money for use on the way to the land of the ancestors.

The belief among these adherents of traditional religion is that the journey is long and arduous and so money to buy food and water is necessary for a smooth journey. After this, the body is placed in a coffin, libation poured and taken to the cemetery for burial. On the third day family and friends

assemble in the deceased's home for prayers. (J. Tsewu, personal communication, June 21, 2009).

The above stated practices make clear the fact that the people of Ave Afiadenyigba like their counterparts in other West African societies do not consider death as the end of human existence. Rather they see it as a vehicle which takes human beings from one level of existence to another. They see it 'as a journey which man must make in order to reach the life beyond and continue to live as an ancestor' (Opoku 1978, 133). It is this belief which informs all the rites and rituals associated with funerals in the settlements.

This concept of life after death is not peculiar to traditional religion. In Islam belief in life after death or the Day of Judgment is an article of faith. Muslims believe that they were created by *Allah* and sent to this earth to worship Him. At death they believe that they shall all return to Him for judgment. It is for this reason that they try to live by the dictates of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet. So that at death they will have eternal bliss and joy.

In sum, this chapter outlined the geographical location of Ave Afiadenyigba and dwelt on the historical background of the settlement. The chapter also threw light on the social structure of the community as well as its traditional religious beliefs and practices. In doing this, the chapter sets the stage for chapter three which deals with the introduction and development of Islam to Volta Region with particular emphasis on the settlement.

CHAPTER THREE
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN AVE
AFIADENYIGBA

This chapter is the first of two chapters that collect and analyse data on Islam in the Volta Region of Ghana with special reference to Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area. As such, after presenting the following historical antecedents of how Islam entered Africa, West Africa and modern Ghana, this chapter looks at how Islam was introduced to Kete Krachi, Hohoe, Ho and ultimately Ave Afiadenyigba.

The Genesis of Islam in Africa

Since its inception in Arabia, Islam has grown and spread to many parts of the world with tremendous impact on the socio-cultural life of the people. Wherever it has been, Islam has touched and changed the lives and belief systems of people. In Africa, the history of Islam goes as far back as the eighth century. This according to Zidan (1998) was when Caliph Umar authorized Amr b. Al-As 'to mount a campaign against the Nile Valley' (1998, 127) and free its inhabitants from the Roman occupation. The expedition proved very successful for he managed to lay siege to the strongest Roman fort in Egypt, Fustat (present day Cairo) leading to the ejection of the Romans and the introduction of Islam into Egypt. Once in Egypt, the author explains, Caliph Umar immediately moved to abolish Roman taxes and ban the annual Egyptian pagan practice of sacrificing a young maiden to the River Nile. This

practice was to ensure that the Nile always flooded and irrigated their farms. Further to this according to Trimingham (1970) the Muslims after a hard struggle managed to convert many pagan Berbers to Islam and used Egypt as a springboard for the spread of the faith to Morocco, Spain and ultimately to West Africa.

Islam in West Africa

After its successful penetration into Egypt, Islam was brought to West Africa by Arab and Berber merchants trading in Mediterranean manufactured goods in exchange for West African gold, ivory and slaves. According to Trimingham (1970) while the main objective of these merchants was trade rather than proselytization, their mode of prayer and honesty attracted many locals to Islam. Consequently, these merchants the author continues remained Islam's de facto missionaries in the Sudan until the Almoravids emerged from the nomadic Sanhaja group as a distinct movement geared towards the spread and purification of Islam and Islamic practices in West Africa.

As a movement the Almoravids started their prosylitization activities in West Africa at the end of the tenth century. This according to Abu Nasr (1987) was when Yahya Ibrahim, a Sanhaja paramount chief, invited Abd Allah b. Yasin, of Qairawan an Almoravid leader to teach his tribes men 'the true doctrine of Islam' (p.10). Upon arrival the author continues, Yasin among other things 'established a public treasury and persuaded the chief to reduce the number of wives he had from nine to four'. (p. 80)

These developments offended many locals and soon they started to plot against him. Consequently he retreated with some of his disciples and constructed a *ribat* or fortified centre somewhere on the Atlantic coast of Mauritania. This *ribat* became popular as a centre of learning and when his followers numbered a thousand, Yasin decided that the time had come to spread Islam and reform the non Islamic customs of the people. To this end, according to Trimingham (1970) he directed his disciples to return to their peoples as missionaries. ‘Go under the protection of God and warn your fellow tribesmen, (he said) teach them the Law of God and threaten them with His chastisement...’ (p.23). With these words from their leader the disciples went preaching to their peoples but with no effect. This state of affairs left Yasin with no option than to move against his pagan and syncretic tribesmen and succeeded in getting them to accept and practice proper Islam. This success proved very useful and served as an inspiration for the introduction of Islam to the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhay.

Islam in modern Ghana

With regard to modern Ghana, Clarke (1982) traces the early beginnings of Islam in the country to the activities of Muslim traders from the ‘Upper Niger region’. According to him it was these traders who ‘criss-crossed the trade routes linking Jenne and Hausaland with the forest zone’ (pp. 58-9) who brought Islam to modern Ghana. They did this by breaking their journeys at certain points between these big commercial centres including Begho (Brong Ahafo in modern Ghana). While in Begho, the author

continues, they ‘converted peoples such as the Hwela who lived in and around Begho to Islam’ (p. 59).

After Begho, Islam’s next stop in the country was Northern Ghana. According to Levtzion (1968) decades after Islam’s maiden contact with Begho, *Faqih* Muhammad Abyad a visiting Muslim cleric from Begho brought the faith to the Northern Kingdom of Gonja. This, the author explains, was achieved through the cleric’s use of a staff to rescue Gonja from certain destruction at the hands of its adversaries at the battle fields of Kolo. Impressed by this rare display of supernatural power the author continues, the king of Gonja came to the realization that ‘this faith’ that is Islam ‘is better than our religion’ and therefore converted to Islam (pp 51-2).

Gonja’s submission to Islam provided the faith with a base from where it subsequently spread across Northern Ghana and the Volta Region. The Volta Region is one of the ten regions in modern Ghana which prior to the introduction of Christianity and Islam was a bastion of African Traditional Religion. The advent of Islam has however changed some of that with many residents now professing Islam and observing its rules and regulations.

This account makes clear the fact that Begho was Islam’s first port of call in modern Ghana. It further indicates that like many other areas in West Africa, Islam was introduced to modern Ghana through trade rather than war. This goes to show how well these traders and clerics appreciated the peaceful nature and teachings of Islam which forbids the use of force to spread its doctrines and belief systems.

Islam in the Volta Region

Following its introduction to Northern Ghana, Muslim merchants and clerics brought Islam to the Volta Region. Now, for a concise and representative overview of the history of the Islamic tradition in the region, this study finds it necessary to in addition to Ave Afiadenyigba, the case study, look at the advent of Islam in Kete Krachi, Ho and Hohoe. These towns have been selected because of their roles in the spread of Islam to the rest of the region. Kete Krachi for example was chosen because it was and in many respects continues to be the citadel of Muslim spirituality in the Volta Region. Under the tutelage of Alhaji Umar Kete Krachi, it served as the initial training ground for many renowned scholars who went on to spread the faith to other parts of the region. Some of these scholars include Shiekh Abdul Aziz of Hohoe and Mallam Atta of Ho both of whom played leading roles in the introduction of Islam to these cities and other outlying villages and settlements.

Kete Krachi

Located in the North-Western corner of the Volta Region, Kete Krachi is believed by many Ghanaian Muslims to be the birthplace of Islam in the region. According to Levtzion (1968) Islam was first introduced to 'Kete the Muslim twin town of Krachi as early as '1882 by one Ceidu Aboakse who settled there during the reign of Besimuro' (p.p 37-8). Not long after Ceidu's arrival in the settlement the author continues, the 1892 Salaga Civil War broke out and led to the influx of more Muslim traders and scholars into the

settlement. Among the many scholars who came to Kete Krachi following the war was Alhaji Umar.

Alhaji Umar was born in Kano in 'about 1854' (Goody 1968, 242) to a scholarly family. His father Abu Bakr was a renowned cleric and merchant. After receiving his early education in the Northern Nigerian states of Kano, Kebi and Gobir, Alhaji Umar is believed to have accompanied his father on several trading expeditions to Salaga before eventually settling in the township for teaching and writing. While in Salaga, Alhaji Umar wrote many interesting works on religion, poetry and history. These writings won him many admirers and students both within and outside the Volta Region. In fact, such was the quality of his writings that Goody (1968) characterizes them in the following glowing terms: 'His works in both Arabic and Hausa' he contends 'exhibit a range of topics and a quality which mark him off as one of the major literary figures in West Africa' (p.p 242-3).

The presence of this Sufi scholar in Kete Krachi played a crucial role in the entrenchment of Islam in Kete the Muslim section of the settlement. This was in spite of the fact that Kete Krachi was a bastion of Traditional Religion and the seat of the powerful Krachi deity called Krachi Denteh/ Amanwura Denteh.

Alhaji Umar's missionary activities in Kete Krachi started with his appointment as Chief Imam of Kete Krachi. In an article titled Imam Imoru's troubles in Karachi, Alhassan (2000) explains that not long after Alhaji Umar's arrival in the settlement, squabbles among Muslim scholars about who should lead Friday prayers intensified. This situation alarmed the German colonial masters of the territory and prompted them to organize an Arabic

reading contest to determine who among the clerics was best suited to be the Imam of the Muslim community. Alhaji Umar won the contest and was appointed Chief Imam of Kete Krachi. After his appointment he immediately proceeded with his missionary work. First, he spearheaded the construction of what Alhaji Umar Krukuti, current Chief Imam and former student of Alhaji Umar described as ‘the first mosque in the region’. Second, he established an Islamic centre of learning where he taught the Qur’an and other Islamic sciences. Third, he revived Ceidu’s missionary activities by training students to go out and spread the message of Islam across the region.

Among such students were as stated earlier Sheikh Abdul Aziz of Hohoe and Mallam Atta of Ho. Although these initiatives did not impact the indigenous inhabitants of Kete Krachi, they did a lot to strengthen Islam within the Muslim community of Kete and to spread the faith to other parts of the region (A.U. Krukuti, personal communication, January 20, 2010).

Alhaji Umar Kete Krachi passed away in ‘1934 and was buried in the Krachi mosque, now beneath the waters of the Volta Lake’ (Goody, 1968, 243).

Today, Kete Krachi continues to retain its rich Islamic heritage in spite of the many challenges it faces. The settlement has a very vibrant Muslim community made up of Tijaniyah, Ahlul-Sunnah and Ahmadiya Muslim sects. It has a number of Qur’anic schools and an Arabic Secondary School named after Alhaji Umar Kete Krachi.

Furthermore, apart from the central mosque which hosts Friday and Eid (festival) prayers, the Muslim community has several mosques where they observe their daily prayers and engage in other devotional activities. On the

whole, it is a vibrant Muslim community out there in Kete Krachi which deserves the recognition of the Muslim *Ummah* (nation).

Hohoe

Situated at the centre of the Volta Region, Hohoe was a very popular cocoa commercial centre before the Trans Volta Togoland capital was moved from there to Ho. Thus, it attracted lots of Northern Muslim migrant workers seeking greener pastures in Southern Ghana. These economic migrants were believed to have been responsible for the introduction of Islam to Hohoe.

Narrating the history of Islam in the former Volta Regional capital, its Chief Imam Alhaji Al-Hassan Sani stated that, Islam was introduced to Hohoe by ‘merchants and migrant labourers from Northern Ghana’. This effort he explained was led by one ‘Mallam Muhammad Mustapha and Sheikh Abdul Aziz Kete Krachi a former student of Alhaji Umar’. According to the Imam not long after their arrival in Hohoe, the two clerics realized that Muslims were scattered all over the place with no recognizable community or spiritual leaders.

Disturbed by this state of affairs, the two decided to lead a delegation to the Paramount Chief Torgbui Gabusu II. They asked for a piece of land where the Muslim community could live and work as a community. The chief obliged and moved them to Attabu, a suburb of Hohoe. Once there the community constructed a mosque, a Qur’anic school and selected Mallam Umar and Muhammad Mustapha as Sarkin Zongo and Imam respectively (A.A. Sani, personal communication, January 27, 2010).

From this moment, according to the deputy Chief Imam, Alhaji Tahiru Muhammad, Sheikh Abdul Aziz set out preaching and inviting locals to Islam.

This effort though well intentioned met very little success as the locals proved difficult to persuade to part company with the faith of their forefathers. In fact, according to, the Sheikh's preaching efforts took a turn for the worse when Muslim youths of the community went on a rampage following a 'breast-fondling incident involving a bare-chested Muslim girl and a local cocoa officer'.

This incident, Alhaji Tahiru explained, threatened the very existence of the Muslim community in Hohoe. It triggered skirmishes between the two communities and led to the expulsion of the entire Muslim community from Attabu. It took the benevolence of a leading local land owner to relocate them to Blaveme where they still live today. After this incident, conversions became even rarer. With the passage of time however, Sheikh Abdul Aziz's efforts, coupled with intermarriages between the two communities, led to the gradual conversion of some locals into Islam. (A.T. Muhammad, personal communication, January 27, 2010).

Presently, Hohoe has a sizable concentration of Muslims from diverse ethnic backgrounds including Gonjas, Hausas, and Dagombas. Also present are the Ahmadiya, Ahlul-Sunnah, Tijaniyah and Shiite Muslim sects. Some of these sects have mosques while others still make do with the central mosque to say their daily and congregational prayers.

Ho

Located in the southern half of the region, Ho is the regional capital of the Volta Region and home to the Association of Ewe Muslims. Like other towns in the region, Islam was introduced to the Volta Regional capital by Muslim clerics and merchants from Northern Ghana and further afield. Some

of these Muslims made conscious efforts to spread Islam to the locals while others were merely de facto missionaries whose actions won over the hearts of locals to Islam.

In an interview with Alhaji Hamza Umar Danjuma, the regional Chief Imam of the Volta Region, he traced the history of Islam in Ho to Kete Krachi. According to the Imam although a few Muslim traders and clerics had been present in the area before his arrival, proper Islamic teachings and missionary activity were first introduced to Ho by one ‘Mallam Atta, a former student of Alhaji Umar’. According to the Imam it was this Mallam who facilitated the construction of the first mosque and Qur’anic school in Ho. He was also the first Imam of the Muslim community in the metropolis.

As the spiritual leader of the Muslim community, Mallam Atta did not only limit his activities to teaching the Qur’an and leading congregational prayers. He also through the use of esoteric Qur’anic verses ‘cured affected members of the community of many physical and spiritual afflictions’. This singular act contributed a lot to the spread of Islam in the town. For as soon as the locals got to know about the Mallam’s spiritual capabilities, they started visiting and receiving assistance.

This eventually led many to embrace Islam. Apart from this, intermarriages and the widely held perception among locals that Islam is associated with wealth also won many locals over to Islam. (A.H. Danjuma, personal communication, January 30, 2010).

Today, Ho has a large indigenous Muslim population and Islamic landmarks. There are Sunnis, Ahlul-Sunnah, Shiite and Ahmadiyahs in the metropolis. Ho is also the headquarters of the influential Association of Ewe

Muslims which as the name suggests comprise mostly of Ewes who have embraced Islam.

Ave Afiadenyigba

According to Sheikh Dauda Dupe, Imam of Ave Afiadenyigba, Islam was introduced to Ave Afiadenyigba by ‘Alhaji Alfa Hussein in the 1920s’. According to the Imam, it all began when one of his siblings, Kwaku Dupe got indisposed and was taken to his father’s shrine for treatment. At the shrine, his father, Kokoo Dupe, a renowned Traditional priest and herbalist administered various herbal and spiritual remedies in vain. One night while contemplating his next course of action, he heard a voice asking him to take his son to the ‘Hausas’ for that is the only place he would find a cure. The next day, he related his experience to his colleagues and was directed to *Alfa* Hussein, a Muslim cleric from Niger on a visit at Dabala Junction.

While there, the priest narrated his experience to the cleric and pleaded for assistance. After carefully diagnosing Kwaku’s condition, the cleric agreed to help on condition that the priest allowed his son to embrace Islam if he chooses to do so afterwards. The priest agreed and after a few days of intense prayer and treatment sessions, Kwaku recovered. Impressed by the efficacy of the cleric’s healing powers, both father and son decided to embrace Islam and changed their names to Zakari and Yahya respectively.

A few months after his conversion to Islam, Zakari felt a strong desire to cement his new found faith with the study of the Qur’an and the traditions of the Prophet. To this end, he invited *Alfa* Hussein to Ave Afiadenyigba and asked him to establish a Qur’anic school (*makaranta*) to teach him and his family the Qur’an and *Sunnah* (tradition) of the Prophet. While in Ave

Afiadenyigba, news of the cleric's healing powers spread among the locals and in no time, locals with all sorts of physical and spiritual conditions began to call on him for treatment. Like Zakari and his son Yahya, many of those whom *Alfa* Hussein cured willingly submitted to Islam and asked their families to do same.

These early converts constituted the first batch of students at *Alfa* Hussein's Qur'anic school which produced many literates in Arabic language at the time. These students also played a crucial role in the entrenchment of Islam in the settlement. (S. D. Dupe, personal communication, June 5, 2009).

Zakari's conversion story is a familiar one in West Africa. As a matter of fact in the estimation of scholars like Clarke (1982) Levtzion (1968) and Boahen (1986) most West African Muslim converts came to Islam not because of the purity of the Islamic doctrine but because of the immediate or medium term benefits they derived from Muslim clerics who use aspects of the faith to solve their problems. According to these writers, in ancient Mali its king converted to Islam only because a Muslim cleric prayed for rain after a long drought. In Gonja, the king and his subjects did not join Islam until after they had been rescued from annihilation by *Faqih* Muhammad Abyad at the battle fields of Kolo. In Ashanti, the efficacy of Muslim made amulets and talismans at war guaranteed the support of the chiefs and the conversion of many locals to Islam. In Ave Afiadenyigba, *Alfa* Hussein's healing powers ensured the conversion of both father and son to Islam.

These conversion stories lay bare the role of Sufi clerics in the spread of Islam in West Africa. Indeed as has been explained above very few of these early West African converts entered the faith on doctrinal grounds. The vast

majority of them came in because they had been convinced by the superiority of the mystical tendencies of Muslim clerics. They could count on the clerics' collective ability to heal them to pray for them and to protect them from their adversaries. Thus to scholars like Levtzion (1973) 'it was the magical aspects of Islam that aided Muslims to win over the chief in competition with local priests' (p. 91).

Muslim Personalities

The introduction of Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba did not come by chance. Rather it came through the collective effort of well meaning Muslim personalities dedicated to the service of Islam. Some of these individuals are indigenes of the settlement while others are foreigners. Some are still alive while others are dead. The following is a brief account of the life and contributions of two of the most dedicated Muslim personalities who have dedicated themselves to the service of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba. These are: Zakari Dupe and Sheikh Dauda Dupe.

Briefing this researcher on his life and role in the development of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba, Mallam Dauda Dupe, the current Chief Imam and leader of the Tijaniyah Muslims in Ave Afiadenyigba intimated that he was born in the village of Kpedome in 1932 to a very religious family. His father was a renowned fetish priest, herbalist and a hunter while his mother was a local midwife (traditional birth attendant).

At the tender age of 21, Mallam Dupe enrolled in the then newly established Qur'anic school in Ave Afiadenyigba and within three years memorized forty five chapters of the Qur'an. This show of brilliance and dedication on the part

of young Dauda impressed *Alfa* Hussein, his Qur'anic school teacher who then sent him for further studies to the Northern Nigerian state of Kano. While studying under the able tutelage of Sheikh Adam Banda, a former student of Sheikh Ibrahim Kawlak in Kano, he joined the Tijaniyah sect and rose through its ranks before returning to Ghana.

Upon graduating, Sheikh Dauda returned to Ave Afiadenyigba and became the first Ewe Imam of the settlement following the passing of *Alfa* Hussein. As Imam of the community, Sheikh Dauda did not limit his functions to officiating Friday and congregational prayers; rather, he introduced the Muslim faithful to the Tijaniyah Sufi Order and exposed them to what the Order's members believe to be new means of seeking nearness to God. This move proved very popular with the Muslims in the community and led to their joining the sect in large numbers.

Further to this, the Sheikh designed a number of outreach programmes geared towards educating members of the Traditional Religion about Islam and Islamic beliefs and practices. He formed the *Jamatul Tabligh* organization and often joined members on their outreach trips to the outlying towns and villages to preach the word of God. The aims and objectives of the organization included:

- Inviting through peaceful means non-Muslims especially members of the Traditional Religion to Islam.
- Educating the semi literate Muslim population in the community about Islam and what is expected of a true Muslim.
- Creating an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence between the Muslim and members of the Traditional Religion in the settlement.

The activities of this organization proved very successful in educating the Muslim population and in strengthening the Muslims relation with members of the traditional religion. Sheikh Dauda is married to two wives with eleven children and lives in a very large compound within the immediate vicinity of the mosque. (S.D. Dupe, personal communication, June 5, 2009).

The other notable personality in the history of Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba is Zakari Dupe, the late father of Imam Dauda Dupe. This personality as stated earlier displayed an admirable level of faith when he took the rare step of leaving his Traditional Religion Priesthood vocation to enter Islam. Though he considered this step to be in the right direction at the time, it created a lot of discomfort for him and his household. Nevertheless, he remained steadfast and focused in his belief in *Allah* and determination to practice Islam. He was shunned and ridiculed by his siblings and friends. He was accused of betraying the trust of his father who had entrusted him with the responsibility of providing cure and spiritual guidance to the Traditional faithful. Consequently, barely a year after his conversion to Islam he was compelled to migrate from Kpedome to Ave Afiadenyigba. His migration according to Imam Dupe was informed by the following:

Firstly, the presence of Muslim officers serving at the settlement's Colonial Police Post. He believed that these officers could offer him protection from physical attack which had become a distinct possibility. Secondly, his friendship with Torgbui Gbordzikpor 11 of Ave Afiadenyigba. This chief was his childhood friend whom he trusted could provide him with accommodation until conditions back home permitted his return.

True to his calculations, at Ave Afiadenyigba he was warmly received by the chief and the Muslim officers. Encouraged by this warm reception, as stated earlier, Zakari immediately invited *Alfa* Hussein to establish a Qur'anic school to teach him and his family the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (tradition) of the Prophet. *Alfa* Hussein did his utmost to teach not only him and his family but the entire Muslim community of the settlement. Zakari passed away in Ave Afiadenyigba. He was married to three wives with 25 children (S.D. Dupe, personal communication, June 7, 2009).

Muslim Sects

Ave Afiadenyigba is a multi religious settlement with a variety of religious and sectarian groupings. Hence, apart from the presence of Traditional religion and various Christian denominations which shall be discussed ahead, Islam has two vibrant sects competing for the attention of the faithful in the settlement namely the Tijaniyah and the Shiite. These sects have since their emergence in the settlement contributed in many ways to the moral and educational development of the Muslim community. As a background to the discussion on the state of Christian-Muslim as well as Shiite-Tijaniyah relations in the settlement, here is a brief historical background of the sects:

The Tijaniyah

The Tijaniyah Sufi Order was founded in Algeria in 1781 by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Al Muktar b. Salim Tijani. In this year, according to Mbacke (2005), Tijani announced to his followers that Prophet Muhammad had appeared to him in broad daylight while he was fully conscious and authorized him to start a new work of *at-tarbiyah* (spiritual guidance) and assigned him his order's *wird* (litanies), consisting of *istighfar* (asking for God's pardon)

salawat (exaltation of Prophet Muhammad) and *hailalah* (uttering there is no God but Allah).

Further to this, the Prophet, he claimed assured him that whoever acquires these litanies from him or is initiated into his Order by someone authorized by him ‘will enter Paradise as will his parents, his wives and his descendants direct and indirect so long as he maintains love for his shaykh and practices the litanies until the end p. 27-8).

After this announcement, the author continues, Tijani moved to Algeria and established a *zawiya* (a Sufi school) from where he started spreading his teachings across North and West Africa. The mystical nature of the order soon attracted huge numbers of orthodox Muslims into its ranks leading to the spread of its teachings across vast areas in the West African hinterland. To become a member of the sect according to the author one must:

- Be initiated by a *Muqadam* (a representative of the Order)
- Obey his *Muqadam* and his parents.
- Observe his five obligatory daily prayers.
- Not be a member of another Sufi Order.
- Not visit the grave of any saint other than that of a Tijani.

The Shiite

Various theories exist as to the origins of Shiism. The Shiites themselves believe that Shiism started during the life time of the Prophet. They say the term ‘Shiite’ was first used by Prophet Muhammad in interpreting Qur’an 98: 7 which reads: ‘Those who believe and perform good deeds are the best of creation’. In that context, they claim, it is reported that

the Prophet turned to Ali and said: ‘It describes you and your Shiites’ (Shomali 2003, 19). Another mention of the word Shiite they say, is found in the following tradition in which the prophet addressed Ali saying: ‘You and your Shiites will come before God gratified and content while your foes will appear before him angry and chained’.

This view is however not grounded in scholarship. To most Muslim scholars and historians, Shiism originated either at *Saqifa* or the battle of Siffin both of which occurred after the passing of the Prophet.

The emergence of Shiism brought many theological and practical differences between Shiites and members of the majority Muslim Sunni community. The most glaring of these are the practical differences. Shiites have a different call to prayer, they add Ali’s name to the call to prayer. They perform ablution differently and say their daily ritual prayer differently. Shiite practice also permits temporal marriage (*mut’ah*) and dissimulation (*taqiya*).

Shiism is itself divided into a number of groups including the *Ithna Ashariyah*, the *Zaydiyah* and the *Ismailiyah* sub sects. This division according to Tabatabai (1975) started with ‘the martyrdom of Husayn’ which saw many Shiites breaking away from the majority *Ithna Asahriaya* group to form sub groups over who should succeed Husayn (p 72).

It is the *Ithna Ashariyah* that is found in Ave Afiadenyigba. It was introduced there by Sheikh Issa Sualih in 1992. This was shortly after his return from the Ahlul-Bayt Teacher Training Centre in Accra. Explaining the genesis of *Ithna Ashariyah* Shiite Islam in the settlement to this researcher,

Sheikh Issa, a 45 year old Islamic school teacher and resident of the settlement intimated that upon his return from Accra, the community owned Ansaru-Deen Islamic School was in desperate need of teachers. This, coupled with his strong desire to contribute to the educational development of the community, prompted him to take a teaching appointment at the school. While there, the Sheikh began to share his beliefs and practices with his students. Before long a number of them switched over to Shiism. His efforts in spreading *Ithna Ashariyah* Shiite beliefs and practices did not end at his school. Rather he persuaded Sheikh Dauda to give a thirty minute slot every Friday before the arrival of the Imam to share his views with the faithful. This also allowed the Sheikh to reach an even larger audience which helped increased membership to his sect. Today, the *Ithna Ashariyah* Islam has a very vibrant following in the community (I. Salih, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

Christian Sects

As stated earlier, Ave Afiadenyigba also has a number of Christian denominations vying for the attention of the Christian faithful. The most prominent of these are the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical Presbyterians. As a prelude to the discussion on Christian Muslim relations in the settlement, the study presents the following historical background of these denominations:

The Roman Catholic

According to Feter Korbla Dominique Ahiawor, a 62 year old Catechist of the Ave Afiadenyigba Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholicism was introduced to Ave Afiadenyigba by Amagavi Philip and

Rafel Adetsi Kpodo in 1924. This was long before the arrival of other Christian denominations to the area. Explaining the history of the Roman Catholic faith in the settlement to this researcher the Catechist intimated that shortly after the return of the two gentlemen from Dzodze where they had embraced Roman Catholicism at the hands of Bishop Anthony Crist, the founder of the St. Anthony Roman Catholic Church in Dzodze, they felt the need to take their people out of 'idol worship and other ungodly practices'. Accordingly, they established a Church (initially made of Palm fronds and named it St. Anthony Roman Catholic Church) where they started their missionary activities.

With an initial membership of six, according to the Catechist, their missionary activities faced many challenges especially from members of the Traditional religion. On one occasion, he claimed, while the founders were going round the community inviting people to Christ a group of disenchanted members of the Traditional religion vandalized their makeshift Church premise.

This notwithstanding the preachers continued their work until 1944 when with the help of the Catholic Church in Dzodze they were able to establish the first Primary School in the settlement. This school, the Ave Afiadenyigba Roman Catholic Primary, influenced many locals to enroll their wards in the school and to accept Christianity as well.

Today the Roman Catholic Church has a large following with a number of schools and structures in the settlement. These include the Roman Catholic Primary and Junior High Schools, the Catholic Youth Organization

and the Ave Afiadenyigba Credit Union (F.K.D. Ahiawor, personal communication, December 1, 2010).

The Evangelical Presbyterian

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church was brought to Ave Afiadenyigba by Moses Afenu in 1940. This according to Mathias Gadasu the 47 year old current leader of the Church was after Afianu had converted to Presbyterianism at the hands of one Reverend Adonu in Ho. Once in the settlement Gadasu explained Afenu started his missionary activities by first holding Church services at his home and then preaching the gospel to members of his community on a one- on- one basis. As time went by Gadasu continued, members of the local community started joining in and before long with the help of his followers Afenu acquired land at Old Ave Afiadenyigba and constructed a Church house where he and his members worshipped freely (M. Gadasu, personal communication, December 5, 2010).

Today the Evangelical Presbyterian Church also has considerable following in the settlement second only to the Roman Catholic Church. It is also the proud founder of the Ave Afiadenyigba Evangelical Presbyterian Primary School with a population of about 201 pupils.

Christian - Muslim relations

With respect to Christian-Muslim relation in the settlement the study found it to be very cordial and peaceful. In an interview with Sualih Musah a 43 year old member of the *Zakat* Committee he intimated that in spite of their doctrinal differences the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the

community has been 'friendly and respectful'. This friendliness he claimed is most pronounced during the Muslim festivals of *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Adha*. On these occasions he continued Muslims invite their Christian friends and relatives to their homes to eat and make merry. In addition to these two festivals he explained that Muslims often invite their Christian brethren to their wedding and naming ceremonies. Here too, he claimed that the Christians not only attend but also make contributions and donations to the families concerned. (M. Sualih, personal communication, December 5, 2010)

This account was corroborated by a number of Christians in the study area including Fetor Korbla Dominique Ahiawor of the Roman Catholic Church. In an interview Ahiawor praised the state of Christian-Muslim relations in the settlement and cites instances where Christians invited their Muslim friends to slaughter chickens and goats intended to celebrate Easter and Christmas so that they can then partake in the meals. Muslims he further explained also attend Christian weddings and naming ceremonies. On such occasions he went on Christians are careful not to serve their Muslim brethren with alcohol or pork, the consumption of which is proscribed in Islam.

In addition, according to the Catechist, the Roman Catholic Church which owns Ave Afiadenyigba Credit Union provides credit facilities to members of the Muslim community in the settlement. This, he argued, was to help foster the peace and harmony that existed between the two sides (F.K.D.Ahiawor, personal communication, December 1, 2010).

It should be noted that while there might have been instances of intolerance and hostility in the history of Christian Muslim relations in some

parts of the world, on the whole, the relationship between Christians and Muslims has been one of tolerance, respect and co-operation. This fact is reflected in both the number of Qur'anic verses which encourage Muslims to relate positively with their Christian brethren and the attitude of the Prophet towards the Christian faith and its leaders during his lifetime.

For instance in Qur'an 29: 46 Muslims are instructed to avoid engaging in ill tempered arguments and quarrels with Christians. They are encouraged to engage in healthy debates that will add to their understanding and appreciation of each others' points of view. It states that:

And argue not with the people of the Scripture unless it be in (a way) that is better save with such of them as do wrong; and say: We believe in that which has been revealed unto us and revealed unto you ; our God and your God is One and unto him we surrender

Another instance is when Allah in Qur'an 5: 5 makes food prepared by Christians lawful for Muslims and allows Muslim men to marry Christian women. The verse states that:

This day all things good and pure are made lawful unto you. The food of the People of the Book is lawful unto you and yours is lawful unto them. (Lawful unto you in marriage) are not only chaste women who are believers but chaste women among the People of the Book

Again, according to Subhani (2007), the Prophet in AD 631 received a highly educated Christian delegation from Najran (in present day Yemen) who came to conduct an investigatory dialogue with the Prophet. This delegation

the author explains was warmly welcomed by the Prophet and even allowed to enter in his mosque. It was the first time the author continues that Christians entered and prayed in a mosque.

For their part, it would be recalled that it was Christian Abyssinia under the leadership of King Negus which offered refuge and protection to some persecuted Muslims from Makkah in the early days of the religion. Before their departure to Abyssinia, according to Subhani (2007) the Prophet is reported to have praised Negus saying:

If you travel to Ethiopia it will be very profitable for you, on account of the presence of a mighty and just ruler, nobody is oppressed there and the land of that country is good and pure and you can live there till Almighty Allah provides you relief (p.232).

The examples cited above make clear the fact that Christians and Muslims have in the past co existed peacefully and this should continue even today for the benefit of not only the communities involved but of society at large.

Shiite -Tijaniyah relations

Investigations carried out by this researcher revealed that in spite of some initial misgivings on the part of the Tijaniyah about certain Shiite religious practices the relationship between the two religious groups is warm and cordial. Sheikh Dauda Dupe, head of the Tijaniyah Sufi Order in the settlement told this researcher in an interview that he and his congregation were particularly concerned about the Shiite practice of prostrating on a piece

of stone while saying their ritual prayer. This worry he continued initially prevented him and his followers from allowing members of the Shiite community to lead congregational prayers at the community's mosque.

After conducting an investigatory dialogue with Sheikh Issah Sualih, the leader of the Shiite sect in the community however, all his reservations 'disappeared'. This he argued was because the Shiite leader was able to provide him with concrete evidence from the Qur'an and the Sunnah to support all Shiite practices including prostration on the stone.

Today the relationship between the two groups is so cordial that at the request of the Shiite community the carpet in the community's mosque has been replaced with a bare mat. This according to Sheikh Dauda is to accommodate the Shiite rule which proscribes prostration on a carpet (S.D. Dupe, personal communication, 10 December, 2010).

In view of the above discussion it is clear that Muslim merchants and clerics played a major role in the introduction and spread of Islam on the continent. It is further evident that in modern Ghana and Ave Afiyadenyigba the advent of Islam was mainly facilitated by the healing and other supernatural powers of Muslim clerics criss-crossing the area. The healing activities of these clerics more than anything else had a singular impression on the local population and persuaded them to embrace Islam.

Now as a religion with rules and regulations governing all aspects of human life, Islam's introduction to the study area brought significant changes to the socio cultural life of the people. In some cases it transformed their world view and their attitudes to their fellow men and life in general. In the next

chapter the researcher will examine the impact of Islam on the lives of its adherents in the study area and then concludes the data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF ISLAM IN AVE AFIADENYIGBA

This chapter is the final of two chapters that deal with data collection and analysis in this study. As such, this chapter collects and analysis data on Islam in Ave Afiadenyigba. It looks at Islam's religious, economic and social impact on the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement. It does this by using available literature on Islam in the area and information gathered from relevant resource persons in the settlement. These resource persons were the *Ulama* (Muslim scholars), the Imam, the Chief, Traditional Priests and members of the general public and even students of the various educational institutions in the study area.

Religious Impact

As stated in chapter two, prior to the introduction of Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba traditional religion reigned supreme in the religious consciousness of its inhabitants. Under this religious dispensation locals combined belief in *Mawu* (God) and other earthly deities. They worshipped and offered sacrifices to various sky and earthly deities in pursuit of favours and protection. They believed in the supernatural powers of deities like Amesikpe and his ability to help or hurt human beings.

Against this background the work first looked at the stage Islam made its appearance in the village before assessing its impact. To this end, the Chief, the Imam and the Traditional Priest were interviewed. In the interview, they

all asserted that Islam was introduced to Ave Afiadenyigba in the 1920s. This, according to them, was when '*Alfa Hussein*, the first Muslim cleric from Niger arrived in the area and started inviting people to Islam'. They backed their assertions with a number of documents at the Chief's palace. One of these documents titled 'Deeds of Gifts' contains relevant information on the history of early Muslim settlers in the settlement including information relating to the transfer of a parcel of land from the chief to the Muslim community for its development (T. F Gbordzekpor 111, personal communication, June 10, 2009).

This assertion is credible because aside these documents, the claim is in agreement with the overall position of available literature on the history of Islam in the Region. For instance, Levtzion (1968) puts the date of Islam's introduction to the Region at '1882' (p. 37). This means that it is possible for Islam to have found its way to this community decades after its maiden contact with the region.

Similarly, *Alfa Hussein's* involvement in Islam's entry into Ave Afiadenyigba is in tune with the general trend of Islamization in the sub region including modern Ghana. Scholars like Clarke (1982), Hiskett (1984) and Levtzion (1968) emphasize the role of Muslim clerics in the introduction and spread of Islam in West Africa. According to these writers, these clerics often came into contact with these cultures as merchants and medicine men. With the passage of time, their sincerity and ability to cure physical and spiritual ailments impressed their hosts which made them accept Islam. In the case of Ave Afiadenyigba, for example, the spiritual abilities of *Alfa Hussein* alone

proved convincing enough to change the heart of a very dedicated traditional priest and eventually a good number of locals.

The other factor which facilitated the conversions of the indigenes to Islam according to the field work was the phenomenon of intermarriages between Muslim settlers and local women. Many of the early Muslim settlers who came to the settlement as police officers married local women and remained in the settlement after retirement. These women and their children ultimately became Muslim. Salamatu Al-Hassan, a Muslim resident of the settlement, is a product of that system, her father Al-Hassan 'Major', was an officer serving at the British colonial police post in the area (A.Salamatu, personal communication, June 15, 2009).

This form of conversion is well noted among historians. In fact some writers consider it the only method of Islamization in the Volta Region. For example, according to Gaba (1997), Ewe converts in the southeast of the Volta Region where this study area is situated 'consist exclusively of local women married to settler Muslims and their children' (pp.100-101). While this assertion may be true in the rest of the Southeast, in Ave Afiadenyigba itself, this study did not find any evidence to suggest that this was the only mode of conversion. Rather, interviews conducted with the Imam, the Chief and other identifiable informants in the study area revealed that intermarriages was one of two main methods of conversion with the other being the supposed spiritual abilities of Muslim clerics.

Now, after about a hundred year presence in the midst of the indigenous inhabitants of the settlement, the expectation is that, like Northern Ghana where the introduction of Islam is believed to have significantly

impacted the socio cultural life of its host cultures and communities, in Ave Afiadenyigba, the religion has impacted the community in one way or the other. Thus, the study sought to find out what impact Islam has had on the inhabitants of the settlement. To facilitate this investigation, this study used the five pillars of Islam namely *Tawhid* (belief in One God), *Salat* (obligatory prayer), *Zakat* (almsgiving), *Siyam* (fasting) and *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah) as the first of several criteria to assess the impact of Islam in the community. This is because Islam attaches much significance to these pillars. It considers them the most fundamental principles which every Muslim must observe to be part of the Muslim *Ummah* (nation). In one of his traditions the Prophet is reported to have said that:

Islam is based on (the following) five (principles): To testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Muhammad is Allah's Apostle, To offer the (obligatory) prayers dutifully and perfectly, To pay *Zakat* (i.e. obligatory charity), To perform *Hajj*. (i.e. Pilgrimage to Mecca), To observe fast during the month of *Ramadhan* (Nawawi 1997, 21).

This literally means that Islam stands on the above stated principles and whosoever wants to be a Muslim must observe these fundamental principles to the letter. Using the above as a guide, the study found that the advent of Islam has impacted the local community in many respects including these five areas as follows:

Tawhid

One of the first things the study discovered was that the advent of Islam in the settlement has led many hitherto loyal followers of the traditional religion to convert to Islam and replace their combine belief in *Mawu* (God) and other deities with *tawhid* or Islamic monotheism. Idrissu Salih, Chief of the Muslim community put the percentage of Muslims in Ave Afiadenyigba at 8.3 of its inhabitants. Among the early converts were the erstwhile Traditional Priest and his son Zakari and Yahya Dupe as well as the current Chief Imam of the settlement Sheikh Dauda Dupe.

In line with the Islamic teachings on *tawhid*, this study observed that although members of the Muslim community participated in Traditional ceremonies such as marriage and funerals, they did not take part in any activities that compromised the Islamic position on *tawhid*. They did not take part in the pouring of libation or offering of prayer to the Traditional gods nor did they partake in the consumption of pork meat or alcoholic drinks both of which are forbidden in Islam.

Salat

The journey of the converts of Ave Afiadenyigba to Islam did not end with the *kalima*. Rather, after testifying that there is no deity worthy of worship but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger, this study revealed that they went on to embrace *salat* (obligatory prayers). They prayed in their houses, their farms and converged on the community mosque named after

Samiya Ahmed Muhammad Khalil to say their Friday and congregational prayer.

This mosque was built by the Kuwait Zakat House in co-operation with the Islamic Council for Development and Humanitarian Services Ghana. This Non Governmental Organization often sources funds from Muslim philanthropists in the Gulf for the construction of mosques and other facilities in deprived Muslim communities in Africa. After construction, the organization often names the facility after its sponsor, thus, the Samiya Ahmed Muhammad Khalil mosque was probably named after its benefactor. With a sitting capacity of about one hundred and twenty (120) worshippers, the mosque serves as the centre of Muslim prayer and devotion in the settlement.

This positive attitude toward *salat*, the study found, was borne out of the fact that upon conversion the converts are immediately taken through a crash course which Sheikh Dauda Dupe titled 'the five pillars of Islam'. During this period the Sheikh explained, the converts are taught about *salat*, *zakat* and *siyam* among others. Prophetic traditions exalting and equating *salat* to all other Muslim religious practices put together are read and translated to them. Qur'anic verses warning of chastisement and punishment for those who neglect *salat* are also brought to their attention. These teachings the Sheikh believed made and continue to make huge impressions on converts and instil the habit of *salat* in them (S. D.Dupe, personal communication, July, 5, 2009).

The Sheikh's stance on the significance of *salat* to the converts is in line with the Islamic position on *salat*. As a matter of fact, in Islam *salat* is an obligatory act of worship and must be performed five times a day at prescribed

times. The five times are: *Fajr*, (dawn), *Dhur*, (immediately after noon), *Asr*, (mid-afternoon), *Maghrib*, (sunset), and *Isha* (early night). *Salat* is carried out with verses from the Qur'an accompanied by various bodily postures - standing, bowing, prostrating and sitting. These verses are said in Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. While saying *salat*, worshippers are required to face the *Qiblah*, (the direction of the *Ka'bah* in the city of Makkah). Before *salat*, ablution is required. Ablution is the ritual cleansing of the body with water in preparation for *salat*. Ablution consists of washing the hands, the face, the mouth, the nose, the arms and elbows, wiping over ones head, and washing the feet to the ankles.

Zakat

After *salat*, the next most important act of worship in Islam is the payment of *zakat*. *Zakat* is the third of the five pillars of Islam. The Arabic word '*zaka*' literally means to 'purify' or to 'grow'. In Islam *zakat* refers to the annual alms tax required of every adult Muslim with sufficient means. According to Amini (1985) 'the rate of *zakat* is two and half percent of one's capital in excess of one's basic needs that has remained in one's possession for a year' (p 72). For this excess to be liable for *zakat* however, according to the author, it must have remained in one's possession for a year. The goods taxed for *zakat* include: 'grains; fruit; camels; cattle; sheep and goats; gold and silver; and movable goods' (p. 74). The recipients of *zakat* as stated in Qur'an 9: 60 are: the poor, the needy, the new Muslim converts, the Muslim prisoners of war Muslims in debt, employees appointed to collect *zakat*, Muslims in service of research or study or propagation of Islam, wayfarers who are foreigners in need of help.

According to Sulemana (2004), ‘if strictly implemented *zakat* could mitigate some of the social suffering in Muslim communities since the primary beneficiaries are the poor and the needy’ (p 89). *Zakat* therefore is not only about the purification of one’s wealth; it is also about the economic empowerment of the destitute in the Islamic *Ummah*. It is about bringing joy hope and happiness to the hearts of the needy in Muslim communities while they find permanent ways of sustenance.

Like *salat*, the generality of the Muslim community attaches much significance to the payment of *zakat* in Ave Afiadenyigba. Unlike other Muslim communities in Ghana in which ‘*zakat* is not observed or strictly practiced’ (Sulemana 2004, 91), the study found that the Muslim leadership in the settlement has recently established a *zakat* committee and trained *zakat* collectors for the purpose of organized *zakat* collection and distribution. Outlining the activities of the *Zakat* Committee to this researcher, its head, Munkaila Garba, a 54 year old Qur’anic school teacher explained that since coming into being in 2005, the committee has trained five *zakat* collectors. These *zakat* men include: Alhassan Tamim Darr, Sualih Musa and Fadil Dawud.

During harvest seasons he explained that these men are often invited by prospective *zakat* payers to their farms to assist them determine the quantity of grains they should give out as *zakat*. Grains and other farm produce obtained from the farms are stored in the old mosque which now serves as the *zakat* house for distribution. Part of the proceeds from the *zakat* fund according to Garba, are usually distributed to the poor and the needy while the rest is reserved for developmental purposes. For example he claimed

that recent repairs done to the mosque and the Islamic school of the community were paid for out of the *zakat* fund (M.Garba, personal communication, July 5, 2009).

While the establishment of a Zakat Committee in a small farming community like Ave Afiadenyigba may seem ambitious to some it is actually a laudable move. As stated above, one of the objectives of *zakat* is to help alleviate the suffering of members of the Muslim community. Thus, any act that helps realize that objective is in line with the Islamic teaching on *zakat*. Indeed during the lifetime of the Prophet according to Sulemana (2004) people were trained in zakat collection and they went round the Muslim community to collect zakat from the rich for the benefit of all.

Siyam

Next in importance after *zakat*, is *Siyam* or fasting in the Muslim month of *Ramadan*. Indeed fasting in the month of *Ramadan*, which is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar is ordained by *Allah* in the Qur'an for all adult Muslims. Qur'an 2: 182 states: 'O you who believe fasting is prescribed to you as it was prescribed to those before you. That you may (learn) self-restraint'.

This means that fasting in *Ramadan* is part of the broader program that Islam prescribes for human beings to fulfill their moral and spiritual destiny in this world and in the Hereafter. Its objective is to give the human being the power to keep in check his beastly desires and tendencies that make him prone to greed and anger, and make him commit various sins and acts of aggression and oppression.

The fast of *Ramadan* begins each day at dawn and ends at dusk or immediately the Sun sets. According to Maghniya (1980), during this period, all fasting Muslims must abstain or be free from the following:

- Eating and drinking
- Sexual intercourse
- Masturbation
- Anything that is regarded as eating and drinking
- Letting blood by means of cupping and the like
- Vomiting deliberately
- Menstruation and bleeding after child birth

Further to this the fasting public according to the author should also refrain from telling lies, backbiting, gossiping, quarrelling, earning through unlawful means and any act which may harm or cause grief to another person.

Like other acts of worship in Islam, the Muslim faithful of Ave Afiadenyigba take fasting seriously. Investigations carried out by this work revealed that unlike other Muslim communities where ‘controversies have often arisen in connection with the beginning and end of the *Ramadan* fast’ (Sulemana 2004, 107), the Muslim community in the settlement begin and end their *Ramadan* fast without rancour or acrimony. According to Imam Dauda, this state of affairs is due to ‘the reverence and respect the community accords the National Chief Imam’. To the Muslim community of Ave Afiadenyigba the Imam explained, Shehu Sharabutu is considered the head of the Ghanaian Muslim *Ummah* whose pronouncements on *Ramadan* and other religious

matters must be implemented without reservation. Thus, when the National Chief Imam directs that Muslims should start fasting ‘we start and when he says we should end fasting we end’. This means that if Muslims in other parts of Ghana behave like these in the study area, the unity that has eluded the *Ummah* would have been realized (S. D. Dupe, personal communication, July 3, 2009).

Now, while some may find this position rather submissive it seems reasonable to this researcher. This is because by accepting the directives of the National Chief Imam the community spares itself all the usual squabbles and disagreements associated with the beginning and the end of the *Ramadan* fast in other communities. This breeds unity and fosters brotherliness in the settlement.

Furthermore, scholars occupy a very noble status in Islam. As such respect for them, their teachings and guidance is required of all Muslims. Indeed in the sight of Allah their position is higher than the position of others in this world and in the Hereafter. Qur’an 58: 11 states that: ‘*Allah* will exalt in degree those of you who believe and those who have been granted knowledge’. This means that even among the true believers those with knowledge enjoy special position in the sight of *Allah* and this should make them worthy of the respect of the Muslim community in which they live.

Hajj

After *siyam*, *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah) is the fifth and last pillar of Islam. Accordingly, *hajj* is compulsory upon every able-bodied Muslim to be performed at least once in his or her lifetime. Qur'an 22: 27 states:

And proclaim the Pilgrimage among men: they will come to you on foot and (mounted) on every camel, lean (on account of journeys) through deep and distant mountain high-ways; That they may witness the benefits (provided) for them and celebrate the name of Allah through the Days.

Hajj takes place annually during the first ten days of *Dhu al-Hijja*, the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar. According to Shariati (1994) before starting the rituals of *Hajj*, pilgrims must be in a state of *ihram* (consecration). *Ihram* involves 'Men wearing two pieces of white unsewn cloth - covering the waist and legs, the other around the shoulders covering the upper body' (p.13). While in *ihram*, the author continues, 'pilgrims must not cut hair or nails, wear perfumes, kill animals or insects, or engage in any kind of sexual relations (including proposals of marriage)' (p. 19). The rituals of *Hajj* include circumambulating the *Ka'ba*, standing at *Arafat*, praying at the station of Ibrahim and sacrificing an animal at *Mina*.

While the Muslim faithful in Ave Afiadenyigba are aware of its existence the study found that only two individuals have actually embarked on the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Makkah. These are: Alhaji Salman Titilorkpor and Alhaji Zakariyah Ishaq. The reason for this is due to the lack

of financial resources on the part of the majority of the Muslim faithful in the settlement. Indeed of the two who have gone on the journey the study revealed that only one of them did so out of his own resources. The other, namely Alhaji Zakariyah Ishaq, a 50 year old petty trader was sponsored by the Government of Ghana in 2009 (A. Z. Ishaq, personal communication, June, 10, 2009).

Economic Impact

As a religion and a complete way of life, Islam encourages work in general and commerce in particular. Qur'an 2: 275 states that: 'Allah has permitted trade and forbidden usury'. Against this background, this study sought to know how Islam has impacted the economy of the settlement.

Here, the study revealed that the introduction of Islam to the study area has played a major role in the economic empowerment of its inhabitants. This is probably because Islam was accompanied into the settlement by many Muslim merchants from Northern Ghana and farther afield. These traders, the study discovered, were involved in almost all levels of business and commercial activities in the settlement. They reared and sold cattle; owned and ran commercial vehicles and motor bikes and their youth engaged in petty trading in and around the settlement with things like textiles, knives, belts, jewellery and perfumes among others. As for their women folk the study found that they were engaged in preparation and sale of traditional foods like rice, beans and *koko* (porridge). These business activities inject cash into the local economy and provide the much needed revenue for the District Assembly.

Notwithstanding the above, this researcher also discovered that some members of the Muslim community were engaged in a number of un-Islamic trading activities. For example it was discovered that some members of the Muslim farming community grew palm trees and sold them over to palm wine tappers.

This practice has no place in Islamic commerce. In one of his traditions the Prophet is reported to have said that: 'Allah curses all intoxicants (alcoholic beverages); (He also curses) the one who drinks it and the one who serves it, the one who sells it and the one who buys it.' (Tirmidhi, 1985, 57). This means that the growing of trees that produce alcoholic beverages and selling it to others is unacceptable in Islam and all Muslims should not engage in such business ventures.

Furthermore, this study also revealed that a number of the Muslim youth in the community had taken to the smuggling of Petrol from Ghana to the Republic of Togo. They often bought this commodity at a reduced price and sold it exorbitantly in Togo making substantial profits out of it. While Islam does not prohibit trade in Petrol it is against doing so at the expense of the laws of the land in this case Ghana. This makes the practice both *haram* (unlawful) and illegal.

These activities may be due to high levels of unemployment in the Muslim community. As stated in chapter three, the Muslim youth in the community find it difficult getting employment mainly because most of them did not have access to secular education and are therefore not well empowered for the secular job market. This state of affairs leaves them with little option

than to engage in some of these risky and un-Islamic practices to the detriment of their faith and their community.

Social Impact

On the socio-cultural front, the study found that Islam has made valuable contribution in the fields of education, health care and the traditional practices associated with marriage and funerals as follows:

Education

One of the distinctive features of Islam is its emphasis on knowledge. The Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet invite Muslims to seek and acquire knowledge. According to Mutahari (2004) 'the word *al-Ilm*, or knowledge and its derivatives are used more than 780 times in the Qur'an' (p.10). Indeed, the first few verses that were revealed to the Prophet mention the importance of reading, the pen, and teaching for human beings. Accordingly, in the field of education, the study revealed that Muslim clerics have made substantial contributions to the provision of basic literary education to the youth of the settlement. According to Ilyasu Zachariah a 62 year old former assemblyman of the community, prior to the introduction of Islam to the settlement there were hardly any literates in their midst. He claimed that the few who had embraced Christianity and had learnt the art of reading and writing often moved to Accra and other urban centres in pursuit of greener pastures. The advent of Islam however changed that. Islam facilitated the establishment of *Alfa Hussein's Makaranta* or Qur'anic school which is now an Arabic school. This school admitted many local converts and equipped

them with literacy in Arabic and other Islamic sciences (I. Zachariah, personal communication, July 15, 2009).

Furthermore, the study found that members of the Shiite community have been assisting the few Muslim high school graduates in the settlement with scholarships to pursue undergraduate studies at the Islamic University College, Ghana. According to Issah Sualih, the community's *Ithna Ashariya* Shiite brand leader, two of these students have since graduated and are now gainfully employed as graduate teachers in the region while three are still pursuing their studies in the university (I. Sualih, personal communication, June 20, 2009).

Health

In Islam *Allah* is believed to be the healer of all ailments including those considered terminal. Qur'an 17: 82 states that: 'And we sent down in the Qur'an such things that have healing and mercy for the believers'. This has been interpreted by some Muslim scholars to mean that the Qur'an contains verses with curative powers. There are verses which when utilized by the spiritually endowed can heal many forms of physical, mental and psychological afflictions. With this in mind, this study assessed Muslim contribution to healthcare delivery in the settlement. The study found that many Tijaniyah Muslim clerics in the area were actively involved in the provision of health care to the sick in the community. In an interview with two popular Tijaniyah Muslim scholars in the community namely Dauda Dupe (the Chief Imam) and Muhammad Dawud it came to light that with the help of *Allah* and the use of certain Qur'anic verses, 'they could cure various complex

physical and mental conditions'. They identified 'stroke, fit, impotence, infertility and madness' as some of the ailments that they had cured over the years (S. D Dupe, personal communication, July 7, 2009).

To ascertain the veracity of the clerics' claims, this researcher interviewed some of their beneficiaries. In the interview, Zainab, a 27 year old Muslim petty trader and Jamilatu Abdullai a 34 year old seamstress confirmed the above claims and attributed their first pregnancies after many years of fertility problems to the healing powers of Muslim clerics in the settlement (J.Abdullai, personal communication, July 10, 2009).

Apart from these interventions, the study further discovered that clerics of the Tijaniyah Order had other spiritual remedies to protect the public on demand. They manufactured and in some cases sold talismans and amulets to members of the general public. These are protective amulets meant to insulate bearers from maladies and misfortunes. According to Robinson (2004), the manufacture of talismans and amulets involves:

A scholar who knows Arabic and the holy texts and could write the appropriate verse for an individual's needs', and a leather worker who would place the paper verse inside a leather pouch and construct a string or necklace to attach the amulet to the body (p.45).

Now, it should be noted that the use of Qur'anic verses whether as talismans, charms or portions to attract good luck, neutralize spells or alleviate pain and affliction is nothing new in Islam. As a matter of fact, the Qur'an is replete with verses reminding people of its ability to heal all kinds of mental and psychological afflictions. In one of many such verses it states: 'And

declare (O Muhammad) that (the Qur'an) is guidance and healing for the believers'. Qur'an 41:44. This means that Muslims can use the contents of the Qur'an to alleviate pain and suffering of members of their communities. Indeed, during his lifetime, the Prophet is reported to have recited chapters 113 and 114 of the holy Qur'an otherwise known as the *Al-Mawezatain* (the two takings of refuge) to neutralize a spell Labid the sorcerer was believed to have cast on him. On another occasion he is said to have recommended another prayer of refuge in cases where people fell seriously ill. It is recorded in this tradition:

Uthman b. Abi al-As said that he went to the Apostle of Allah (may peace be upon him) and reported that he was suffering from such acute pain as brought him near death The Apostle of Allah (may peace be upon him) said: Pass your right hand seven times upon the seat of pain and say: I seek refuge in the honour and power of Allah from the evil that has come upon me. Uthman said: I recited accordingly and my pain vanished and that I asked my household and others always to do so (Malik 2000, 397).

In spite of this clear precedent set by the Prophet on this issue, in recent times, some sections of the Muslim population especially the Wahabis who prefer to be known as Ahlu al-Sunnah have tended to frown upon the manufacture and use of amulets and talismans even when they are entirely made of Qur'anic verses. They often back their position with Prophetic traditions which seem to suggest that the Prophet never entertained the use of Qur'anic verses for cure or protection. This stance is difficult to accept in view

of the overwhelming evidence from the Qur'an and authentic traditions of the Prophet to the contrary.

Marriage

Islam proscribes pre and extra marital sex. Islam considers marriage or *nikah* as the only legitimate means for the satisfaction of human sexual desires and by extension perpetuation of mankind through procreation. Consequently, the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions lay emphasis on marriage. Qur'an 30: 21 states that: 'And among His Signs is that He created for you mates from among yourselves that you may dwell in tranquillity with them...' Furthermore, the Prophet is reported to have said in a tradition: 'Whoever chooses to follow my tradition must get married' (Ibn Maja p. 90). Against this background, this section discusses the following Islamic conditions of marriage and assesses the extent to which Islam has impacted traditional marriage practices in the study area. According to Sallie (1996, 72) these conditions are:

- Mutual agreement.
- *Sadaq* or *Mahr*. (Dowry)
- Matrimonial guardian.
- Two witnesses.

Elaborating on the points mentioned above, Sallie explains that, the first of the above mentioned rules requires that since marriage is regarded as a social contract in Islam, before a man can marry a woman both the man and woman

must agree to the marriage. Neither the man nor the woman should be forced into the marriage, even if the woman is a virgin.

After agreeing to marry each other the next important condition to be fulfilled by the man is the payment of the dowry. Qur'an 4: 4 states: 'And give unto the women (whom you marry) their dower as an obligation'. This verse makes clear the fact that payment of dowry is a prerequisite of marriage in Islam. Having said that, Islam, has not specified the amount to be paid. Perhaps this is to enable people of all classes in society who wish to marry to do so on their own and according to their abilities.

The third condition talked about the necessity of the woman to have a guardian or *Wali*. This according to the author simply means that before marriage can be contracted between a man and a woman in Islam, the woman must produce a guardian or a legal representative to arrange the terms of the marriage on her behalf. This guardian can be her father, grandfather or any trustworthy male relative of hers. The guardian must be a male, mature, sane and of impeccable character. This, the author explains, is to make sure that he makes sound decisions on her behalf.

The fourth and final requirement referred to above is the presence of two individuals of impeccable character to witness the contract. The duty of these individuals is to ensure that the terms agreed upon by the man and the woman or their representatives are observed. Once the above stated conditions are met and the marriage is consummated, the groom can and normally organizes a wedding banquet called a *walima* and invite neighbours, and friends to make them aware of the marriage and celebrate the union. At this ceremony speeches and sermons admonishing the new couple to live upright

lives are given by scholars while friends and family members present whatever gifts they have for the wedding couple. Prayers are also said for fertility and prosperity in their lives.

Funeral

Islam considers death as the ultimate end of every living soul. Qur'an 2:156 states that: 'Verily, we are Almighty God's and verily to Him shall we return'. Consequently, Islam has put in place the following rites and rituals to help with this transition. According to Shimemiri (2004), upon death, Islam requires of those present to close the eyes of the deceased and cover his or her body temporarily with a clean sheet in preparation for burial. Thereafter, Islam directs that the body be washed and shrouded respectfully with clean and scented water by the family or other members of the community. After this, funeral prayers (*salat-l- janazah*) are said on the deceased by the community. The funeral prayer is similar in nature to the five daily prayers, with a few variations. For example, there is no bowing or prostration, and the entire prayer is said silently but for a few words. This then should be followed by the burial. Here the deceased is laid in the grave without a coffin on his or her right side, facing Makkah.

Like in other departments of life, this study found that the introduction of Islam has impacted on traditional funeral rites in the settlement. As stated in chapter two, prior to the advent of Islam in the area, traditional religious practices dictated that among other things, in case of a barren man dying, the ritual of inserting a piece of stick into his male organ be performed. Furthermore, before burial tradition demanded the inclusion of money into the deceased coffin for use on their way to the afterlife.

The introduction of Islam into the settlement has changed those

practices. The Muslim members of the community no longer observe those rituals. They have replaced them with the above stated Islamic funeral rites and rituals. Furthermore, the study observed that in addition to the actual funeral rites, after burial, like other members of the Tijaniyah Order in Ghana, those in Ave Afiadenyigba observe four main commemorative ceremonies for their departed: One on the day of the burial, one on the third day after the funeral, one on the seventh day after the funeral, and finally, one on the fortieth day. On each of these days, the study discovered that friends and family members gathered in the deceased person's house to recite the Qur'an and offer prayers on his or her behalf. While some Muslims take exception to this practice labeling it un-Islamic, this researcher believes that it is Islamic and has basis in the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions. Qur'an 59:10 states that:

And those who came after them say, "O our Lord! Forgive us, and our brothers who accepted faith before us, and do not keep any malice in our hearts towards the believers - O our Lord! Indeed You only are the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful.

The above mentioned verse is a clear indication that the companions of the prophet prayed for their predecessors in faith. This move by the companions shows that the act is both permissible and praiseworthy. It further shows that the reward of such prayers will definitely reach the souls of the deceased. Hence Muslims all over the country should be able to pray for their dead and ask *Allah* for their forgiveness.

Challenges facing Muslims in Ave Afiadenyigba

In spite of their resilience and determination to work for Islam and Muslims in the settlement, the Muslim community of Ave Afiadenyigba is beset with numerous challenges. The most glaring of these is the Muslim community's attitude to secular education, lack of educational infrastructure and the academic limitations of the Qur'anic school system.

Attitude towards secular education

Investigations carried out by this researcher revealed that the Muslim community's attitude towards secular education is far from being encouraging. According to Nutorkpe John, headteacher of the Ave Afiadenyigba Roman Catholic Primary School, although most of his three hundred pupils are Muslim and the school is situated in a Muslim dominated settlement of New Ave Afiadenyigba, Muslim pupils do not attend school regularly. He accused Muslim pupils of frequent mass absenteeism; a situation which he claimed sometimes leaves some of his classes half empty. According to the headteacher, it was not uncommon to see Muslim pupils running errands for their parents or idling about during school hours. All attempts to persuade parents to ensure their children's timely and regular attendance has so far proved futile. This attitude he argued has led to the relatively huge number of drop outs in the Muslim community (J.Nutorkpe, personal communication, June 20, 2009).

This attitude is rooted first, in the parents' fear that sending their children to secular or missionary schools is likely to compromise their faith or even lead to their conversion into Christianity. Second, this way of thinking emanates from the attitude of highly respected Muslim scholars towards other

forms of education. Muslim scholars have for many years overlooked the importance of any other form of education. They say that other forms of knowledge stand in the way of the Muslim as he strives to attain eternal bliss. Al-Gazali, considered perhaps the greatest Muslim thinker of his time writes:

I consider my activities of which the best was my teaching and lecturing, and realized that in them I was dealing with Sciences that were unimportant and contributed nothing to the attainment of eternal life (Watt, 1963, 135).

Hujwiri also intimates that 'it is not obligatory to learn all the sciences but only so much as bears upon religious law' (Schimmel 1975, 17). This means, enough astronomy to find the direction of Makkah as required for the correct performance of prayer, enough mathematics to figure out the legal amount of alms one has to pay and that is what every good Muslim should know. In a similar tone, *Afa* Tanko of the Ambarriyya Islamic Institute in Tamale states:

For as long as the *Afa* bids the boy say, *In the name of Allah the merciful the compassionate* and the boy repeats the words after him, God writes for the *Afa* and for the boy and his parents, a record which shall surely save them from fire (Hamid, 2002, 113)

These views are neither grounded in scholarship nor based on the Qur'an and authentic traditions of the Prophet. As a matter of fact, the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet are replete with verses and traditions inviting

Muslims to seek and acquire knowledge and to hold men of knowledge in high esteem. Qur'an 96:1-5 states:

Read in the name of your Lord who created, He created man from a clot. Read and your Lord is the most generous. He, Who taught (the use of) the Pen. He taught man that which he knew not.

This Qur'anic verse which talks about the importance of reading, the pen, and teaching for human beings does not distinguish between religious and non religious knowledge. It talks about knowledge generally whether it be mathematics, science, astronomy or psychology. As Mutahari rightly points out:

Islam's comprehensiveness and finality as a religion demands that every field of knowledge that is beneficial for an Islamic society be regarded as part and parcel of the religious sciences

Lack of educational infrastructure and adequate training

The other challenge facing the Muslim community of Ave Afiadenyigba is lack of basic infrastructure and adequate training necessary to facilitate teaching and learning. For example, the community's only Islamic school that provides pupils with basic training in Arabic language and other Islamic sciences is in a very deplorable condition. The walls of the four room structure are with huge cracks while parts of the roofing sheets have been destroyed by wind. The school also lacks adequate furniture for pupils and teachers. Many pupils are compelled to carry benches to school from their homes since the few worn out school benches cannot accommodate all of

them. Further to this according to Musa Zormelo, a former student of the school, throughout their training, students of these Islamic schools are not equipped with 'employable skills in today's competitive job market'. Their training is often restricted to the study of the Qur'an and the Arabic language. Consequently, upon completion, they find it hard getting employment (M. Zormelo, personal communication, June 21, 2009).

Lack of strict compliance with the Islamic regulations on marriage

Again, the study identified a number of shortcomings on the part of the Muslim community with respect to the above stated Islamic conditions of marriage. First, the study revealed that contrary to the Islamic regulation which forbids Muslim parents and guardians from coercing their sons and daughters into marriage, some Muslim parents were doing just that. In an interview with Rabiatu Al-Hassan, she said that her husband was chosen by her parents and that she had no choice than to agree to marry him. Second, the study found that some Muslim parents were in addition to the payment of the unspecified *mahr* stipulated by Islam, demanding expensive Wax cloths, watches, jewellery and other items to be included in the *mahr*. These items are collectively referred to as *Leifei* and are a must for any man wishing to marry in the community. *Leifei* is a Hausa term which means a collection of marriage gifts and dowry. (R. Al-Hassan, personal communication, July 13, 2009).

While Islam does not forbid men from gifting whatever they can to their prospective wives and in-laws, demanding a particular item to be included in the *mahr* is not part of Islam. Islam has not specified the amount of money or items a man should present as a gift or *mahr* in marriage. This as

stated earlier is to enable all willing members of the Muslim community to marry according to their means.

To impose demands on prospective husbands in the community is to discourage them from coming forward to marry and to push them into temptations and sin. This practice may be due to the belief among some members of the community that after many years of looking after their daughters, marriage is the best opportunity for them to get something back for their efforts. It may also be due to the belief among some members of the community that men tend to be lax in providing clothing and other items for their wives after marriage and should therefore be made to provide them before marriage.

In view of the above discussions it is clear that Islam has impacted almost every facet of life in the study area such as religion, health, education and marriage among others. It is further clear that unlike other Muslim communities in Ghana Muslims in Ave Afiadenyigba have put in place structures to maintain peace and cohesion in the communities in times of intra religious tensions in other parts of the nation.

These structures include leaving the final word on when to commence and end fasting in the month of Ramadan in the hands of the National Chief Imam. This issue has led to many disagreements in certain Muslim communities. For instance according to Sulaimana (2004) in 1993 ‘some Muslims started fasting on the 24th of February’ in defiance of the directive of the National Chief Imam to the effect that Ramadan fasting should start on the ‘21st of that month (108). Similarly, in 1998 the author continues members of

the Ahlul Sunnah Muslim sect in Tamale defied the National Chief Imam's instructions for the Eid ul-Fitr prayer to be said on the 29th of January. They instead said theirs on the 28th of January.

The other structure put in place is that of the *zakat* collection and distribution committee. This committee helps to ensure that all those who are entitled to receive *zakat* do so. This helps to reduce the mistrust that often exists between Muslim leaders and their followers with respect to the collection and distribution of *zakat*.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the discussions in the preceding chapters of this study, a conclusion and recommendations. Thus, it would be recalled that the first chapter of this work introduced the problem that necessitated this study, its objectives and its methodology among others. It was hoped that the study would find answers to questions like: When was Islam introduced to Ave Afiadenyigba? Who introduced Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba and what impact has Islam had on the socio-cultural life of the inhabitants of Ave Afiadenyigba? The above objectives were met when it came to light that Islam was introduced to the area in the 1920s by *Alfa* Hussein following his successful treatment of Kwaku Dupe, son of the traditional chief priest of Kpedome of his ailment. This intervention did not only lead to the conversion of the priest and his son but it also paved the way for the eventual Islamization of many other followers of traditional religion in Ave Afiadenyigba.

In the second chapter, a survey of Ave Afiadenyigba before the advent of Islam was presented. Here, the study showed that before the introduction of Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba, the settlement was a bastion of traditional religion where inhabitants combined belief in *Mawu* (God) with other deities. The chapter also highlighted traditional rites and rituals associated with marriage and funeral rites as a prelude to the advent and impact of Islam in the study area.

In the third chapter, where an over view of Islam in the region was discussed, it was shown that scholars and merchants played a crucial role in the introduction and development of Islam in the region. Here, particular emphasis was placed on the history and contributions of Muslim scholars like Alhaji Umar Kete Krachi, *Alfa* Hussein and Dauda Dupe of Ave Afiadenyigba among others.

The fourth chapter dealt with the impact of Islam in the study area. This included religious, economic and social among others. In this chapter, the pre-Islamic religious beliefs and practices in the study area were presented. It was shown that like other African cultures before the advent of Christianity and Islam, traditional religion was the religion of choice for the inhabitants of the study area. It was further shown that the advent of Islam had impacted the religious as well as the socio economic practices of the study area.

Conclusion

This study has shown that while there are sizable indigenous Muslim communities in Ave Afiadenyigba and in some parts of Kete Krachi, Hohoe and Ho among others, the overall presence and impact of Islam in the Volta Region has since its introduction to the Region, some two hundred or more years ago, remained negligible relative to other parts of modern Ghana.

With respect to Ave Afiadenyigba, the study area, this study has shown that ever since its introduction to the settlement, Islam has had significant impact on the socio cultural life of its inhabitants. In spite of this however, the study has also revealed some of the socio economic problems facing the Muslim community in the settlement.

In the field of education, the study showed that in spite of the presence of a Primary and Junior High Schools in their community, Muslim parents are still reluctant to send their children to school. In addition to this the study also showed that even those who availed their wards of secular education seldom monitor their attendance and progress at school.

In the field of trade and commerce this study has shown that many Muslim farmers and youth are engaged in certain un-Islamic practices such as the sale of palm-wine trees and the smuggling of contraband goods to neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the study revealed that Muslim parents are demanding expensive gifts to be included as part of their daughters' dowries contrary to the teachings of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet. Moreover the study has shown that some Muslim parents are coercing their children into arranged marriages.

Recommendations

Based on these findings, this study recommends the following:

Change of attitude towards secular education

As stated earlier, Islam is not against secular education. On the contrary, Islam is for any form of education that contributes to the development of the individual and his or her community including secular education. Therefore Muslim parents should change their attitude to it and avail their wards of this form of education. They can do this by:

- Adding secular courses to the community's Ansar Din Islamic School curriculum.

If subjects like Mathematics, Science and English language were included into the teaching programme of the school, it will help broaden the minds of the students and put them on a better pedestal for any future academic or employment opportunities. This has been successfully done in some parts of Northern Ghana.

According to Seidu (1989), in 1973, the Acheampong government, in a bid to check the spiralling rate of unemployment and illiteracy among Muslims in Northern Ghana, signed a memorandum of understanding with Qur'anic/Islamic school owners in Tamale. The memorandum among other things provided that they were to include secular subjects into their curricular while the Ghana Education Service was to provide them with teachers for such subjects.

This memorandum was meant to equip students of the Qur'anic schools with the requisite skills that will enable them secure jobs upon graduation. Although the scheme did not last long, it was able to train a number of students and Muslim scholars who have gone on to be useful members in society. The same can be done in Ave Afiadenyigba.

- Endeavouring to attend Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings on a regular basis.

For those parents whose children are enrolled in secular schools, attending these meetings is necessary to keep them abreast with their children's performances at school. This can also put them in a better position to address any concerns arising from teachers and school authorities regarding the children.

- Reducing the domestic chores on their children.

Parents and guardians should try to lessen the workload on their wards and give them more time to read, do their homework and go to school on time. If this is done it will go a long way in reducing the lateness and mass absenteeism among Muslim students in the schools.

Adherence to Islamic regulations on trade and commerce

As stated in chapter four, Islam encourages work in general and trade in particular. Hence the Qur'anic ruling which states that: 'Allah has permitted trade and forbidden usury'. (Qur'an 2: 275). This express divine permission allows Muslims to engage in trade and commerce as a means to among other things cater for their needs and those of their families.

The above notwithstanding, Islam's holistic approach to health and the well-being of mankind means that anything that is harmful or mostly harmful, is forbidden. Therefore, Islam takes an uncompromising stand towards alcohol and forbids its sale and or consumption in either small or large quantities. Qur'an 5: 91 makes this clear when it states that:

Satan wants only to excite enmity and hatred between you with intoxicants (alcoholic drinks) and gambling, and hinder you from the remembrance of God and from the prayer. So, will you not then abstain.

The fact that alcoholic beverages create numerous individual and societal ills have since been borne out by medical science; according to Stacey (2009), in Australia alone research findings on the effects of alcohol indicate that the alcohol is responsible for '44% of fire injuries, 34% of falls and drownings,

30% of car accidents, 16% of child abuse instances, and 7% of industrial accidents' (p. 3).

In view of the above, Muslim farmers in the study area should observe the Islamic guidelines on trade and desist from dealing in palm-wine producing trees in the community. This practice facilitates the production, sale and consumption of a proscribed beverage in Islam. They should always be mindful of the Islamic rules and regulations governing commerce and trade in their business dealings.

As for the Muslim youth who were found to be engaged in the occasional smuggling of contraband goods like petrol across the Ghana-Togo border, they too should avoid such practice and abide by the laws of the land which forbid the smuggling of petroleum products to other countries. This practice is both un-Islamic and inimical to national development. They should rather engage in legitimate business ventures which will not only be to their personal advantage but to the advantage of the nation as well. It will also their religion a good name among the people.

To help achieve this objective, the Imam can dedicate some of his Friday sermons to educating the Muslim faithful on the Islamic rules and regulations on trade and commerce. Furthermore, the *ulama* should take up their Islamic duty of propagating the faith through continuous *dawah*, (propagation) the same way the Prophet did in Makkah. They should not assume that the Muslims already know everything about their religion. Islam is a beneficial religion which, when presented well and consistently will win the hearts of other people.

Adherence to Islamic regulations on marriage

As stated in chapter four, Islam has not specified the amount of money a Muslim man should gift his prospective wife as dowry precisely to enable men who wish to marry to do so. Therefore Muslim parents should always bear this in mind when suitors come asking for their daughters' hands in marriage. They should desist from insisting on expensive items that must be included in the dowry as gifts for this is certainly not part of Islam.

Furthermore, parents should stop arranging and coercing their children into marriages. This fosters tension, frequent quarrels and disharmony in the home. Muslim parents can advise their children on who they think is best suited for them but they should allow the children to have the last say on who they want to marry. After all it is they who will ultimately live with their decisions and so it is better to allow them make that decision rather than imposing one on them.

Area for further research

This study dealt with Islam in the Volta Region with particular emphasis on Ave Afidenyigba. Future studies could be carried out to validate or invalidate some of the reasons this researcher thinks accounts for the minimal impact of Islam in the Region.

Islam has remained marginal in the Volta Region of Ghana for a number of reasons: First, the lukewarm attitude of Muslim scholars in the Region to *Da'wa* (call to Islam). Investigations carried out by this researcher revealed that apart from the efforts of scholars like Alhaji Umar Kete Krachi and Mallam Atta who attempted to convert non-Muslims with limited

successes, the vast majority of Muslim scholars tended to shy away from *Da'wa*. They instead spent most of their time within their own communities preaching to the converted and attending to the social and spiritual needs of the community.

Now while the spiritual efficacy of their charms did bring some of their non-Muslim clients into the fold of Islam such conversions were for the most part too miniscule to have a significant impact on the overall socio-cultural belief system of the Region. To overcome this, the scholars should have followed in the foot steps of the Prophet who at the dawn of Islam did not sit down in his house hoping that people will embrace Islam. Rather, he used to leave his house and go round the *Ukaz* market of Makkah to invite non-Muslims to Islam. They should have imitated the Prophet who not only preached to the ordinary Makkans but also wrote letters and sent delegations to non-Muslim leaders in and around the Arabian Peninsula. This approach might have yielded more results for Islam in the Region.

Second, lack of proper approach to *Da'wa* by Muslim scholars. This study found that even the few Muslim scholars who ventured out of their communities to interact with the locals and invite them to Islam did not employ the right approaches. This is because most of these scholars started their evangelization efforts by attacking the belief systems of the indigenous inhabitants of the Region describing them as polytheistic.

An example of this approach according to Nana Asetena Mensah the 85 year old Divisional Chief of Kete Krachi was demonstrated by Seidu Wangara a Muslim scholar in Kete Krachi. After several attempts to convert some indigenes to Islam without success Wangara described them as

'polytheists' and mobilized his Qur'anic school students to destroy their communal deity. Although they were prevented from reaching the deity the attempt created a lot of tension and mistrust between the two communities. This further decreased the appeal for conversion among the locals (N.A. Mensah, personal communication, December 10, 2010).

This approach was not only counter productive but also unIslamic. Islam is a religion based on rationality and wisdom as such. Qur'an 6: 109 forbids Muslims from insulting the deities of others. It states that: 'Revile not those whom they call upon besides Allah, lest they out of spite revile Allah in their ignorance' Furthermore, Qur'an 16:125 instructs the Prophet to: 'invite (all) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching'. This means that while inviting others to Islam Muslims should be wise in their approach. They should not antagonize or provoke the very people they intend converting to Islam. They should first start with issues of common concern to both communities in order to establish trust and respect before delving into theological and doctrinal issues. And even then care should be taken not to hurt the feelings of others.

Finally lack of material incentives to attract would-be converts. According to Gaba (1997) one of the main reasons why the local inhabitants of the Region were reluctant to join Islam was because the faith 'has nothing significant to offer to improve the material living conditions of the people, for instance, it makes no contribution to formal education and scientific medical facilities (101).

One tends to agree with this view because investigations carried out by this researcher revealed that even today, apart from the supernatural powers

that are associated with the faith Muslims have not put in place adequate structures to improve the material condition of their followers. Muslims have very few and badly resourced schools in the Region. This in a material world where people yearn for improvement in their material wellbeing does not encourage conversion into the faith. If Muslims want to make Islam attractive to people in the area they need to see to both their spiritual and material wellbeing.

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APPENDIX A
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Alhaji Al-Hassan Sani.

Alhaji Muhammed Tahiru.

Alhaji Hamza Danjuma.

Alhaji Salman Titilorkpor

Alhaji Zakariyah Ishaq

Alhaji Mohammed Krukuti.

Al-Hassan Zakari.

Daniel Ahiawor

Evlyn Agbosu.

Fadil Dawud

Francis Koblah,

Hawau, Mama Yaro.

Ilyasu Zakari.

John Nutorkpe.

Joseph Tsewu

Hadijatu Agbalekpor
Mary Salome
Nana A. Mensah.
Patrick Gadasu.
Prosper Modey.
Rabiatu Alhassan Darr.
Salamatu Al-Hassan
Sarkin Idrissu SAllihu.
Sheikh Dauda Dupe.
Sheikh Issa Sallihu.
Sheikh Muhammed Dawud
Sualihu Musa
Tamim Al-Hassan Darr.
Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor III.
Torgbui Kumah Dzamesi.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Who are the Ewe people?
- How did the Ewe people come to settle in their present location and when?
- Before the advent of Islam into the Volta Region, what was the religious life of the people?
- How did Islam come to the Volta Region?
- Who brought Islam into the Volta Region?
- Where was Islam's first port of call in the Volta Region?
- Who brought Islam to Kete Krachi and when?
- Who brought Islam to Hohoe and by what means?
- Who brought Islam to Ho and by what means?
- At what point did Islam get to Ave Afiadenyigba?
- Who brought Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba?

- By what means was Islam brought to Ave Afiadenyigba?
- Who were the prominent Muslim converts in Ave Afiadenyigba?
- What type of Islam is practiced in Ave Afiadenyigba?
- Before the advent of Islam what was the religious life of the people of Ave Afiadenyigba?
- Did they believe in a Supreme Being?
- Did they have marriage rites? How were they performed?
- Did they have funeral rites? How were they performed?
- Has Islam impacted the religious life of the people? If yes do they believe in Allah?
- Do they observe Salat (the five daily obligatory Muslim prayers)?
- Do they fast in the Muslim month of Ramadan?
- Do they perform hajj?
- In what ways if any has Islam contributed to the economic life of the community?
- Do Muslim traders adhere to the Islamic regulations on trade?
- Do Muslim traders and farmers pay zakat (alms)?
- Has Islam influenced the marriage rites of the people?
- Has Islam influenced the funeral rites of the people?
- Has Islam influenced the provision of healthcare to members of the community?
- Has Islam contributed to the development of education in the community?

APPENDIX C

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Caliph: According to Zidan (1998), a caliph ‘is a person delegated to enforce Islamic Law under the Sovereignty of God Almighty with an Islamic State’ (p.19). The term ‘caliph’, first occurred in Islamic religious discourse in Qur’an 2:30 when Allah is supposed to have told the angels that he was placing on earth one who shall be his *Khalifa* (deputy). Those who succeeded the Prophet as leaders of the Muslim community were known as his caliphs.

Hausa: The Encarta World English Dictionaries defines a ‘Hausa’ as a member of a predominantly Muslim people ‘living mainly in northern Nigeria and southern Niger’ (p.860).

Zongo: Bari (2009) defines Zongo which is a corruption of the Hausa word ‘Zango’ as a temporary place of abode for ‘Muslim communities’ (388).

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX E

DEEDS OF GIFTS.

KNOW ALL MEN, these presents that I the undermarked by the name TORGBUI GBORDZEKPOR II the accredited PARASOURT CHIEF or HEAD CHIEF of AVE- AFIADENYIGBA, in the Volta Region of Ghana, do hereby acknowledge the receipt of the sum of £1/- (ONE POUND) from MAMAH YAIRO, the SERIKI- ZONGO of AVE- AFIADENYIGBA as drink for DEEDS OF GIFTS of a piece of parcel of LAND lying and being situated at AVE-AFIADENYIGBA at a place commonly known and called as TOKOR and bounded as follows:-

On the SOUTH by the property of AMOBA NURU,
On the NORTH by the property of TORGBUI GBORDZEKPOR.
On the EAST by the property of ZAKARI KWAKU DUFF,
On the WEST by a MEADOW LAND leading to AFIADENYIGBA GORGAME.

THAT the said piece or parcel of land so granted to the said SERIKI- ZONGO, on behalf of the entire HAUSA COMMUNITY of AVE- AFIADENYIGBA, is free from any encumbrances and I hereby declare that none of my children, relative or relatives have or shall have any right whatsoever to interfere, kick, or make any CLAIM against this my GIFTS.

THAT I further declare that the LAND shall always remain the property of the said MAMAH YAIRO and his people, HEIRS, SUCCESSORS, and INHERITORS without any disturbance, or INTERFERENCE or CLAIM of any kind whatsoever from my CHILDREN, RELATIVES or the entire people of AVE-AFIADENYIGBA, or any outside person or persons.

THAT I made this GIFTS out of my own free WILL WITHOUT any FORCE, THREAT, DURESS or PRESSURE upon me by anybody.

It is further declare by me that this LAND given or granted to the said MAMAH YAIRO, the SERIKI- ZONGO of AVE- AFIADENYIGBA, is duly excluded from all the other properties of the AKANU FAMILY.

AND I hereby solemnly declare that at the time of making this DEEDS OF GIFTS, I was at the best of my WIT and senses without any bodily or mental ailment on me but the said piece or parcel of LAND had been granted to the said MAMAH YAIRO, SERIKI- ZONGO or the entire HAUSA COMMUNITY since in the year 19 39. (One Thousand Nine hundred and thirty-nine).

MADE AT DZODZE on the 6th day of *November* 1965, AND MARKED by the said GBORDZEKPOR II, in the presence of us both being present at the same time who at their request in their presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names and marks hereto as WITNESSES

Shiridi Gogobei his
Adamu Th. Semakar his
Isaka Dagbam his
Zakari Kwaku Duff his

W/W/T/M. & SIGNATURE,
.....
Public Licensed Letter writer,
Licence No. 37094/65,
AGAMAH'S HOUSE- NOEPE ROAD,
DZODZE 6/11/65.

A 'Deed of Gift' document covering a parcel of land allocated to the early Muslim settlers and converts of Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Chief Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor III.

APPENDIX F

MARRIAGE RITES

1. Knocking fee of (2) Two Bottles of Schnapps to know Parents.

MARRIAGE PERFORMANCE

2. Two (2) Bottles of Whisky
Two (2) Bottles of Castle Bridge
Two (2) Bottles of Schnapps
Two Bottles of Wine, and Doubonet (1) bottle.
One (1) Pot of Palm wine as thanks giving, the same day
Six (6) big tubers of yam.
3. 1 Briefcase for Wife/Bride
6 Half pieces of Wax prints/Headkerchief/ Handkerchief
2 Pair of Shoes, 12 Panties, Vexes & Braziers
Love money for the Bride - GH¢500.00
1 Engagement Ring
1 Holy Bible
Wedding Ring
4. 1 Full piece of Wax Print for father
1 Umbrella for father
1 Native Sandals for father
Cash for father - GH¢250.00
1 half piece of wax print for mother
1 Headkerchief for mother
1 Native Sandals for mother
Cash for mother - GH¢125.00
5. 2 Crates of Minerals
2 Crates of Beer
4 Bottles of Local Gin
6. Akonta Money - GH¢20.00
7. Godie Dzie

A document containing the list of required items for the performance of Traditional marriage rites in Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor III

APPENDIX G



(Figure 1. A picture showing Alhaji Mohammed Krukuti, Chief Imam of Kete Krachi)

Source: Alhaji Muhammad Krukuti

APPENDIX H



(Figure2. A picture showing Alhaji Umar Danjuma, Chief Imam of Ho and Regional Chief Imam of the Volta Region).

Source: Alhaji Umar Danjuma

APPENDIX I



(Figure3. A picture showing Alhaji Al-Hassan Sani, Chief Imam of Hohoe.

Source: Alhaji Al-Hassan Sani.

APPENDIX J



Figure 4. A picture showing Zakari Dupe, the first Ewe Muslim convert to bring Islam to Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Shiekh Dauda Dupe.

APPENDIX K



Figure5. A picture of Shiekh Dauda Dupe, Chief Imam of Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Shiekh Dauda Dupe.

APPENDIX L



(Figure6. A picture showing Kumah Dzamesi, Traditional Chief Priest of Ave Afiadenyigba).

Source: Kumah Dzamesi.

APPENDIX M



Figure 7. A picture showing Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor III, Chief of Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Torgbui Fianu Gbordzekpor III

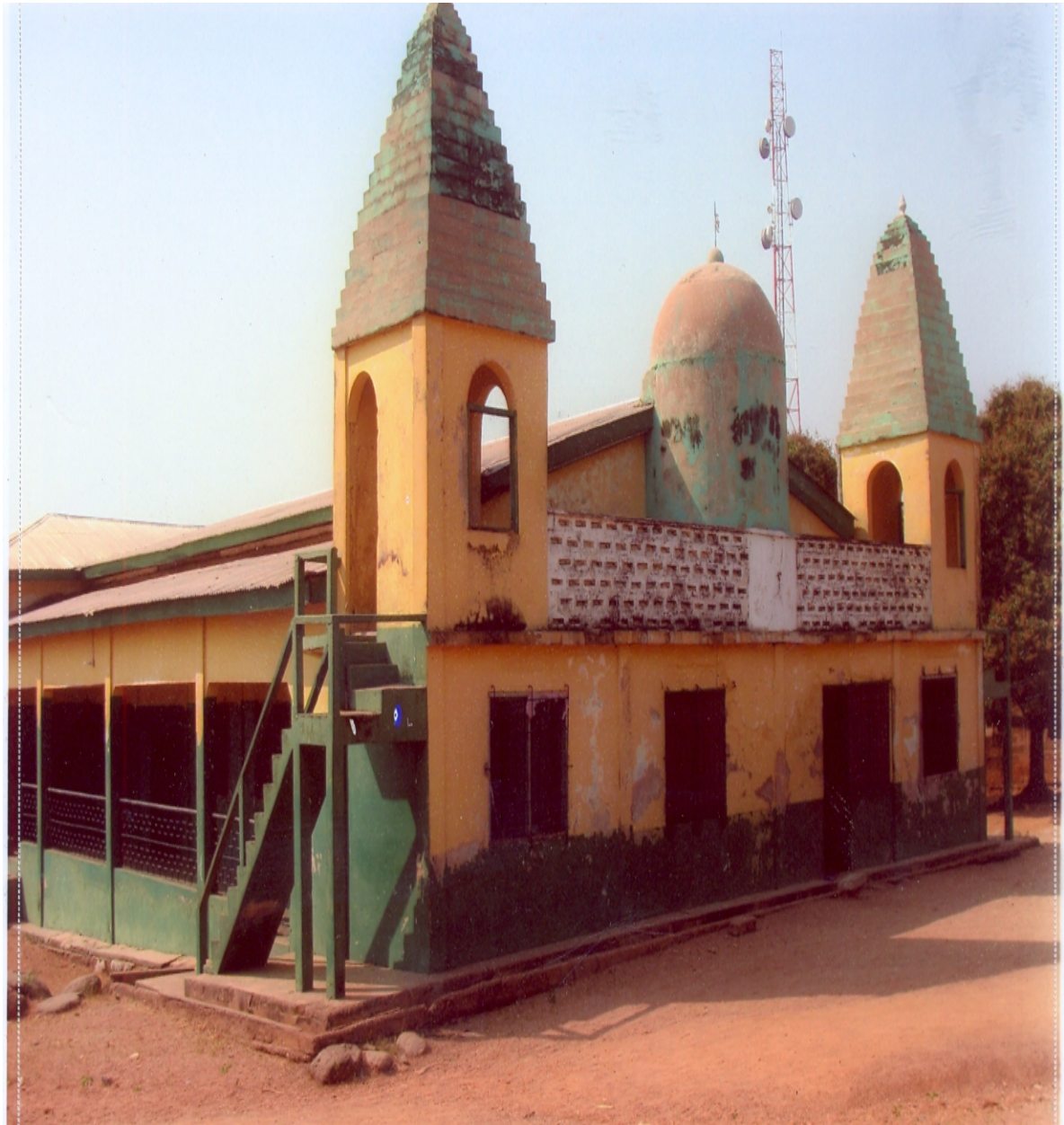
APPENDIX N



(Figure 8. A picture showing teachers and pupils of the Ansar Deen Islamic school of Ave Afiadenyigba.

Source: Tamim Darr

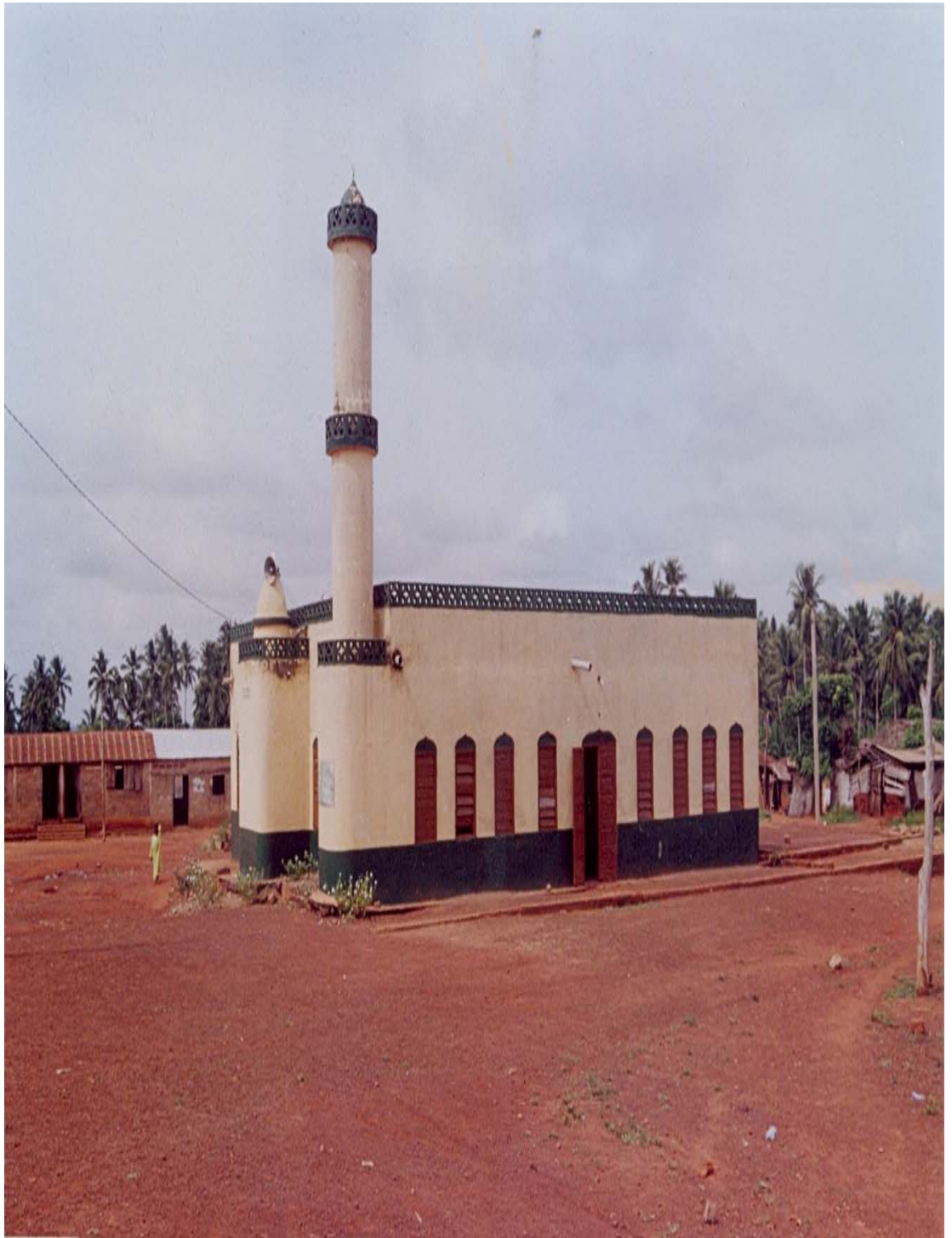
APPENDIX O



(Figure 9. A picture showing the Kete Krachi Central Mosque

Source: Alhaji Muhammad Krukuti

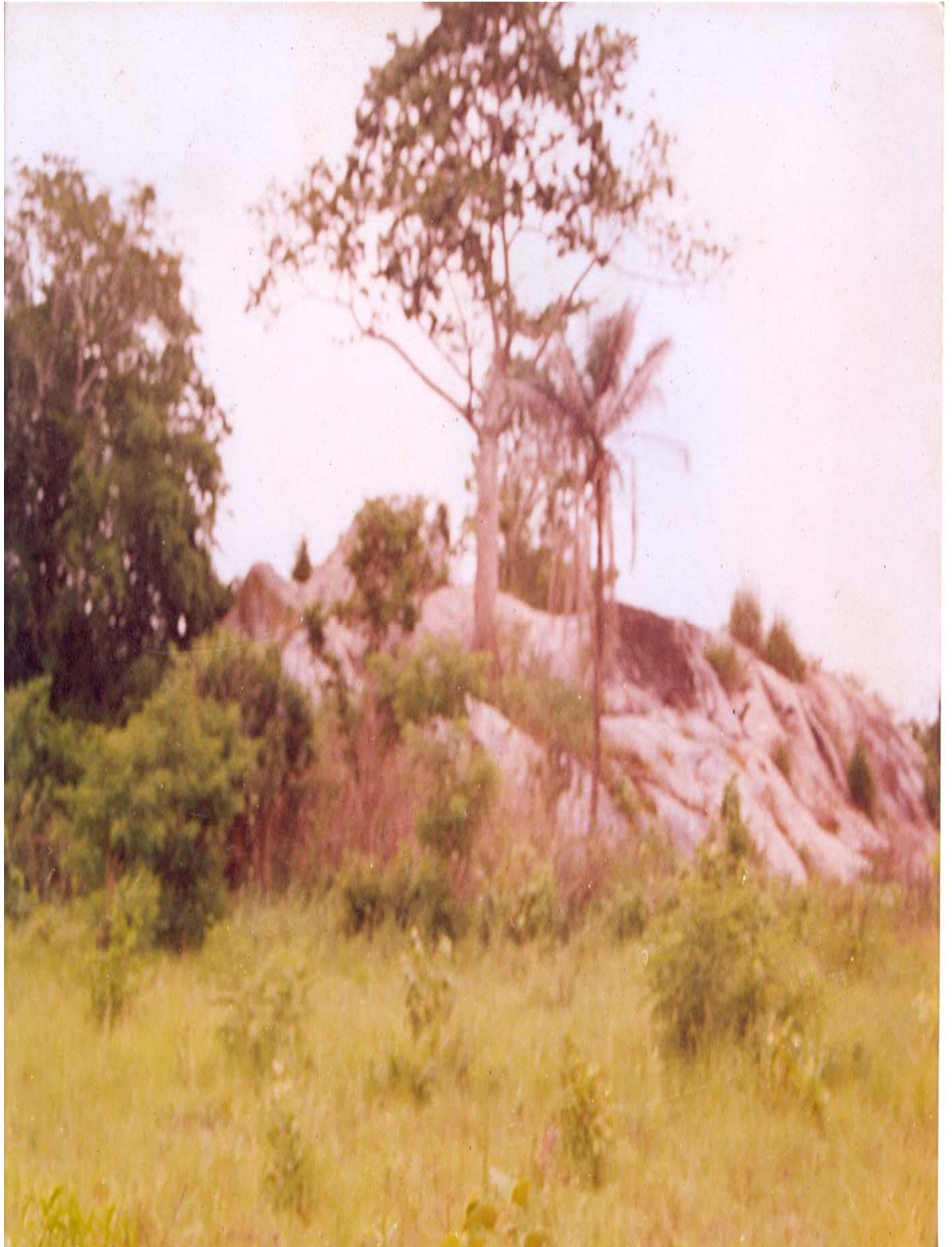
APPENDIX P



(Figure 11. A picture showing the Central Mosque of Ave Afiadenyigba at New Ave Afiadenyigba)

Source: Sheikh Dauda Dupe.

APPENDIX Q



(Figure 11. A picture showing Amesikpe Shrine at Ave Agbozome).

Source: Tamim Darr.

