

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

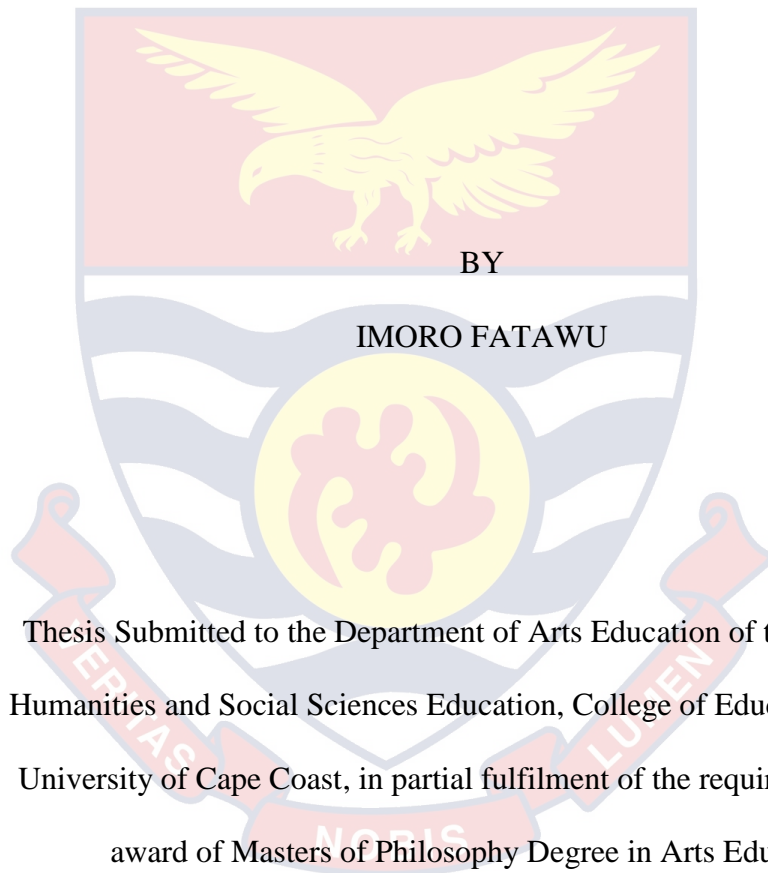
MISSION-STATE RELATIONS IN EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL
STUDY OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN NORTHERN GHANA



2020

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

MISSION-STATE RELATIONS IN EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL
STUDY OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN NORTHERN GHANA



Thesis Submitted to the Department of Arts Education of the Faculty of
Humanities and Social Sciences Education, College of Education Studies,
University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
award of Masters of Philosophy Degree in Arts Education

DECEMBER, 2020

DECLARATION

Candidate's declaration

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

Candidate's Signature.....Date.....

Name: Mr. Imoro Fatawu... ..

Supervisor's Declaration

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

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

Name: Rev. Professor Seth Asare-Danso

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to assess Islamic Mission relations with the State in the provision of Islamic religious and secular education in Northern Ghana. The critical importance of gleaning a better understanding of Islam and the perceived backwardness of Muslims in Ghana, notwithstanding the kind of education they (Muslims) pursue, motivated the study. The researcher used the qualitative historical research approach. Twenty (20) participants were purposively selected for semi-structured individual interviews and seven-member focus group was also purposively selected for focus group discussions. So in all (27) participants were interviewed. Data was also collected from documents like articles, letters, newspapers, journals, periodicals, articles, journals, letters, periodicals, newspapers, and archival records. Inductive analysis resulted in the emergence of patterns and themes relative to the introduction of Islamic education and the management of Islamic education in Northern Ghana. It was found that participants showed mixed feelings about Mission-State relations in the provision of Islamic and secular education in Northern Ghana. While some felt the relations were positive, others disagreed, and some felt it was positive to some extent. Again, it was revealed that the Hausa, the Wangara, the Larbanga and other traders, brought Islam and her education to Northern Ghana. It was further indicated that colonial government did not manage Islamic education well. However, post-colonial government demonstrated interest in the growth and development of Islam and Islamic education. It was recommended that government should work with the Missionaries to improve the relations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor Prof. Seth Asare-Danso for making available to me his repertoire of knowledge in the course of writing my thesis. He was more than generous with his expertise and precious time. A special thanks also goes to him, for his countless hours of reflecting, reading, encouraging, and most of all patience throughout the entire process. I also thank, Dr. Eric Mensah, and Dr. Martin Owusu, for all the efforts they put in to ensure my success in this programme.

I would like to acknowledge and thank Mr. Kamaldeen Hadrat Yussif for all the assistance he gave in the course of my project work and for his words of encouragement as I meandered through this endeavor. Your gift of friendship has made this process much easier. I would like to thank all my Participants, all lecturers and all staff of the Department of Arts Education for their friendship and various ways they assisted me throughout this process.

I finally thank Alhaji Abubakari for the spiritual assistance I received from him when my health got spiritually deteriorated. I really appreciated what he did for me. May the Almighty Allah richly bless you and add you more years in your earthly life and grant you Janna in the hereafter. Lastly, I thank all my participants who contributed information in diverse ways to make the research a success.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wives and children



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Background to the Study	2
Statement of Problem	4
Purpose of the Study	5
Objectives of the Study	5
Research Questions	6
Significance of the Study	6
Delimitation of the Study	7
Limitation of the Study	7
Organisation of the Study	8
Definition of Terms	8
Chapter Summary	10
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	
Introduction	11
Theoretical Review	11
Conceptual Review of Literature	13
Church (Mission)-State Relations in Education	13

The Mission-State Partnership in Education in Ghana	14
Challenges to the Partnership	16
The Concept of Islamic Education	18
Systems of Islamic Education in Ghana	20
Categories of Islamic Schools in Northern Ghana	23
Islamic Missionary Education in Ghana	24
Empirical Review of Literature	26
Observations/Gaps from the Empirical Review	36
The Advent of Islam and Islamic Education in Northern Ghana	39
Management of Islamic Mission Schools During the Colonial Era	45
Integration of Islamic and Secular Education During Colonial Era	51
Reasons for Muslims Negative Attitude towards Formal/Secular (Western) Education	57
Management of Islamic Education during Post-Colonial Era	59
Towards the Take Over of Management of Islamic Schools in the post-colonial era of Ghana	64
Steps Taken to Restore Harmonious Relationships That Existed Between the State and Islamic Mission Schools	70
Summary of the Review	73
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	
Introduction	75
Research Design	75
Population	75
Research Area and Context	76
Samples and Sampling Procedure	77

Sampling for Focus Group Discussion	78
Recruitment and Training of Field Assistants	78
Research Instruments and Data Collection	79
The Interview Process	81
Ethical Considerations	83
Data Analysis Procedure	84
Pilot Study	85
Findings and Results of the Pilot Study	86
Summary	87
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	
Research Question one: How was Islamic education introduced in northern Ghana?	92
Introduction of Islam in Northern Ghana	92
Methodology used in Islamic Education	95
Funding of Islamic education	98
Organisation of Islamic Education	100
Role Played by Northern Chiefs	102
Northern Muslims Rejection of Secular Education	104
Research Question two: How were Islamic schools managed during the colonial and post-colonial era?	107
Impact of Accelerated Development Plan on Islamic Education	108
Management of Islamic Education	112
Research Question three: What made post-colonial government decide to take-over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana?	118
Government takes over management of Islamic education	118

Research Question four: What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools?	127
Steps Taken by the Islamic Mission to Bring Harmony	132
Steps Taken by the State to Bring Harmony	134
Credibility of Government Islamic Mission Partnership	134
Chapter Summary	140
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
Key findings:	142
Research Question one: How was Islamic education introduced in Northern Ghana?	142
Research Question two: How was Islamic schools managed during the colonial and post-colonial era?	145
Management of Islamic Education	145
Research Question three: What made post-colonial government decide to take-over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana?	146
Research Question four: What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools?	148
It Is Credible	149
It is Incredible	150
It is Credible to Some Extent	150
Other Findings	151
Conclusions	152
Recommendations	153
Suggestions for Further Research	156

REFERENCES	157
APPENDICES	167



LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Number of Islamic Schools and Enrolment Figures in Northern Region from 2001-2002	72
2	Demographic Information on the Participants	90
3	Demographic Data on Participants for Focus Group Discussion	91



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Northern Ghana is made up of the five northern regions of Ghana. These comprise Northern, Upper East, North East, Savannah and Upper West regions of Ghana. They are the five administrative regions in northern Ghana (NG). Tamale, Bolgatanga, Nalerigu, Damongo and Wa are the capital cities and towns of the regions. Northern Ghana, (the five northern regions) covers about 133,564km² and shares boundaries with Burkina Faso to the north; Togo to the East and Côte D'ivoire to the West. Within Ghana, it shares boundary with Bono, Bono East and Oti Regions of Ghana.

The Northern Ghana has a population of about 4,228,116.00 which represents 17.5% of Ghana's population. The total Muslim population of NG is hovering around 2,038,794.086 and this represents 48.22% of the population of NG (Nortey, 2015). Comparatively, the Muslim Population is very significant and is mainly dominated by Muslims who have established a number of Islamic Mission schools under basic, second cycle and tertiary sectors of the Ghana education system. It is necessary, therefore, to study and understand the kind of relations government of Ghana has with the Islamic Mission in their quest to providing both secular and Islamic education for the Muslims in NG.

Northern Ghana is currently the home of the Islamic Unit Headquarters and almost all the key officers, for instance, the General Manager, and the National Council of Islamic Education Unit Chairman are located in Tamale. Besides, previous studies, indicate the hostility Muslim parents of Northern descent had towards secular education largely because, the colonial

government's relations with the Northern Muslim population appeared not to be the best (Iddrisu, 2005). It is imperative, therefore, to investigate Islamic Mission's relations with the State (government) of Ghana) in their combined effort to providing Islamic and secular education for the people of Northern Ghana. The study covers the Era of the Colonial regime, through Independence to Post -Independent Era of Northern Ghana's history.

Background to the Study

The Republic of Ghana derived its name from the Medieval Empire of Ghana, and it was a former British colony that gained political independence from colonial rule in 1957. There are assorted religious representations in Ghana. They include Christianity (68.8%), Muslims (17.5%), traditional religion (11.5%), other Religions (0.7%), and those who do not belong to any religion constitute (6%) (GSS, 2012, p. 40). Although Coalition of Muslim Organization in Ghana contested the Muslim's figure, saying the Muslim population was higher than the figure presented by Ghana Statistical service, many other researchers have disagreed with these figures. Emre (2017), estimated Muslim population as 25% and that of Christianised Ghanaians as 60% while the rest of 15% are attributed to animists. Whether these percentages are accurate or not, Muslims remains minority as far as Ghanaian religious affiliation is concern.

Ghana has a long history of Western education that had co-existed with Islamic style of education at the early part of the 15th century with the coming of European traders and Missionaries in the Gold Coast colony, (Owusu-Ansah, 2017). The contribution of religious bodies to the development of education in Ghana cannot be overstated. Religious bodies play a major role in

the educational efforts globally of which Ghana is part. Religious institutions provide funding for their schools while government assists. From anecdotal records, if religious bodies were to take over their schools from government, then there would be no school left for the government. Historically and numerically, religious bodies are significant stakeholders in the Ghana education system.

The mission-State relationship in the provision of western education in Ghana is traceable to the early Christian missionaries who put up schools across the length and breadth of the country purposely to educate the early Christian converts and “Mulattoes”. The curriculum taught was reading, writing and arithmetic. These subjects were taught alongside Religious Instruction, (RI). Notable among these early Christian missionaries include: Basel missionaries who establish their first school in Christiansburg, Osu in 1828 (Smith, 1966; Odamtten, 1978). Others include Wesleyan, the Bremen and the Catholic Missionaries (1828, 1825, and 1880) respectively (Philip, 2007). The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion and the Anglican Missionaries also came around 1898 and 1907 respectively.

All these missionaries sought to teach Religion, Moral values, technical and vocational Education (Foster, 1965). Among others, the missionaries wanted to teach their converts to be able to read the Bible and the hymn book and to demonstrate practical Christian love for fellow humans in Africa. The missionaries also sought to train Africans to become teachers, catechists and pastors to serve in the Churches (Philip, 2007). This work seeks to investigate the relationship between Islamic Missionary and Ghana government in the provision of education to Ghanaians.

Before the coming of the Europeans and at the beginning of Western formal education in Ghana, Islamic style of education and Islamic clerical practices provided basic intellectual and spiritual support to the Ghanaian society. The Islamic style of education and performance of clerical duties to the chiefs and people by early Islamic missionaries were prevalent among communities that were predominantly Muslim especially communities around the northern parts of the country (Bravmann, 1980; Tambiah, 1997; Owusu-Ansah, 2017). This work seeks to examine the relationship that existed between the State (government) and the Islamic Mission in the provision of education in the Northern part of the country.

Statement of Problem

Universally, a number of scholars have written widely on how the State and religious bodies have been collaborators in development. In recent times, this development has been in the increase especially on Islamic education due to September 11th attack on the twin buildings in the United States. Africa has also been privileged to register a number of such researches conducted in various countries. Kasomo and Naila (2013) investigated the phenomenon in Kenya; while Obeng-Mireku, (2017) on Nigeria and Ghana. Others include: Hansen & Michael, 2002); Tanzania (Sivalon, 1995; Mhina, 2007). In Ghana, a number of scholars including Asare-Danso (2017); Clemence, (2012); Korankye-Gyamera, (2012); and Asare-Danso (2018) have also attempted to deal with the subject. Some of these studies were conducted within the context of Islamic Religion (Asare-Danso, 2017); Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Asare-Danso (2018); and in the context of general studies on Christian Schools, Clemence, (2012); and Korankye-Gyamera, (2012).

Those studies on Islamic and Presbyterian Mission Education Units in particular indicate a positive relationship that existed between the State and religious bodies perhaps due to the dialogue strategy they used, while the studies on Mission Education Unit in general showed a negative relationship. These latter findings remain inconsistent and diametrically opposite to each other hence, difficult to comprehend by logic and use by policy formulators and academia to take critical decisions. It thus calls for a reassessment of the relationship by scoping the study to Islamic education in an area where Islam is proven prevalent and originated. This study therefore looked at the State-Mission relations in education: A historical study of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. That is, the study focuses on the relations between the State and Islamic religious bodies in the provision of education in the context of Northern Ghana. The study was conducted to cover different political administrations, from colonial regime (1850) to post-colonial periods, up to 2020.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine relations that exist between the State (government) and Islamic Mission in the provision of Islamic and Secular Education for the people of Northern Ghana during Colonial and post-Colonial Eras.

Objectives of the Study

The study was underpinned by the following objectives:

1. to establish how Islamic education was introduced in northern Ghana.
2. to examine how Islamic schools were managed by the Islamic Missions during the colonial and post-colonial eras.

3. to ascertain what made post-colonial government decide to take over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana.
4. to find out steps that have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools.

Research Questions

1. How was Islamic Education introduced in Northern Ghana?
2. How was Islamic schools managed by the Islamic Mission during the colonial and post-colonial eras?
3. What made post-colonial government decide to take over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana?
4. What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic Mission schools?

Significance of the Study

This study brought forth some useful recommendations which implementation would remain significant to both policy and academia. With reference to policy, this work would help influence policy formulators and implementers in the area of State-Islamic Mission's Partnership in the provision of quality education for Ghanaians. It would also offer recommendations necessary for resolving the seemingly impasse between the State and the Islamic Mission in matters of management of Islamic Mission schools. It would further help the general public to understand the role of both partners in Islamic Mission schools' management. Furthermore, this study would point out the need for both the State and the Islamic missionaries to implement the constitutional provision of freedom of worship and religious practices to the latter without hindrance. Hence it would significantly reduce

the problem of compelling students to attend religious functions whose beliefs they do not share or otherwise. The implementation of the recommendations and suggestions of this study would improve unity in diversity among students and staff of Islamic Mission schools in Ghana. And lastly, the study offers bedrock of evidence and justification for further academic studies with reference to similar jurisdiction.

Delimitation of the Study

The study focused on only Islamic Mission Schools in the Northern part of Ghana. Data was collected from administrators of the mission schools and the clerics. It is further delimited to examine the relations that have existed between the State (government) and Islamic Mission (Islamic education unit) and analysed how colonial and post-colonial governments dealt with the educational conflict between Christian (western) and Islamic Missionary Educators in the Gold Coast (now Ghana). The work then traces the history of Islam in West Africa, and examines the nature of Islamic Education that was introduced in the Gold Coast during the pre-colonial period. Furthermore, the study examined how colonial government policies affected Islamic Education and how post-colonial governments in Ghana promoted Islamic Education, using collaborative conflict management strategies. The work is finally delimited to the five Northern Regions which comprise the Northern Region, the North East Region, the Upper East Region, the Upper West Region and the Savanna Regions of Ghana.

Limitation of the Study

The research study used a sample of twenty seven participants which is far from being representative of the entire population. Thus, the study can only

be generalized to the participants and not the population in question. Again, the interviews were done under different conditions. Some were done in the morning while others were carried out in the afternoon and other participants responded to the questions in the presence of other Arabic instructors. All these factors could not be controlled by the researcher and that could have affected the quality of the responses. Some respondents were too busy to be interviewed on face to face basis especially the regional directors of education. So, they collected the interview guide and later gave the researcher written responses and that could affect the results any way.

Organisation of the Study

Apart from this chapter, the work has been organised into four chapters. Chapter two consisted of theoretical framework, conceptual framework, and brief history of missionary provision of education in Ghana, theoretical review and empirical review as well as summary of the entire review. Chapter three captured the entire methodology employed for the study. Chapter four dealt with presentation of results according to research questions and the discussion of the results; and lastly, chapter five is the summary of the entire work. It summarised the purpose of the study, methodology, key findings, other findings, conclusions, recommendations to stake holders for solution to some of the adverse findings and suggestions for future researchers.

Definition of Terms

Mallams: Means Islamic teachers

Afanima: Means Islamic teachers

Makaranta: Means Islamic school

Ulema: Means Islamic teachers

Barazum: Is cane made of animal skin with a wooden handle

Attanimegu: Is kind of locally made lantern which uses share butter as source of fuel

Qur'an: It is a scripture for Islam

Falinkasa: It is a white sand use to white wash Waliga

Waliga: Is a wooden curved slate used by early Muslims for writing

Ummah: Muslims in general

Masarif: Monthly contribution of pupils for the Mallams who are not paid from public purse

Nayim: Deputy Imam

Riba: Interest

Zina: Fornication

Mauludu Nabiyi: celebration of the birth of the prophet of Islam

Kudin Bulala: Money for cane

Walima: Islamic graduation

Baqara: Second chapter of the Qur'an

Yasin: 36th Surah of the Qur'an

Hizb: One-sixtieth portion of the Quran

Kudin Kerozin: Money meant for kerosene

Afa: Teacher

Bachi koba: Arabic alphabets.

Bachi Bihi: Pronunciation of Arabic words

Tadabo: Locally made ink for writing on Waliga

Karim Pielga: Prose reading

Karim Zong: Classroom

Chapter Summary

The chapter is an introductory one. It begins with an introduction to the chapter and moved on to background to the study which gives an overview to the work, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation and limitation of the study. The next chapter presents literature review.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This section of the study is concerned with a review of literature related to the historical study of the relations between the government and the Islamic missionaries in Ghana in the provision of education in Northern Ghana.

Theoretical Review

In his study of history of the Church-State Relations in Tanzania, Sivalon (1995) proposed three phases of the relationship, namely: (i) the phase of “*harmony*” (1953–1966), when the Catholic Church received commendation from government; (ii) the phase of “*tension*” (1967–1976), when Ujamaa (socialism) policy was implemented; and (iii) the phase of “*re-emergence*” when the Church was regarded as a major service provider (1977 to present). Following the historical antecedent from the pre-colonial Ghana to the present date, this conceptual framework had been adopted as a matter of guide for this study. In the case of Ghana, the phase of “*tension*” covers the colonial period (from 1850 to 1924); the phase of “*harmony*” would cover the colonial and nationalist period (from 1925 to 1996); and the phase of “*re-emergence*”, will cover the period of Ghana’s democratic regimes (from 1997 to 2020), (Asare-Danso, 2018).

Damon (2011) discovered three diverse approaches to Church-State relations. This provided a theoretical framework for the study. In his study of Church-State relations in Australia and America, Damon (2011) identified three different approaches to Church-State relation, namely: (i) structural approach; (ii) rational-choice approach; and (iii) political approach. The

structural approach suggested that the introduction of certain structural or social changes, in order to give room for modernity, may lead to changes in Church-State Relation. The rational-choice approach provided that individual decision-making by politicians determines the nature of relationship that should exist between the Church and the State. The political approach also suggested that Church-State Relations are influenced by the emergence of conflict between the Church and the State. Damon's (2011) theoretical patterns provided the theoretical framework for this study and will also be used as a tool for the analysis of the data to be collected for this study.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

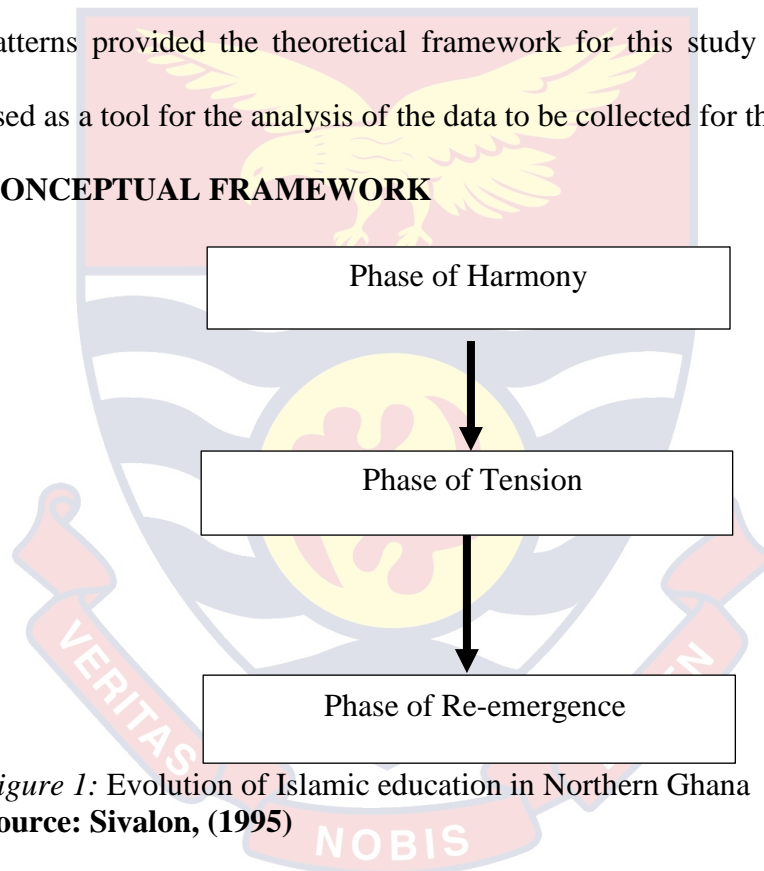


Figure 1: Evolution of Islamic education in Northern Ghana
Source: Sivalon, (1995)

The phase of Harmon agrees with the research questions 1 and 2 of this work. At the phase of Harmon, Islamic missionaries introduced and managed their own education system without government interference. So, there was a kind of cordial relations between government and the Islamic missionaries. However, there was a problem because what the missionaries taught was reading and memorisation of the excerpts of the Qur'an and no skill was taught to better the future of the pupils. So, government decided to intervene

by introducing secular education in the Islamic schools and that led to Phase of Tension which corresponded to the research question 3 of this work. At this phase government took over management of Islamic schools and introduced secular teachers in these schools. The missionaries felt government was confiscating their schools from them and decided to fight back. This phenomenon brought serious conflict and tension between government and the missionaries. Some Arabic schools even rejected and sacked the secular teachers from their schools. In order to achieve her objectives, government decided to resort to dialogue with the missionaries so as to resolve the tension and the conflict and that led the Phase of Re- emergence. This Phase is in line with the research question 4 of this work. Here, government dialogued with the missionaries and introduced some structural changes into the Islamic education system. Thus, government provided Islamic schools with Infrastructure, pay salaries of Arabic instructors, proprietors of Islamic schools, secular teachers in the Islamic schools and provided logistical support to Islamic schools. The missionaries on their part also continued to put up more schools and expanded the existing ones as well as canvass for pupils for their schools. This restored relations that earlier existed between the Missionaries and the state.

Conceptual Review of Literature

Church (Mission)-State Relations in Education

Mission-State Relations in education are traceable to the colonial era. Thus, Mission schools were primarily established as evangelical tools for missions that founded them. Many researchers argue that the faith-based

schools were established purposely to train Gold Coasters (Ghanaians) to be able read and write the scriptures although other subjects like reading, writing and arithmetic were taught (Kpobi, 1995). Some scholars contend that by the time the colonial government got firmly rooted in the Gold Coast, the missions had made great strides in the education sector. However because each mission had its own curriculum, it appears there was no consistency in their operations and that called for government participation in the education sector of the economy and by 1882 the government drew up an education plan to harmonised and guide development of education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) the British colonial government for instance had given mission schools in the then Gold Coast (Ghana) subsidies and however, took full control of education policy and training of teachers (Williams, 1964). Post-colonial government after independent in 1957 continued to give subsidies and grants to mission schools in terms of infrastructure and payment of salaries of teachers. Consequently, partnership had ensued between the colonial-post colonial governments and the faith based (mission) schools in relation to the provision of education.

The Mission-State Partnership in Education in Ghana

It appears all the religious denominations among Christians and Muslim regard provision of education as collective effort among stakeholders in the country, as a consequence, since 1882; there has been a partnership agreement between the Government and Religious Bodies in the management of schools they build. Some important national policy documents in relation to this include the following: The 1925 Gordon Guggisberg 16 Principles of Education. The 15th principle says, “The government must have ultimate

control of education throughout the Gold coast”. This principle was to ensure that there was a uniform standard of education given to all. By implication all faith-based institutions were taken over by the government and none of them could implement a separate curriculum other than the government approved one.

The 1961 Education Act 87(Article 27). “The 1961 education act - (act 87) under section - 22 – Provides clauses relating to Race, Language and Religion. The act specified the following:

“(1) No person shall be refused admission as a pupil to, or refused attendance as a pupil at, any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of himself or of his/her either parents.

(2) No test or enquiries shall be made of, or concerning the religious beliefs of pupils or students prior to their admittance to any school or college.

(3) No person attending or desirous of attending a school as a pupil shall, if his parent objects, be required to attend or to abstain from attending, whether in the institution or elsewhere, any Sunday school, or any form of religious worship or observance, or any instruction in religious subjects.

(4) Any person who contravenes the provisions of this section commits an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds” (Ewuah- Nyamekye, 2010).

Base on the 1993 Local Government Act 455 (Article 87).

On October 18th, 1999 the then Minister of Education – Honourable Ekwow Spio Garbrah issued a ministerial directive titled ‘The Right of Education Units to manage and supervise educational institutions established and developed by their respective religious bodies in partnership with the Government’ and the Prof. Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh seventeen member Committee review document titled “1999 Partnership document on education management and the decentralisation of education management within the context of current developments in the education sector” which includes the decentralization of education management.

The review of the 1999 partnership document indicates it was bedeviled with a lot of challenges which has been cited by Damian Avevor in his presentation at the launching of National Catholic Secretariat (NCS) and STAR-Ghana Partnership Project on Education at the Koforidua Pastoral and Training Centre in 2012.

Challenges to the Partnership

1. Report of the Committee that reviewed the 1999 Partnership Agreement between the Government and Religious Bodies in the management of Mission Schools was presented to the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports in July, 2008. No formal approval or rejection of the recommendation up till now!!
2. The Education Act, 2008 which replaced the 1961 Act acknowledged the immense contribution of Religious Bodies to the educational system but failed to define partnership arrangements and relationships between actors in a clear and succinct manner.

3. Some Government appointed actors in the Ghana Education Service are taking undue advantage of the void to define education management according to their whims and caprices.
4. Some political actors are playing games with education by their careless statements, adhoc and sporadic measures and replacing national interest with partisan manifesto agendas.
5. Some Development Partners are clearly breaching fundamental Aid Policies of especially ownership, by using their development assistance to dictate national frameworks for education. For example, some Regional and District Directors of the Ghana Education Service are currently using a clandestine document defining decentralization in Education services and management that bears the logo of the said Development Partner instead of the national Code of Arms.
6. High and frequent incidence of turn-over of Ministers of Education. They hardly get settled to the issues and this is quite disruptive of policy negotiation processes.
7. In rather subtle ways, Proprietors and Managers of Faith-Based institutions and structures are being excluded or marginalized in allocation of resources, policy information, national dialogues and capacity building activities.
8. Yet majority of Ghanaians remain largely uninformed about the situation and its potential danger to erode quality education in Ghana (Damian, 2012, p. 11 & Ayaga, 2015).

The relations between government and the missionaries has resulted in a colossal contribution to basic and second cycle education by way of rapid expansion of education to the rural areas and the provision of quality education for the rural folk (Abadamloora, 2006; Cox & Jimenez, 1990; Graham, 1991). According to Williams (1964) scholars rated the education system in Ghana as one of the best in Africa from independence until late 1980's. Notwithstanding the tremendous achievement of the partnership, it appears the two parties in the partnership are on each other's throat accusing each other of not involving religious bodies in curriculum planning and design, posting of teachers, distribution of resources, external donor interference in educational policy and lack of clear roles and responsibilities regarding government decentralisation enforced in 1988 (Damian, 2012; Buchert, 2002; Casely-Hayford & Palmer, 2007). It is on this light that the researcher wants to find out the Islamic Mission and the state relations in the provision of Islamic education in northern Ghana.

The Concept of Islamic Education

The meaning of Islamic education may differ according to who is writing about it and from which viewpoint. Some emphasise the "tarbiya," or character improvement. Others delineate it as religious education, with stress on the study of the Qur'an and other basic Islamic teachings and values. For the purpose of this study, Islamic education refers to the study of the Qur'an and its sciences, tarbiya (character development in line with Islamic teachings), provision of knowledge and skill for the students in an effort to prepare them for the world of work and any other teaching specifically related to development.

The need for Islamic education is deduced from the first revelation to the Prophet (S.A.W.) in Qur'an (96: 1-5) which makes acquisition of knowledge mandatory on the prophet and for that matter every Muslim (Mumuni, 2004). As part of Islamic education, it was the practice of the prophet to engage captives of war to teach the Muslims Arabic literacy. For instance, after the battle of Badr (624 AD), the Prophet made some well-educated Quraysh, who were prisoners of war to teach the Muslim youth the skills of reading and writing for their freedom (Byron & Samir, 1983). Islam entered sub-Saharan Africa from North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries. Muslims were talented in trade, statecraft and scholarship, and Islam provided the rules for an impartial society and for personal piety. In some parts of Africa Islam was the first intrusive faith to encounter African beliefs and practices (Cooper, (2019).

Ivor Wilks, as cited by Iddrisu (2005), postulated that in Ghana, the key traditions of Islamic learning started by the Wangara and Hausa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Wangara people, who were Malians, built a complicated network of trade that comprised Begho, which was adjacent to the boundaries of the Akan forest. Its mission was to boost involvement in the exploitation of the gold resources in the Volta Basin. The Hausa on the other hand focused their trading on Kola business from the North East. The Holy Men and other journeying Ulama also emulated their examples. Islamic education was going on in these trade settlements, not formal though. Islamic schools were built and this custom of Islamic education continued to the present-day.

Systems of Islamic Education in Ghana

In the view of Mumuni (2003), Islamic education could be accessed in Ghana in three different ways. Namely: the Makaranta System, the Madrasah Mode and the Secular education. According to him, etymologically, the word Makaranta is derived from two Hausa words. Viz: “Ma” and “Karanta”. In Hausa, *Ma* means place and *Karanta* denotes to recite. Thus, *Makaranta* means a place of recitation and more precisely a Qur’anic School or Islamic School. Nevertheless, some Islamic scholars opined that *Kara* as in *Makaranta* is borrowed from Arabic word “Qara a” meaning to recite. Makaranta is therefore, a school for acquiring the skills necessary to recite, read and understand the Qur’an. B.A.R. Braimah, as cited by Mumuni (2003), alluded that pupils usually gather in a shade in front of the schoolmaster’s house, sit in circles and on mats or on benches and echo verses of the Qur’an in chorus, following the inflections, making the pauses and imitating the tones they hear their instructor say. On wooden slates they are made to copy verses of the Holy Qur’an as a way of learning the formation of Arabic characters. The slate is washed periodically and placed in the sun to dry after which it is ready for use again. According to Mumuni (2003), the Makaranta system is unique because the Ulamah (Islamic teachers) sit separately from the pupils, nonetheless, pay attention to the recitation of the verses of the Qur’an in chorus and correct each group fittingly when the need arises.

Another form of development of the Islamic literary tradition is the *Madrasah*, which could be interpreted as the Arabisation of the *Makaranta*. This system started after Ghana attained independence in 1957. Here there was a kind of modernisation of the classroom structures, the teacher calibre,

orientation which had an impression in the Muslim community. The Hausa Language was no longer Language of instruction but Arabic. In the opinion of Betty Musah as cited by Mumuni (2003), comparatively, the Madrassa system was better than the Makaranta system because in the latter, pupils sat on the floor and shabbily dressed while in the former, pupils used furniture, uniform dress for the school and wooden tablets in which excerpts of the Qur'an were written were replaced with exercise books, pens and pencils. The modern approaches to instilling discipline among pupils have replaced *Barazum*. Mumuni (2003) further asserted that, as the pupil's population increased, and the homes of Ulama, shades of trees and the mosques could no longer contain them, the proprietors deemed it necessary to put up schools to accommodate them and that explain why many schools sprang up in the Muslims habitations.

The third method of learning Islam is in the secular schools (Mumuni, 2003). Nonetheless, Christianity was a discipline in the colonial educational establishment, to the degree that one could not tell the difference between Christianity and secular education. As a consequence, Ghanaian Muslims regarded secular education as a threat to their Islamic faith. Mumuni admitted that, the few Muslims who attended these schools were either converted to Christianity or become nominal Muslims (Mumuni, 2003). Secularization of Islamic education in Ghana was initiated and made possible by many. According to Adam (2019) the pioneers to secularise Islamic education in Ghana was Benjamin Sam and his friends Mahdi Appah in 1896 at Ekrawfol in the Central Region. Another attempt was by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, who arrived in Ghana around 1921 (Iddrisu, 2005) West Africa

examination council (WAEC), among others played enormous roles in initiating the instruction of Islamic education in the secular schools (Adam, 2019, p. 34).

Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission established secular schools from basic to the second cycle level throughout the country. For West African Examination Council (WAEC), after taking over from Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate in 1953, the Council developed syllabuses for Islamic and Arabic Language studies which made it possible for candidates to be examined in these areas. In the same vein, the Ghana Muslim Students Association (GMSA), at its inception in 1972, advocated for the Muslim students in secular schools. Ghana education service took over some Madrasah by posting professional teachers to teach secular subjects approved by the Ministry of Education in these Makaranta schools. This had culminated in a new brand of schools. That is, the English and Arabic schools. This development made it possible for Islamic literacy tradition and Western secular education to go on concurrently in the same schools. Owusu-Ansah (2017) alluded to the foregoing and opined that an effort at incorporation in northern Ghana was adopted in 1974. According to him, the new development was made possible after government persuaded the Ulama that Islamic education was not going to be ousted and that the government did not intend to take over the Islamic schools (Owusu-Ansah, 2017). This persuasive attitude displayed by the government was the beginning of the State - Islamic Mission relations in education in northern Ghana.

Categories of Islamic Schools in Northern Ghana

From the literature so far, four major types of Islamic schools are found in northern Ghana. They include: Traditional Qur'anic Schools; Arabic Schools; English and Arabic Schools and the Integrated Islamic schools under the canopy of Islamic Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service (USAID, 2007).

Traditional Qur'anic Schools: The Traditional Qur'anic Schools which are popularly known as the *Makaranta* schools exclusively taught the Qur'an and its memorisation. These types of schools were pervasive in the northern Ghana but were not the only educational institutions for most Muslim students. Most often than not, the Qur'anic schools' hours fall in the evening, late afternoon and weekends and that gives opportunity for students to study the Qur'an outside their usual public-school hours or timetable. The reduction of the Traditional Qur'anic school times as indicated earlier is very crucial because most parents want their wards to attain both secular and Islamic religious education at the same time and but for this arrangement that would not be possible.

Arabic Schools: In the Arabic Schools, some secular subjects are taught, however, the language of instruction is Arabic and Islamic religious studies are also emphasised (USAID, 2007).

The Arabic and English schools: The Arabic and English schools are usually privately-owned institutions that teach both public secular curriculum in addition to Islamic Religious studies and Arabic language.

Integrated Islamic Schools: They are schools that are legally and officially government schools which fall under the management of Islamic

Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service although they were initiated by private proprietors. They teach full government curriculum in addition to Islamic religious Studies and Arabic Language studies. Usually the Islamic religious and the Arabic component of the curriculum run shift with the secular component. In these schools, the Government usually provides curriculum materials, infrastructure, and pays the secular teachers and two Arabic instructors. The major trade off that private Islamic Schools make when they join the Islamic Education Unit is a reduction in the time they can allot to religious and Arabic studies in exchange for the government providing and paying secular teachers in addition to two Arabic/Islamic studies teachers (USAID, 2007). It is to be noted that, the integrated Islamic Schools came into being after the colonial period.

Islamic Missionary Education in Ghana

Although Islam came to Ghana before Christianity, the later appears to establish mission schools far before the former. Religious bodies, as one of their primary service to society have sought for the formation of citizens through schooling (education). Islamic missionary activities began in the Ghana around 15th century by traders and scholars from the Mande and Wangara people. The spread of Islam in Ghana was made possible through the proselyting activities of those scholars from the neighbouring African countries whose main objective was to get Islam to all neighbours.

The inculcation of knowledge to generations has been the primary concern of Islam in Ghana. There are a number of Muslim mission's schools in the country: the Ahmadiyya, Tijaniyya, Sufi turuq, Qadiriyya, Shiite and the Ahlus Sunna Wal-Jama'a. Conspicuous among them in terms of secularly

educating members and Ghanaians is the Ahmadiyya mission. An Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission is to lead his/her life in accordance with the shari'ah; motivate, train (educate) and involve the entire jama'at - Islamic congregation within a given locality in the field of missionary effort, (Samwini, 2006).

In Ghana, the contributions of Islam to education started from the north. Aside schools set to train and educate Muslim children, there were Missionary Training Institutions that also provided education for Ghanaians. In most Islamic missions were departments that are responsible for teaching and learning. For instance, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission has *Wakalat Ta'Lim* (a department or unit responsible for education) as contained in the rules and regulations of the Mission) of the Pakistan Mission, among several responsibilities, performs such functions as attending to the educational affairs of the *Jama'at* outside the missions mother country. They are also in charge of managing all educational institutions of the *Jama'at* (Samwini, 2006).

An examination of the Tijaniyya mission in Ghana reveals that as a body/unit they are not properly organised with centralised systems. Their socio-religious programmes and activities, even though syncretistic, have brought Islam more to the national front in various forms than was the case before Ghana's independence. Tijaniyyans after independence have undertaken changes with the most prominent of it being the adoption of western type of education by its members (Samwini, 2006). This course has greatly been supported by other Muslim Missions and non-Muslims missions in the country. Now, Islam, as a religion, has established hundreds of educational institutions geared toward the development of Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians, Muslims and non-Muslims. These institutions ranging from basic

to tertiary levels of education aim at providing knowledge as emphasised by the Holy Qur'an.

As stated earlier, the very first word of the Qur'an that was revealed to Prophet Muhammad was, in fact, 'Read'. Prophet Muhammad once stated that 'Seeking knowledge is mandatory for all Muslims.' With such a direct command to go out and seek knowledge, Muslims have placed huge emphasis on the educational system in order to fulfil this obligation placed on them by Allah and His Prophet.

Empirical Review of Literature

Globally, there is an increasing concern about States-missions' relations in the provision of education. This has resulted in many researchers venturing into the area with a lot of writings especially on the State- mission relations in the provision of Islamic education. One such researchers is Shakeel (2018). He observed that, increased Muslim immigration and conversion to Islam have influenced the rise of Islamic schools in western nation-States. Islamic schools are both formal and informal. His work summarizes works on Islamic schooling in the cultural west in relation to three policy-relevant issues: (1) the purpose and nature of Islamic schooling; (2) parental wishes; and (3) the quality of Islamic schooling. Eighty-one (81) articles were reviewed from a total of 12,535. It was found that a variation in education policy issues in which some countries fund private Islamic schools and others provide Islamic religious instruction in public schools. The work discusses potential solutions to address parental wishes and improve the quality of Islamic schooling. This work suggests that that globally, it appears there is a mixed relationship between Western Countries and Muslims and the

provision of Islamic education. Thus, some countries allow Islamic education in the hands of the Muslims as (Private) while other countries permit provision of Islamic education in public schools.

Boisi et al., (n.d.) contends that religious belief and practice continue to be vibrant in the United States despite the separation of church and state. The article gave an account of the of the history of Church state relations and the current controversies over religious disestablishment. The writer clarifies how the constitutional structure of the American government affects religious freedom; and in surveying some of the most important Supreme Court cases dealing with religion. It further provides an overview of the status of religious freedom in the United States. The paper concludes that the legal neutrality of religion is doomed to be fiasco as the concept of disestablishment itself rests upon a distinctively Protestant Christian understanding of religion as something that can be equated with faith, made private and separated from other life endeavours. On the other hand, the religious liberty of the USA has been successful and not just for the protestants who constitute the majority of American religious people but because of compromises and integration of cultures. This dynamism in the religious space, comprises the essential strength of democracy. The fore going denotes that all religions in the states are free to operate the way they deemed fit. The state does not unnecessarily interfere in the internal affairs of various religions. Nevertheless, the American constitution stipulates how religious activities should be conducted when it comes to religious matters. This is clearly different from the Ghana situation where the State and the religion collaborate in providing education for Ghanaians.

In another development, Laycock, (2006) conducted a research to in an effort to explain the American law of church and state from the ground up, assuming no background information. The article was primarily written for French readers. Rudimentary legal provisions were explained. The relevant American history was periodized in three alignments of religious conflict. Thus, Protestant-Protestant, Protestant-Catholic, and religious-secular. Some frequently heard concepts were also explained, distinguished, and related to each other-separation, voluntarism, equality, formal and substantive neutrality, liberty, toleration, and state action. Lastly, the principal disputes over religious liberty were assessed in three broad areas-funding of religiously affiliated activities, religious speech (with and without government sponsorship), and regulation of religious practice. These arguments were reviewed in historical, political, and doctrinal terms, with brief comparisons to the substantially different French solutions to the same problems. It was concluded that Americans agreed that government should not punish any belief about religion, and that government should not pay for core religious functions. Besides, the United States has competing conceptions of religious liberty. Furthermore, government should give nondiscriminatory financial support to religious schools and charities, give verbal support to mainstream religious faith, and regulate religiously motivated behavior only when absolutely necessary. From the article it is clear, that US government is interested equality among religions' proving support for religious schools, and controls some religious practices that border on human rights of the citizens.

Evans and Thomas, (2006) explored the ways in which the requirements of religious freedom in the European Court of Human Rights

(ECHR) permit certain types of relationships between Church and State (including some that would be impermissible in countries such as the United States) but also restricts the scope of permissible relations. The methodology took the form of a discussion on the permissible boundaries of a church-state relationship within the ECHR in five ways. Firstly, there was a discussion on the provisions in the ECHR that potentially impacted on Church-State relations. Secondly, the discussion touched on case law of the court in relation to the benefit that the state can grant to an established Church and the degree of control that the State can exercise over it. Thirdly, it analyzed the degree of control over internal religious matters—particularly the appointment of clergy—that the state can exercise over non-established religions. And lastly, it compares the strengths and weaknesses of a purely religious-freedom focused approach to the relationship between church and state, as allowed by the ECHR, to that of the establishment-oriented case law of countries such as the United States. It was found out that the issue of the appropriate relationship between church and state is a multifaceted one. This is because religious freedom places certain restrictions on the nature of permissible relations, making it difficult to reach what may be call appropriate relations. It was further found that ascertaining appropriate relations involves considering legal, political, cultural, religious, economic, and historical factors in particular countries. The work did not anticipate a particular answer; however, religious freedom, democracy, and pluralism were identified as a frame that provided the outer limits for state diversity in the European system. In this frame, states can and do paint remarkably diverse pictures of the relationship between religion and the state. The work ends by admitting that although

European Court has put in place some useful parts of the framework, more effort should be done to ensure that states do not develop so close a relationship with dominant religions that it poses a threat to religious freedom and equality. From the foregoing it is clear that although there a mixed feeling about what constitute appropriate Church-State relations, what is clear is that there is religious freedom in European countries. And established religions are treated equally. The implication is that any religious organization wishing to provide any type of education can do so provided such activity does not contravene the laws of ECHR. The European states were not sure whether state closer ties with the established churches could ensure good relations.

In Africa, Opoku, Manu and Wiafe (2015) worked on the role and responsivity of religions in education toward national development. Specifically, the contribution of Christianity and Islam in educating Ghanaians was discussed. They described education generally, to mean training or moulding the child by which he learns literacy and acquire knowledge so as to improve his or her livelihood in the society. They justified their research by noting that Ghana and other developing countries adopted an all-inclusive development model which calls for an insight into the role and responsibilities of religion toward education. Content analysis of books articles and archival materials were used for the study. It was found that in Ghana, like other nations, religion has impacted on (formal) education and developed individual lives, communities and traditional institutions since the 19th century resulting in promoting better relationship among States and religious groups. This work did not specifically deal with the relationship between the State Ghana and Islamic Mission in the provision of Islamic education. Nevertheless, it dwelled

on how both Islam and Christianity partner government of Ghana in the provision of education for Ghanaians. It also suggested that the provision of education by Islam and Christianity would improve relationship between religious bodies and the State.

Again, Kasomo and Naila (2013) researched into the Relationship between Church and State. They used content analysis and collected data mainly from secondary sources, published books, unpublished books, articles, government records, archival materials, and local dailies. Their work was aimed at proving that Church and State are two realms intimate essentially because they both concern themselves about the welfare of man who is both material and spiritual. It further sought fundamentally, to incite thinking in these great issues of the day, and attempt to examine how religious people, both individually and collectively, can take up the challenge and responsibility posed by the current political, social and economic thinking and action especially in Africa. It was found out that there is no proposal on the kind of behaviour pattern of religion and political relationship anywhere that could be relocated and fitted into our situation in Africa. They recommended that the Bible, Qur'an or any other religious scripture will at best give the principles and not the prescription for their devotees in a particular place and that it is the believers of a particular religious persuasion to apply these religious principles to their present circumstances and time. The work of Kasomo and Naila (2013) appears to be similar to that of Opoku, Manu and Wiafe (2015). The work did not specify any relationship between African States and the religious bodies in the provision of Islamic Education to Africans. They acknowledge

the power of the principles provided by the scriptures which the people of Africa can harness to meet their potential.

Asare-Danso (2017) looked at State – mission relation in education. His work examined the nature of Islamic Education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) during the pre-colonial period (up to 1850), the policies that influenced Islamic education during the colonial period (1850-1950) and policies that post-independence governments (1957-2010) put in place to encourage Islamic education in Ghana. Content analysis of educational policy documents and interviews were used for the study. Analysis of findings was based on Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Management theory. It was found that colonial policies that negatively affected Islamic education were the teaching of Religion in public schools based on Christianity, and the promotion of the study of English Language while denying the learning of Arabic language. Though, these policies were changed by post-colonial governments in Ghana. It was recommended that African countries should use the Collaborative style of conflict management, employed by post-colonial governments in Ghana, instead of the Competitive style approved by the colonial administration as that might bring an unhealthy Christian-Muslim relation in Africa. From the foregoing it is clear that colonial administrators had poor relations with Islam and its education while the post-colonial government demonstrated positive relations with Islamic education in Africa and so promoted Islamic education. The colonial government attitude towards Islam and its education resulted in a negative attitude of Muslims towards secular education. This was alluded by Iddrisu (2005).

Similar research was carried out by Korankye-Gyamera, (2012) He examined challenges associated with the State-Church partnership in missions' schools' administration in West Akim Municipality of Ghana. Descriptive survey design was used to examine the phenomenon. Questionnaire and interview guide were administered to 27 participants. After descriptive analysis, most participants strongly believe that the State –Church partnership in the management of missions' schools should be maintained. Conversely, mission school administrators strongly believed that missions' schools administration should be completely handed over to the Churches. Among the challenges identified includes: the spate of insubordination among students and teachers, poor supervision, disrespect for unit managers, poor communication channels and lack of coordination among unit heads and the regional directors of education. It was recommended that Ghana education Service should define the role of each partner and set limits for each of the partners so as to eliminate problems associated with supervision, transfers and the partnership. It was also recommended to institute in service training for regional and unit managers of the mission schools. This work points to unhealthy relations between government and the mission schools. Although the research was carried out in Christian mission, an interview with the general manager of Islamic Education Unit in Tamale, Mr Abdul Karim Bapuni (2020), attested to this. This finding, hence, contradicts the work of Asare-Danso (2017) who observed a positive relation between the State and the post-colonial government in the provision of Islamic education.

Furthermore, Clemence (2012), assessed the role of religious bodies in the development of education in the Eastern Region of Ghana. He employed

descriptive survey design to do the study. Participants were drawn from regional, municipal and district directorate of education. Others were regional and district unit managers of mission schools and heads of religious bodies. A questionnaire was used to collect data which was analysed using statistical product for service solution (SPSS). The results showed that unit managers made their teachers' problem known to the regional directorate of education and religious bodies facilitated access to education at the basic level, where some contribution of mission schools to the development of education while lack of funds to retrain unit managers were among the challenges of mission schools in the Eastern Region. The study recommended the definition of functions of regional unit managers of mission schools. The work suggests that although there is partnership agreement between government and the mission schools, it appears the role of the missionaries in the partnership agreement is either not clear, not defined or not followed by the regional and district directorate of education. This also points to unpalatable relationship between post-colonial government and the missionaries.

Obeng-Mireku (2017) conducted a research into Christian Muslims relation in Africa. The work was a comparative analysis of the relationship of Christians and Muslims in both Nigeria and Ghana. The work aimed at exploring reasons why Christian -Muslim relations in Nigeria is characterised by conflict and violence while that of Ghana is peaceful. He used a mixed-method research approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods so as to benefit from strengths of the two approaches. Analysis of data from both Nigeria and Ghana, depended on conceptual frame work derived from the work of Kazemipur (2014), Putnam-Campbell (2012), and

Huntington (1993). The research specifically examined the contribution of structural factors in understanding the comparatively peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims in Ghana versus conflict in Nigeria. After assessing national survey data of both countries and an intensive interview both Christians and Muslims in those countries, it was found that social, economic, institutional, and media factors were responsible for the dominant kind of relations that characterize Christian-Muslims relations in the two settings. The results had serious implication for religious harmony and conflict well beyond only Ghana and Nigeria. This work touched much on the relationship between Muslims and Christians. That is how they regard and treat one another as religious people. As indicated in the findings, Christian-Muslim relations in Nigeria in always characterized with violence while that of Ghana is peaceful. The Ghana settings might be due to the kind of respect Muslims and Christians have for each other as members of the one country. This might be largely because of the kind of curriculum both Christian and Muslims go through at school. The curriculum enables Muslims and Christians to stay in the same dormitory, dine together in the same dining hall and share ideas in the class and all these are sources of peaceful co-existence.

Asare-Danso (2018), examined the complementary role that the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG) has played in its partnership with Government of Ghana to provide formal education. His work dwelled on the encounters associated with the Church State partnership, and how the Church have used dialogue to settle the educational conflicts that emerged between the Church and the State (government). The research was conducted using qualitative research method and historical research design. Data collection was

based on interviews and content analysis of educational policy documents and materials from archival sources from 1850 to 2017. It was found that some educational policies that were put in place by various political administrations in Ghana initially created “harmony” but later resulted to “tension” between the Church and the government. This eventually affected the management of the Church’s educational institutions in Ghana. Finally, via dialogue, some strategies were implemented to restore the harmonious relationship between the Church and the State. It was recommended that States recognise religious groups as partners in development and develop education policies that encourage dialogue between religious bodies and the government. The work of Asre-Danso was done among Christian religious educational institutions in the country, specifically, among institutions belonging to Presbyterian Church of Ghana. This work is being conducted among Institutions established by Islamic education Mission (unit) in Northern Ghana.

Observations/Gaps from the Empirical Review

The empirical review of the literature has revealed a number of observations and gaps. In the first place, the work done by Shakeel (2018) revealed that increase in emigration and conversion to Islamic religion in some western countries led to increase in demand for Islamic education and that led to the proliferation of Islamic schools. Islam still provide both formal and informal education while parents were concerned about the quality of education that their children received. There was a mixed feeling on the kind of relationship Islamic missionaries had with the state. The gap is that this work was carried out in a foreign country not Ghana and failed to establish any specific relationship between government and the Islamic missionaries.

Secondly, on their part, Opoku, Manu and Wiafe (2015), assessed the extent of collaboration both Islam and Christianity did to help educate Ghanaians. It used content analysis to collect and analysed data. It found the partnership between government of Ghana and the religious bodies in the provision of education in Ghana as problematic. This work was on both Christian and Islamic education. It employed only content analysis as its methods of investigation. It revealed a negative relationship between religious bodies in the provision of education in Ghana.

Furthermore, Kasomo and Naila (2013) examined state–Church relationship in the provision of education. Content analysis was employed to collect and analyse data. It was revealed that the scriptures did not prescribe any kind of relationship that should be between people and the politicians. This work believed in the power of the scriptures and recommended that both parties should base their relationship on both the Qur’an and the Bible for any relationship. The gaps revealed is that, the study was done in Kenya not Ghana. It used only content analysis to collect and analyse data. Thirdly, the work was not Islam alone, it was based on both Christianity and Islam.

Also, Asare-danso (2017) the state examined the relationship that exist between the State and the Islamic Missionaries in Education by examining colonial education policies that affected the provision of Islamic education in Gold Coast. He employed content analysis and interview as methods of data collection. It was revealed that colonial administrators taught Christian education in Public Schools and denied Arabic learning. The study revealed a negative relationship between colonial government and Islamic missionaries in the provision of Islamic education. But indicate a positive relationship

between post-colonial government and Islamic missionaries in the provision of Islamic education. Asare-Danso work, though on Islam, it was not limited to the northern Ghana but for the entire country. It has also presented mixed relations which this work may confirm or not. Besides, Asare-Danso (2017) interviewed only two participant this work interviewed twenty-seven (27) participants.

More so, in Korankye-Gyamera, (2012) study, challenges associated with Church partnership with Ghana government in the provision of education was examined. The study was descriptive survey. While there was general feeling of positive relationship, the missionaries who took part in the study felt their schools should be handed back completely to them. Thus, there was a kind of negative relation between government and the Church. The gap revealed was that, this study was conducted among Christian schools in in West Akim Municipality of Ghana. Further, the study was not a historical one. This current study was conducted among Islamic schools in northern Ghana and it traces the history of Islamic studies from pre-colonial time till date. In another development, Clemence (2012) studied the role of religious bodies in the development of education in Ghana. He used similar methodology as Korankye-Gyamera, (2012). Questionnaire was used to collect data. The study revealed that the role of Unit Managers in the State – Mission relationship are either not defined or not clear. Both studies indicated negative relationship between government and missionaries in their collaboration to get Ghanaians educated. These researches were conducted in similar context.

Obeng-Mireku (2017) looked at Christian – Muslim relations in Africa. Triangulation was used as a method of investigation. The study compared

Christians – Muslims relations in Ghana and Nigeria. The study found positive relations between Muslims and Christians in Ghana but found negative relations between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. Socio-economic factors were blamed for this state of affairs. The gap here was that, this study used triangulation while the current work employed qualitative data, historical and content analysis as methods of investigation. Obeng's work was done in Nigeria and Ghana while this work was done in Northern Ghana.

Lastly but no least, Asare-Danso (2018) assessed the complementary role of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in its partnership to provide education for Ghanaians. The research was conducted among Presbyterian Schools in Ghana. Qualitative paradigm and historical design were used. Interviews and content analysis were explored to collect data. The study indicated a positive relationship between the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and government of Ghana in the provision of education in Ghana because of the dialogue they used to resolve conflicts among them. The study recommends that African states should employ dialogue to resolve conflict between their states and the religious bodies in the provision of education in their respective countries. The gap here is that, this study was done among Presbyterian schools in Ghana while my study was conducted among Islamic schools. Besides, my work is limited in northern Ghana.

The Advent of Islam and Islamic Education in Northern Ghana

The Northern Ghana is the area situated north of the Black Volta River and the Volta Lake. It is divided geographically into five major regions. Viz: Northern Region, Upper East, North East, Upper West and the Savanna regions. There are about forty ethnic groups in these regions, each with their

own distinctive languages. Among the various Northern Tribes are Islamic scholars who are also Islamic educators. Some major tribes in the north that influence Islamic education include: Gonjas, Dagombas, Nanumbas, and the Waala.

Emre (2017), postulated that, although the Arabs brought Islam to North Africa in the 7th century as a result of the defeats of Uqba ibn Nafi, its real spread began in the 8th century through the instrumentality of Muslim traders who came to the area for commercial activities. At this time, the Berber Muslims (missionaries) conquered every trade route from Sudan in the east to the Mediterranean. When the Mandé people who were trade partners with the Berbers accepted Islam, Muslim settlements began to spread towards the northern part of Ghana.

Primarily, Mande Sufis especially the Qadiris played a significant role in the spread of Islam and Islamic education in the Northern Ghana. The foundation of both Islam and its education were laid when the Hausa Muslims who were affiliated to the Tijani Sufi order arrived in northern Ghana. Even as at today, they still have great influence on Islam in the northern part of the country to the extent that some southern citizens of Ghana perceive Hausa Language as Islamic Language.

According to HikmahWay Institute (2019) the impact of Muslims and Islam was so evidenced in the northern sector to the point that Arabic language was used for writing and as medium of instruction. They further revealed that around eleventh century another group of Mande tribe arrived in the north and that they spoke the Dogamba [Dagomba] Language and that they settled in north-eastern Ghana in the city of Yendi and spread Islam among the

Dagomba tribes and maybe some clans of the tribes of Hausa as well who helped them to propagate Islam. This claim of the HikmahWay Institute (2019), appears not accurate because Mustapha (2017) opined that Islam entered Dagbon in the 17th Century. Besides, there is no any known tribe in the Dagomba or Yendi area that belongs to the Mande tribe.

HikmahWay Institute (2019) asserted that, at the commencement of the twelfth century, Muslim traders from the Hausa and Borno tribes infiltrated into the south in their pursuit of Kola business. They propagated Islam among the Dagomba tribes in the thirteenth century. Most of the members of these tribes became Muslims and were keen to invite scholars and callers to Allah from the northern areas to teach them Islam. At the same time, Islam spread among the Mamprusi tribes and the city of Gambaga became an Islamic centre. Each of these tribes in the north had their own state, a self-ruled province such as: Gonja, Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Ewe, which are all located in the north of modern-day Ghana. The merchandise activities of the Muslim traders even made some towns become commercial centers such as Salaga. In his words Dupuis (1984) as cited by Iddrisu (2005), when writing about Salaga and Asante in the 1820s, fondly referred to the Neutral Zone as a Mohammedan power and describes Salaga as ‘...the chief city of these districts... and the population, of whom nearly one-sixth part are Moslems, to be about four hundred thousand souls...’ (1984: xxxix). The preceding quotation suggest the magnitude of Muslim infiltration into northern Ghana and the implication in the introduction of Islamic education in the area because Islam moved with its models of education.

In another development, Hunwick (2008) as cited in Iddrisu (2005) After 16th century onwards these Muslim traders spread into other centres and animist communities, and then later into the chiefly houses spreading Islam and its modes of education along the way. Subsequent to the fall of Mali, the Wangara moved into the Savannah hinterland, along the trade routes where they helped in the establishment of States like Yagbum and Nasa in Gonja and Wa respectively. Inside these States they formed a commercial class and small academic elite who were responsible for Islamic education in the area.

According to HikmahWay Institute (2019), there were twelve mosques distributed in the Muslim neighbourhood where Friday Prayers were held in the largest mosque. Each mosque had an Imam to lead the prayers, a Muezzin to call for the payers, a scholar who recite and teach how to read the Noble Quran and a da'awa scholar who called people to Allah to and teach them Islam.

The way and manner Islamic education was introduced in northern Ghana is not different from the way it got to other African societies (Mustapha, 2017, p. 62). Asare-Danso (2017) alluded that Islamic religion came to northern Ghana with Islamic education. According to him, Islamic scholars accompanied the traders and assisted in propagating Islam and educating the converts. According to Hill (2009). and Gin (2015), Islam was presented to northern Ghana in a mixed form. Gin (2015) opined that, though traders opened routes and exposed remote societies to Islamic influences, they did not propagate Islam by themselves. It was the men of religion who primarily communicated with local rulers who did the conversion to the new religion. So, Muslims were living under the mercy of Traditional rulers who

were not Muslims themselves. The rulers were Islamised because the Muslim clerics assisted them to get solution to their spiritual problems. For instance, helping them to overcome a severe drought or to secure victory over a particular competition or war as was the case for the Gonjas in the 16th century.

According to Wilks (1985) as cited in Mustapha (2017) When Naa Zangina embraced Islam, he did so in order to gain Islamic support to liberate his subjects and to facilitate rapid development of Dagbon and her people. His conversion however, led to the conversion of most Dagombas to Islam (Mustapha, 2017). Nevertheless, because only the kings and their elders came under the influence of Islam, the ruling aristocracy in Dagbon assumed a middle position between Islam and the traditional religion, patronising both Muslim diviners and traditional priests. It was through the chiefly courts that Islamic elements filtered the culture of the common people. In the words of Mustapha (2017) “Curiously, sometimes it is the Muslim diviners who tell a client that his or her problem is because s/he has not made sacrifices to his family god for some time. Indeed, many Dagomba Muslims are also active participants in the traditional religion. There is a palpable mixing of Islam and traditional Dagomba religion in the daily lives of even some very outwardly devout Dagomba Muslims” p. 162. According to Iddrisu (2005) Islamic scholars established Qur'an schools to train the youth and to direct the spiritual lives of the believers to avoid a situation of relapsing into ‘mixing’, particularly after the nineteenth century Jihad movements.

The traditional rulers who accepted Islam appointed Imams as spiritual leaders in all affairs in relation to their kingdoms. The imam then established

Karim Zong (an open compound Islamic learning centre) where children learnt to read Qur'an and be able to write in Arabic. The chiefs also gave their children out to *Malams* for them to study how to read the Qur'an and write in Arabic. Such children after graduating usually chose to be scholars and established their own *Makaranta* to teach Islamic education (Levtzion,1968).

It is the responsibility of the Muslim community and the parent of every Muslim child in Northern Ghana to ensure that the children attend Makaranta or the Qur'anic Schools. Four to six-year-old children began learning under a Mallam and advanced to the elementary stage to study Ilm (knowledge). The talented ones proceeded to the advanced levels, where they were taught Islamic sciences. Iddrisu, hypothesized that the students when they completed their studies embarked on Master-seeking. They journeyed to study under learned Ulama in specific aspects of the Islamic Sciences, while others returned to their localities to establish new Madrasah (Islamic schools) (Iddrisu, 2005).

Iddrisu added that, many of these new Islamic scholars (*Mallams*) named their Schools after their alma mater. This explains the proliferation of such names as Anbariyya, Nurriya, Wataniyyah & Nah'da or Nurul-Islam Arabic Schools in the in Northern Ghana. Nevertheless, some new scholars name their schools after their own names. Names like Rashadiyyah, Umarriah and Othmaniyyah fall under that category. The description of Salaga in the latter part of 18th century as a town where everyone could read and write in Arabic, is a good instance of the nature of education that the British colonisers met with in the area that was to become the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

Management of Islamic Mission Schools During the Colonial Era

This era is in line with Sivalon (1995) phase of “*tension*” that covered the colonial period (from 1850 to 1924). One would have thought that with the coming of colonialism, the management of Muslim and Islamic education would have seen a positive boost. Paradoxically, however, Islamic education encounter with the colonial authorities rather disadvantaged the former and made it a weaker partner when it was necessary to integrate Islamic learning with western style of education in the northern territories (northern Ghana). Instead, the colonial administration initiated and implemented policies which restricted missionary efforts in Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, beginning first with the Catholic (Iddrisu, 2005, p. 57 & Asare-Danso, 2017, p. 74).

The missionaries especially the white catholic fathers and the Wesleyans would have been the best to help the Muslims to manage Islamic education better because they were forerunners in the establishment western education in Ghana (Holmes, 1968). Divergent reasons have been suggested: while some scholars contended that the restriction of Christian proselytising in the northern Ghana was to avert a clash between Christianity and Islam, others argued it was a design by the colonisers to prevent the development and progress of Islamic Education in the area. Iddrisu, (2005) believed the move was to uphold the status quo, for Islamic education, ie memorizing parts or whole of the Qur’an and restricting education to only tenets of Islam. According to him, the colonisers wanted to deny the Muslims western education so as to make them amiable and much softer to deal with than their southern counter parts.

Elsewhere in Africa, better management strategies were used to assist the Muslims to manage Islamic education well. For example, in Nigeria, the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) was permitted into some Muslim areas, which led to the creation of institutions called the *Mallamai* schools. These institutions trained young Muslim men and women to acquire education in both secular and Islamic subjects so that they could become the future teachers and administrators in the Muslim dominated areas in northern Nigeria.

As an educational management policy, the colonial government encouraged the formation of Boys' Brigades which they intend to convert into primary schools in order to introduce secular education to the Muslim dominated areas, an intention which was never fulfilled (Iddrisu, 2002). It was Amadu Samba [Saamba], a Muslim, who established a Boys' Brigade by assembling some children to attend classes to be taught by him with the intention to draft the brightest among them into the first primary school. Saamba's effort became a mirage as his secular education was not appealing to the Muslims and subsequently fizzled out because the colonial administration did not provide teachers for it. In the words of Iddrisu (2002), "The boys did an hour's drill and an hour's lesson but spent the greater part of the day idling or doing odd jobs for the Imam" p. 57. In view of this, some parents did not allow their children to go back to school after Christmas break in 1914. They felt secular education was a waste of farm hands and it would be profitable allowing children to work on the farm and to take care of horses than to allow them to lazy about in the school. In the end the Brigades were disbanded as it could not proof its worth in Bawku and Gambaga in Upper East and North

East Regions respectively. According to Iddrisu (2002), this phenomenon created basis for Muslims to resist secular education in Northern Ghana.

The colonial government discourage the study of Arabic language which was mostly language of instruction especially for students who were studying the Islamic sciences such as Nakhwu, fikih, Siirah, tafsir sciences etc. and the language of the Qur'an by not allowing provision of Arabic literature by the Islamic educationist to Islamic schools. Asare-Danso (2017) cited Imam Abdulai a cattle seller at Dunkwa who wrote a letter to the Director of Education for the Gold Coast in Accra on 9th June 1948. In the letter, he requested for an import license to enable him import eighty different titles of Arabic literature into the country to boost Islamic and Arabic studies in Islamic schools. The letter was routed through the Provincial Education Officer in Sekondi. In his reply to the letter, K. J. Dickens, the Director of Education wrote:

I refer to your letter No. W.P. 48/ii/4 dated 24 June 1948, and to say that Arabic is not a recognized language of educational institution in the Gold Coast, and I am unable to recommend the issue of import license for Arabic books for educational purposes. No Arabic books are of any educational value in the sense of the term in the Gold Coast, where the media of instruction are the Gold Coast vernaculars and English (PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM. 23/1/3161, 24th June 1948).

Clearly, from the letter, there is enough proof that the colonial government was not interested in educating people of the northern territories and so did not priotise Arabic and Islamic education because the Gold Coast had its official language- English Language. Besides the language of instruction for Gold

Coast schools were English Language and the local language of the Gold Coast. Therefore, to grant the demand of Imam Abdulai would have contravened the colonial language policy. The request made by Imam Abdulai also meant that if colonial government had left the Muslims alone, they would have been able to manage Islamic education creditably. This action, implies that, the Colonial Government preferred Christian and disliked Muslims and their Education approach and so considered its interest rather than considering the interest of Muslims, as far as Islamic education was concerned.

Lack of good management for Islamic education was not limited to only one colonial government or administrator. Gordon Guggisberg, one of the Colonial Governors in the Gold Coast (who governed from 1919-1927) professed his dislike for the spread of Islam. In 1925, he expressed the willingness of his administration to assist the Christian missionaries against the progression of Islam in the Gold Coast. (PRAAD, Accra, ADM. 56/1/305, 23rd February 1925). The question is, if the governor did not want to notice Islam progressing, how could he want to get Muslims educated? This kind of treatment meted out to Islamic education was not fair because Ghana was inhabited by Christians, Muslims and even Animists. So, it is unfortunate for a government to identify with only one religious group and throw the rest to the dogs. Such attitude would jeopardise national integration. Asare-Danso (2017), alluded to this argument. This attitude of the colonial government brought some kind of tension which was corroborated by Sivalon (1995).

In the same vein, Braimah (1976) as cited in Asare-Danso (2017), the British colonial administration motivated and helped the Christian

missionaries to put up schools which provided secular education. Unfortunately, when religious education was introduced in those schools, the subject matter was restricted to only Christian religious curriculum while ignoring Islam and African Traditional Religion. A situation that did not go down well with the Muslims. This clearly shows that the colonial administration had no any intention to educate Muslims or manage Islamic education as expected. Asare-Danso justify their action arguing that, the Christian missionaries were premier missionaries in the Gold Coast who established their own schools and had Christian religious studies as part of their curriculum. This is perfectly true, however, to me, their action was baseless because the missionaries were foreigners from Europe, and the interest of the indigenous Ghanaians should have been the priority of colonial government.

As an educational management policy, Iddrisu (1998) contended that when the government realised that the Muslims hated Western secular education, they determined to allow the Muslims to find out by juxtaposing the two systems of education, Islamic and Western secular, which of them could benefit the Muslims most. They thought that Muslims stood a better chance of knowing the benefits Western secular Education was going to offer them as they evolved from an advanced civilization. At this point, three fundamental management policies came to mind. The first policy was to find an effective way to exclude the Christian Mission efforts in the northern Ghana, a Muslim dominated area in the Gold Coast. Nevertheless, the colonial government could use missionary efforts to challenge Islamic learning to reform to meet colonial standards of functional education.

Secondly, Iddrisu (1998) and Asare-Danso (2017) argued that, the British Colonial Government reluctantly provided partial Western secular education for the sons of some traditional rulers in the direct line of inheritance. The students could study up to Standard three. The government aimed at preparing them to be effective traditional rulers in future. This education policy was introduced because the government implemented the “indirect rule” system which allowed the British government to govern the people via the chiefs and for it to be successful, the prospective future chiefs should be given some education. Obviously, this policy was a recipe for conflict among the chiefs and their subjects. Some scholars blamed the northern Muslims for this state of affairs because of their deliberate neglect of education provided by the Western Christian Missionaries as this would have empowered them economically, politically and enhance their social status. However, I think they should be lauded for their action since such education was a way of indoctrination and conversion and if Muslims were to allow their children to attend such schools, they would have risked losing their faith as Muslims.

The third management, policy the colonial government offered for Islamic education, was an effort to preserve the status-quo in the Muslim populated area, (northern Ghana) so as to prepare an enabling environment for effective exploitation. Preserving the status-quo denotes maintaining the *Makaranta* schools’ system where students still memorise the passages of the Qur’an and limiting studies to tenets of Islam only. The colonial administration aimed at giving the Muslim population very limited education

because they felt majority of them were common people and for reasons of exploitation, they felt Muslims did not deserve good education (Iddrisu 1998).

According to Yakubu (1972) as cited in Iddrisu (1998), The collapse of hopes of finding exploitable minerals, the later failure of mechanised farming, and the decline of the caravan trade (Yakubu 1972), made the North an area deficient the resources for development as present in the southern sector (Kimble 1963). They therefore, perceived the Northern Ghana as reservoir of cheap labour to work in the plantations and mines in the southern sector (Iddrisu 1998, p. 13). They, as a consequence, did everything they could to deny the Muslims from acquiring new knowledge, new ideas and skills and Islam and its modes of education were viewed as ‘...eminently suited to the native’ (Kimble 1963, p. 79), rendering them easier to deal with than their fellow citizen at the Coast (Kimble 1963, p. 535).

Integration of Islamic and Secular Education During Colonial Era

Absence of trust between colonial government and the Muslim in Northern Ghana still existed even during the 20th century. According Iddrisu (2005), Muslims in the early part of twentieth century still practiced and managed their tradition of education without assistance of any sort from the colonial government. Around 1925, Governor Guggisberg professed his dislike for the spread of Islam and demonstrated colonial government resolve to assist the Christian Missions against the development of Islam and Islamic education in Northern Ghana.

In Northern Ghana, the delivery of secular education had been hampered for about thirty years (three decades). It was not long when the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission arrived in 1921, settled in salt Pond and

established their headquarters there. They established a school at Saltpond started their proselytizing activities. They initiated moves to integrate Islamic and secular Education. According to Iddrisu (2002) the interaction between Islamic and secular education began much earlier in the colonial era, with an Ahmadiyya missionary initiative in 1928. Iddrisu added that, it was in 1928 that the local head of the Ahmadis, Mr M. Nazir Ahmad, visited the Northern Region with the expressed intention of converting the orthodox Muslim communities into the Ahmadiyya sect.

Iddrisu contended that, starting from Salaga, Mr. Nazir conducted series of interviews and held three public lectures (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/1). He then moved to Tamale where he visited the Provincial Commissioner and the Superintendent of Education. He did not get good response from the people of Tamale. For instance, one of the most important icons and learned mallams, Mallam Baba Mai-Suna, the son of the illustrious Mallam Al-Hassan, refused to attend any of Mr Nazir's meetings (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/1) and that negatively affected his missionary activities in the Tamale area.

The mission did not give up. They applied for permission to operate in the Northern Region. Realizing that the Muslims in the Northern Ghana mistakenly rejected secular education, and in order to secure their request, they assured the Chief Commissioner that '... if the movement is allowed to work in the country (NT) more interest in government schools on the part of the Muslims is assured' (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/1). Nevertheless, the application was rejected on 24 January 1932. The refusal to accept the application was due to the earlier doubts expressed by the Superintendent of Education of the Northern Territories, Mr A. H. Candler, who said: "... the

movement (Ahmadiyya) should be viewed with suspicion, however innocent its agents and activities may appear” (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 89/19/1).

Again, the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, F. W. K. Jackson, also refused the application of the Ahmadis explaining that an article in the journal which the Ahmadis had presented with their application was not friendly with the colonial administration. This was because the Government was advised that the article was of a political nature and as such contravenes the provisions of colonial Regulations (Bening, 1990).

Many scholars perceived the attitudes of some of the officials of the colonial government as an extension of the policy of exclusion of Christian Missionaries from the Northern Territories to include the Ahmadiyya Missionaries. One such scholar is Iddrisu (2002) who argued that in a letter, Mr A. H. Candler’s expressed suspicion about who the Ahmadis was in 1928, when the policy of exclusion was at its peak (Iddrisu, 2000). The long and short of the story was that the colonial government wanted to preserve the status quo of the Northern Territories for exploitative reasons.

However, the Ahmadis could not be excluded, in that, one Mr Wemah, a tutor at the Tamale Premier School, had personally went down south to Saltpond where he accepted the Ahmadi doctrine and returned to continue his work in Tamale (Iddrisu, 2002). At the Tamale school, Mr Wemah was able to convert some six of his students from Muslim homes. He primarily convinced them to accept the Ahmadi doctrine and later gave them unofficial religious instructions in the tenets of Islam on Fridays. (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/311/18, p. 25).

The missionary activities of Mr. Wemah were endorsed by the Superintendent of Education, A. G. N. Thompson, who took over from A. H. Candler as the Superintendent of Education. This was because, the schools did not put measures in place to give special instruction of Muslim children in matters of religion. It was therefore, found better to let the parents of the children make their own arrangements to give their children Islamic education.

Again, in a reply to a request for information on the Ahmadis, A. G. N. Thompson, acknowledged that seven of the students at the Tamale school were being given religious instructions from a local Mallam. Mr. Wemah was perceived to as local Mallam perhaps because most of the mallams encountered by colonial administrators did not have formal education. As part of evangelical activities, the Ahmadis also arranged a special class for adults at Salaga and in by 1932 "... there (were) eleven in attendance at these classes" (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/1). It is clear that the support of the activities of the Ahmadis shows that the colonial administrators were beginning to soften their stand on Islamic education in northern Ghana. It had also given hope to the Ahmadis that with perseverance they were going to succeed in penetrating the Northern Ghana with their Islamic and Secular education.

It is on records that the Ahmadis established their mission house in Tamale in the 1940s using communal labour. At the mission house faithful students were given religious instructions two times a week and on holidays. The subject matter was limited to only Arabic language and history of Islamic religion. Students who were interested in secular education were allowed to attend the mainstream secular schools. In this connection, the statement that

there were special classes for adult in Salaga without permission of the colonial government may not be accurate. More to the point, there was open disinterestedness in Ahmadi programmes by the most learned in Salaga (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/1). There is no indication in the archival records to show that Mr D. A. Mahama, the officer who reported about Ahmadi special classes, ever visited Salaga. Perhaps the fact that he was also working to convince the Superintendent of Education to approve the application of the Ahmadis to operate in the Northern Region could have led him to resort to presenting fabrications of his own imagination. On 15 June 1931, A. G. N. Thompson, the Superintendent of Education, recommended to the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories the approval of the application of the Ahmadis to operate in the Protectorate. The approval was duly granted on 24 January, 1932 (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/19/5). The fore going was ostensible since Muslims were anxious to experience secular education. They were also interested to attend government schools, as the Ahmadis had promised to carry that out.

Iddrisu (2002a) argued that many Muslims were convinced that acquiring secular education had been equated to conversion to Christianity. The Mission's efforts to establish a school, therefore, did not see light of the day until 1932. However, the school so established had collapsed soon after its establishment as the Missionaries lacked adequate funds to sustain it. The prime success of Ahmadiyya Mission in the establishment of a school happened in 1940 when they open the Ahmadiyya Primary School at Zogbeli in Tamale. Mr. Johnson, a native of Saltpond, was the first head-teacher of the

School. Secular subjects such as English, arithmetic and geography including how to read the Qur'an and some tenets of Islam were taught.

As time went on, the Zogbeli Ahmadi Primary School shed its religious nature and accepted a secular curriculum. At this point, the fundamental factor that attracted people to the school was not the religious subjects but the Islamic culture under which it operated. The only difference between this primary school and the Christian mission school is the prayer at the morning and closing assemblies (Iddrisu 2002c). The Ahmadiyya resourcefulness was relatively conservative, because the Muslims continue to regard any secular education as the property of the Christian infidels and they fear causing a radical change in the type of traditional Islamic education not familiar with the people.

The introduction of aspects of Islamic religious instruction at the already existing secular schools was the only way the Muslims could be convinced that secular education was not for infidels. Even the effort by the Ahmadi to start Islamic education did not go down well with the Northern people. This was especially so because of the hullabaloo surrounding the founder of the Ahmadi Sect- Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani. The Missionaries were therefore, branded disbelievers in the same way the Christian Missionaries were accused of infidelity. Although the Muslim's action appears controversial, one cannot blame them from adding the Ahmadi to their fear of conversion because of the way Islamic features of the Ahmadi school were trimmed off. Humphrey Fisher (1975), however, argued that the action of the Muslims was purely ideological. Humphrey's argument is valid because, as an insider, I am aware of serious Doctrinal difference between the Ahmadi and

the Orthodox Muslims. So, the Ahmadis effort at providing secular education for northern Ghana was further derailed by the doctrinal differences.

Reasons for Muslims Negative Attitude towards Formal/Secular (Western) Education

Many scholars wondered why Northern Muslims during the colonial era were reluctant to accept Western secular education and developed conservative approach to colonial management policies on education. Muslims in northern Ghana did not originally embrace Western Formal Education, which was presented by the Basel Evangelical Mission, due to certain reasons. Asare-Danso (2017) has identified reasons why the northern Muslims failed to associate themselves with western secular education.

In the first place, the Muslims had a crusader mindset. Christians had engaged the Muslims in Europe in war (the Crusades). Later, when the Europeans arrived in Africa with the aim of propagating Christianity and the Christian gospel, Muslims realised that Christianity was related to European imperialism and hence, they were suspicious. Consequently, when Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal had put in measures to pursue his motto "*infidels debent subjuci fidelibus*", which means "*the infidels (the Muslims) ought to be subjected to the faithful (Christians)*", Muslims perceived him as having both religious and political objectives, (Pobee 1975, p. 224). In view of this, when the Europeans intended introducing Christianity in Africa in general and in the Gold Coast in particular was perceived by Muslims as a dangerous to their existence.

Secondly, the Danish governor, de Richelieu invited the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast in 1824 and that posed a serious challenge to Islamic

Education. The Danes on one hand were Reformed Christians and they established their association with European powers. The Muslims on the other hand, had spiritual leaders (or Imams) just like their Christian counterparts, the Europeans felt on the Christian chaplains rather than Muslim Imams to for spiritual assistance in the castles. This phenomenon made Muslim spiritual leaders felt neglected and did not want to associate themselves with education provided the Basel missionaries. The Muslims were not justified for begrudging the Danes administrators for resorting to Christian Chaplains for spiritual guidance because they were Christians and not Muslims. It would therefore not be wise for a Christian to seek Muslims' spiritual guidance. The Danes appeared to be justified for using Christian Chaplains to support their political administration.

Besides, it is on records that the Basel Mission Education was introduced to Ghana through the efforts of Andreas Riis, one of the Danish Chaplains. It is also on record that when Riis was migrating from Christiansborg to settle at Akropong-Akuapem in 1835, he was accompanied by a mulatto interpreter, two house boys and a soldier, all provided by the Danish governor (Pobee 1975, pp. 228-229). It was on this account that both Muslims and non-Muslim, suspected that the missionaries were agents of Danish political power. It was hence, justifiable for the Muslims to cultivate lackadaisical attitudes towards the Basel Mission's western type of secular education in the Gold Coast and for that matter, decided to maintain the *status quo*.

Lastly but not exhausted, it is of important to realise that Ashanti, the traditional political leadership was making use of Muslim religious leaders and

clerics in the royal palaces, which served as the capital of traditional administration. Some Ashanti kings like Opoku Frefre 1799 -, Osei Bonsu (1800-1824) and Osei Kwame (1781-1789) were reported to have made use of this tradition long before the colonial political leaders of the Gold Coast started to employ the services of Christian Chaplains at the castles and forts (Dupuis, 1874). Muslims therefore saw the creation of chaplaincies at the European forts and castles as a clear indication of Christianity serving the interest of the colonial government. In view of this, it became difficult for Muslims to accept an educational system, which had been introduced by the Basel Mission or other Christian missionaries.

Management of Islamic Education during Post-Colonial Era

This is the Era that corresponds to Sivalon (1995) phase of “*harmony*” which covered the colonial and nationalist period (from 1925 to 1991). Around 1950’s, the then prime minister of the Gold Coast, Dr. Nkrumah made frantic efforts to inspire the Muslim community to acquire secular education. And by 1952, the government roll out the Universal Compulsory Education policy which made it possible for this noble idea to be implemented by streamlining the *Makaranta* schools to enable them provide both Islamic and secular education for Muslims. Under this policy, a number of management policies were put in place to make secular education attractive to the Muslims.

In the first place, Iddrisu, (1996) indicated that in the 1960’s it was Mr. J. S. Kaleem, the then Assistant Director of Education in the Northern Region, who decided to hire few opinion-leader mallams in the Muslim communities of the region to teach Muslim students privately at the already existing primary schools for about 30 minutes a day. These credible Mallams taught

the private students outside the main-stream school hours. He argued that the assistant director proposed this idea because of the uneasiness of the Muslim students in northern Ghana getting enrolled into the already existing Public schools. This action taken by the director was an excellent idea since some parents of the children alluded to this. Quoting Iddrisu, in his interview with a parent, the following was the response:

... when they (children) finished secular schools, they knew very little about Islam. Some would finish and continue to pray but then the school has not destroyed or condemned Islam and they have not also praised it. ... the child in the end decides to stop praying. The question the children often ask themselves is that 'If prayer in the Muslim way was good why didn't my teacher tell me about it?' (Iddrisu, 1996, p. 338).

The opinion leader *Mallams* were selected for J. S. Kaleem to be employed taking cognizance of doctrinal division among the *Mallams* in Northern Ghana so as to avoid conflict. Thus, Afa Yussuf Ajura a leader of Wahhabi teachings together with some Dagombas Arabic literates and Afa Ibrahim Gushegu of the Tijaniyya group who came to the northern Ghana in the 19th century via Da awah activities of the Hausa, and Malam Bello, a Yoruba man were selected for appointment to teach in the secular schools (Iddrisu, 2002a).

The novel idea of the assistant director worked and Muslim children in public schools received instruction in how to recite a particular number of short surahs from the Qur'an which were basic to everyday prayer activity. This policy aimed at elevating Muslim children in secular schools to the level of elementary Islamic education usually given at the *zong-karim* stage. The

foregoing account on the integration of secular and Islamic education is commendable in that, it had made the Muslims, blocs to know that they all matter in the development of Islamic education and engaging in petty quarrels would not help.

This noble idea of generating Muslim students desire to pursue secular education was bedeviled with teething problems among them include:

1. The collaboration between Islamic and secular education in the rural areas had to wait till the late 1970s, because, the private lessons were limited to Tamale and even in Tamale, it was further restricted to Sakasaka and Lamashegu schools.
2. Qur'anic teachings instruction in particular secular schools failed to inspire Muslim parents to send their children to secular schools because it did not educate pupils beyond primary or middle school level.
3. The Islamic religious education students did not take the lessons seriously. The few Muslim students who patronized the lessons were not serious because J.S. Kaleem did not make the Islamic studies examinable.
4. The *mallams*, who did not have formal education, appeared different from their secular counterparts who had. The consequences are that, it robbed these *mallams* of their authority over the students. So, the *mallams* could not control their students' daily attendance.
5. The students decided to attend the Islamic religious class lessons at their discretion and suffered no penalty because there was no attendance register and the *malam* could not track them.

6. The *mallams* who taught the Islamic lessons could not express themselves in the Arabic Language and resorted to the use of Hausa and Dagbani as languages of instructions so that made them incompetent to deliver the lessons as expected.

Taking cognizance of the above problems which made the first policy seemingly unattained, the second policy was again rolled out. This policy is called “the modern approach” to fostering a more meaningful collaboration between Islamic and secular education.

This approach, simply afforded the opportunity for the introduction of secular subjects and secular teachers into the already existing *makaranta* in the Northern Ghana. The new approach was implemented in the 1970s. This programme dawned in the minds of the educational authorities between 1968 and 1972 when Alhaji R. M. Yakubu took over from Mr. J. S. Kaleem as the Regional Assistant Director of Education in Tamale. Mr R. M. Yakubu, after assuming office, initiated series of negotiations with the ‘Afa nima’ in Tamale and in the neighbouring regions and districts. In this effort, he celebrated the fast conversion of several *zong-karima* (open air compound schools) into *makaranta* (formal madrassah school) with fantastic great admission figures by the Afa nima. (Islamic teachers)

Many Islamic educationist, the Afa nima or mallams started putting up formal school buildings for Islamic education. Perhaps, the ‘ulema’ copied this idea from the secular schools or of the earlier innovative attempt by Al-Haj Umar of Nyohini’s *makaranta*, to construct school blocks for Islamic education. The Islamic schools also started using learning materials which were hitherto seem to be the preserve for western secular education. For

instance, the use of chalkboards, exercise books and other learning materials (Iddrisu, 2002a). The modality of learning in *Zong-Karim* before now had been copying and memorisation, intended to aid children “embody” the Qur’an as a first step on the road to understanding, which was regarded a lifelong learning process (Boyle, 2004).

All Qur’anic schools (*Zong-Karim*) operated in same lines, with the same pedagogy and learning modalities; one could commonly hear pupils reciting Qur’anic verses and see whitewashed copy boards (slate made for the purpose) drying in the sun near local Qur’anic schools in most regions of the north.

This state of affairs, consequently, was perturbing to the well-meaning officials who thought of making parents juxtapose both systems, Islamic and secular education, to ascertain the best and to make a choice. Obviously, these officials were intending to delay development of Islamic education for unduly long for exploitative reasons. So, realising that, the *Afa nima* were developing the *Makaranta* schools into modern Islamic institutions (Madrasas) became something worrying to them. It was around this period that the Accelerated Development Plan for Education of 1951 was beginning to be real particularly in the Northern Region, which had for a very long time suffered from what Bening (1990) observe as unequal provision of educational (secular) opportunities.

Again, the implementation of the 1915 declaration of the Ghana colonial government in the Northern Territories to the effect that “The Mohammedans ... should the more readily realise the benefits that arise from education” (Ag CCNT, 1915). This kind of declaration would hardly quicken

the right collaboration between secular and Islamic education without a fixed plan to guide the collaboration.

Towards the Take Over of Management of Islamic Schools in the post-colonial era of Ghana

It is a historical fact that the Islamic education system suffered serious setbacks in the hands of colonial administrators which culminated in Muslims resisting western secular education. However, as time went on and especially after the independence of Ghana and the increasing demand for a skilled human resource, there emerged a much greater need for a revolution in the focus of Islamic education. This phenomenon resulted in the post-colonial government fashioning policies to integrate Islamic and secular education and subsequently take over the management of the Islamic schools. The reasons that compelled post-colonial government to take over the management of Islamic schools are not farfetched.

In the first place, the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, which was introduced in 1951, under the political leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) government. The CPP had a socialist ideology known as "Nkrumaism", a doctrine that focused on the wellbeing of the broad masses. To provide equal opportunities for every citizen of the country to develop at the expense of the State, the government established more schools and added them to the existing mission schools. Ultimately, all mission schools were owned by the State and the Islamic education mission was no exception. The duration of Teacher Training programme was reduced from four to two years (Asare-Danso, 2017) This policy affected some Islamic schools.

Secondly, the multitudes of Qur'anic schools in the Northern Region, especially in the Muslim dominated areas, had negatively affected enrolment figures in the secular schools. Kojo Botsio, the then Minister of Education, in 1951 alluded to this in his quote from the Northern Territories' Annual Reports of 1949/50 that, "In few places in the northern territories is there yet any general and spontaneous desire for (secular) school education" (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG 8/9/23/10., 1951) According to him, although some chiefs request for schools, they did so for reasons of prestige and they lose interest in secular education after granting their request (ibid). He observed and condemned the negative attitude of some people to education and lamented that so many schools lacked the full quota of pupils. (PRAAD, Tamale, 1951). This threatened the post-colonial earnest desire to provide education for all Ghanaians because the Qur'anic schools only provided religious education and provided no employable skills for the Qur'anic graduates. Thus, government took over management of the Islamic schools in order that the numerous pupils in those schools would be given secular education.

This state of affairs became even more serious shortly before the Ghana Education Service's efforts to modernise Islamic education in the Northern Ghana. In 1971, the Saudi Arabia Ambassador to Ghana at the time, Alhaji Mubarak, called on some of the *Makaranta* schools and interacted with proprietors and the Arabic and Islamic instructors. On his visit to Anbarriya in Tamale, he was satisfied with the teaching and learning and general progress of the entire school and without delay, recommended to his home government to introduce scholarship schemes to help graduates from the *Makaranta* schools, Anbarriya Islamic School to further their education in Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia (Afa Seidu, 1996). Many parents decided to send their children to Anbarriya, Nuriya and other *Makaranta* schools in northern Ghana, hoping that their children would also get the opportunity of going abroad to study. This resulted in the *Makaranta* schools recording unprecedented enrolment figures in the northern region (Iddrisu, 2002a).

This situation did not go down well with the then Director of Education, Mr R. M. Yakubu (1968–1972), largely because of the uneasiness they encountered in their attempt to improve the admission figures in the secular schools in Northern Ghana. He together with his team of officers visited the opinion-leader mallams in Tamale (Majeed as cited by Iddrisu, 2002b). Mr R. M. Yakubu decided to strike a compromise with the opinion leader Mallams to put an Agreement in place to guide the collaboration between secular and Islamic schools. This novel idea came to fruition at the onset of the 1972/73 academic year. The partnership started with the four *makaranta* that had admitted the most pupils. These first four schools which were named Islamic schools included: the Anbariyya of Alhaji Yussif Ajura, the Nurul Islam of Alhaji Jibril Zakari, the Nah'da Islamic School of Al-Hajj Umar Mohammed of Nyohini and Nuriyya of Mallam Basha.

The following were the provisions of the partnership agreement that were reached in January 1973 between the Ghana Education Service and the proprietors of the Islamic schools in northern Ghana and which had received ascent by the Commissioner of Education, Mr Owasu Fordwuo:

1. Schools in the system were to be private and remain the property of individual *mallam*/proprietors.

2. The proprietors were to provide suitable classrooms and furniture for these schools.
3. Government was to provide secular teachers and pay them.
4. Arabic/Islamic instructors to be provided by the proprietors.
5. Timetable to be drawn by the Ghana Education Service and proprietors from time to time.
6. Secular syllabus to be provided by Ghana Education Service. (Majeed as cited by Iddrisu, 2002b)

According to Mr. Hussein, the Deputy General Manager, National Headquarters of Islamic Education, Tamale, when Mr. J. W. Abruquah took over (1973–1976) as the Northern Regional Director of Education from Mr. R. M. Yakubu, however, he emphasised the necessity to motivate managers of the Islamic school system to empower them or empower Islam to do for the north what Christianity had done for Southern Ghana, educationally (Iddrisu, 2002).

Abruquah's belief that the educational situation in Northern Ghana was dangerous and uncertain, and so needed commensurate action to curb it, moved him to quickly institute changes to better the Islamic school system.

1. His first task was to assure the *mallam*/proprietors that Islamic education was not going to be threatened or pushed to the background.
2. He introduced the practice of paying Arabic/Islamic instructors, the equivalent of a student teacher's salary.
3. He also appointed district organizers to help streamline the Islamic school system and insisted on the appointment of a few opinion-leader mallams as district advisors to the District Assistant Director of

Education to help in the converting of the remaining *makaranta* into the regular school system.

4. By the end of the tenure of office of Abruquah in 1976, there were about 200 Islamic schools in the Northern Region.

5. In fact, the first batch of secular teachers was fundamentally Ordinary Level and Middle School Leaving Certificated Student Teachers. This

low quality of untrained teachers had continued to problematise the system. In the same vein, there were similarly no criteria to ensure

effective selection of Arabic teachers. In consonance with this, the Ghana Education Service, in consultation with the National

Headquarters of Islamic Education, introduced a programme to guide the thousand and one Islamic/Arabic teachers in the Northern Region.

This programme was implemented in 1987 by the Regional Director of Education, Alhaji Rahimo Gbadamosi who ruled from (1980–1987).

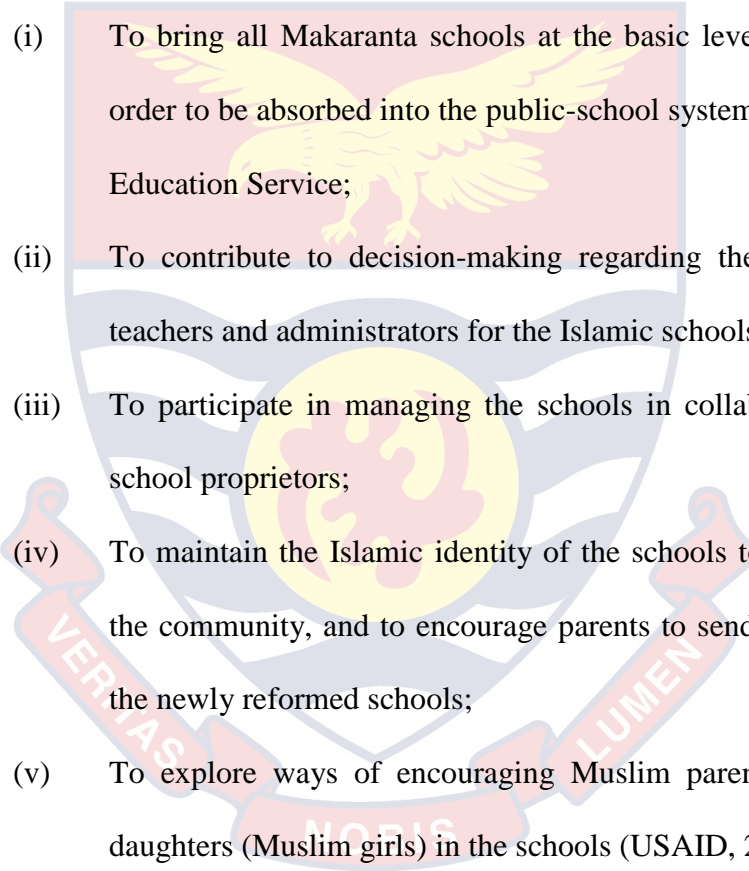
The implementation saw examinations organised for these teachers. When passed they were given certificate of recognition as Arabic

instructors with a salary scale tantamount to that of a Middle School Leaving Certificate Student Teacher. The examination was written

once in a year or at the request of some directorates in the other regions.

In 1980, the establishment of Islamic education unit to take care of the numerous Islamic schools in the system just as the other religious bodies have their units and managing their own affairs became mandatory. In line with this, the proprietor of Nuriyya Islamic School, Mallam Ibrahim Basha, became highly influential and was successful in ensuring that all schools of Islamic

nature were brought to form an Islamic unit in 1980. The new unit was named after his school Nuriyya. Thus, the Nuriyya Islamic Unit was inaugurated in 1980. However, in 1986, the Nuriyya education Unit was renamed “Islamic Education Unit” and its headquarters was situated in Tamale, Northern Regional Capital. The Unit was put under the Ghana Education Service (GES) within the Ministry of Education in Ghana. The Islamic Education Unit was formed to achieve the following objectives:

- 
- (i) To bring all Makaranta schools at the basic level into the unit in order to be absorbed into the public-school system under the Ghana Education Service;
 - (ii) To contribute to decision-making regarding the appointment of teachers and administrators for the Islamic schools;
 - (iii) To participate in managing the schools in collaboration with the school proprietors;
 - (iv) To maintain the Islamic identity of the schools to build trust with the community, and to encourage parents to send their children to the newly reformed schools;
 - (v) To explore ways of encouraging Muslim parents to enrol their daughters (Muslim girls) in the schools (USAID, 2007, p. 23).

The third event to consider was the introduction of 1961 Education Act (Act 87), which eventually eroded the powers of the missions in the management of educational institutions in Ghana. The 1961 Education Act altered the educational policy from educational “centralization” to “educational decentralization”. Subsequently, all mission schools were placed directly under the management of Local Education Authorities (Government

of Ghana, 1961). This marred the cordial relationship that existed between the Church and the State. In the light of this, although the Islamic Education Unit did not exist in 1961, whatever policy was developed as a result of the policy also affected Islamic education unit when it was later formed. Thus, when the Islamic Education unit was formed in the 1980s, it was placed under the Ministry of education and the Ghana Education Service.

Steps Taken to Restore Harmonious Relationships That Existed Between the State and Islamic Mission Schools

This stage corresponds to Sivalon's (1995) Phase of reemergence. The existing relationship between the religious bodies and the State had been very harmonious and cordial since 1997 to 2020, especially Islamic Education Unit in relation to the management of mission schools in Northern Ghana. As a consequence, this range of time has come to be in line with and fits well into Sivalon's (1995) phase of "re-emergence". Under this phase, both Islamic Education Unit and the government of Ghana have put in a number of measures to ensure the deepening of this relationship and making both Islamic religious Mission and other religious bodies's partners in the provision of education for northern Ghana and the country as a whole.

Under the present circumstances, all mission schools in the country are administered, maintained and managed by the government of Ghana notwithstanding the fact that they were established by the missions. Thus, government build and maintains the buildings and other infrastructure, pays emolument of teachers, other auxiliary workers and management staff. Government also provides operational funds for transport, office supplies and pays allowances of staff. Again, all the Islamic Educational Unit staffs,

including the General Manager and the sixteen Regional Managers and the district Managers of Schools are employees of the government of Ghana (i. e. the Ghana Education Service). Government of Ghana has also permitted management of Islamic education Unit to recommend suitable and qualified persons via dialogue for appointment by the government (the Ghana Education Service and tertiary council) as Headmasters, Headmistresses, Principals of Colleges, and Malams who act as Chaplains to the Islamic schools and colleges in the country.

Asare-Danso (2017) disclosed that in October 18, 1999, the Ghana Education Service (GES) Council held a meeting with the religious bodies to solve the problem of government's take-over of mission schools. According to him, the GES Council made certain recommendations in a document named "The Right of Educational Units to Manage and Supervise Educational Institutions established and developed by their respective Religious Bodies in Partnership with the Government" (PCG, 1999). The said text was given to the GES Council to be implemented although the recommendations are yet to be implemented. The dialogue was revisited a year after the Akufo-Addo/Bawumia took over political leadership of the republic of Ghana. For instance, in May 17, 2017, the Minister of Education, Dr. Matthew Opoku Prempeh proclaimed government's resolve to hand over all mission schools to the religious bodies. The minister, however, explained the kind of the take-over in question. According to him, the schools would be placed under the management of the missions, while government will continue to pay the salaries of all staff (Dapatem, 2017). The president, Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo, repeated this resolve on 11th November 2017 at the graduation

ceremony at the Trinity Theological Seminary, Legon in Accra (Asare-Danso, 2017).

The Islamic Education Unit continues to support the government of Ghana in the provision of education at the kindergarten, primary, junior high, senior high and tertiary levels, as the educational statistics provided in table 1 below indicates Islamic Unit schools at various levels of the basic education in Ghana and the enrolment figures as well as staff strength both secular and Islamic. All these were possible through the instrumentality of the Islamic educators in northern Ghana. It should be noted that, none of the original four schools that accepted the secular programme, thus, Anbarriya Islamic Institute, the Nurul Islam Islamic School, the Nah'da Islamic School, and the Nurriya Islamic Institute, had a senior High school that could absorb the teaming Junior Secondary School graduates they were producing, (Iddrisu, 2005).

Table 1: Number of Islamic Schools and Enrolment Figures in Northern Region from 2001-2002

Category	No of Schools	Boys	Girls	Trained Teachers	Untrained Teachers
Kg/Nursery	159	10,249	8,070	128	268
Primary	265	28,694	5861	1,507	324
JSS	42	4,712	2231	246	87
Totals	465	43,655	16,162	1,881	679

Source: Islamic Education Unit, Tamale, 2005

However, through the frantic efforts by the Afa Nima, Northern Ghana can now boast of ten (10) senior high schools. All these ten schools teach both secular and religious education except Suwairiyyah Islamic Senior high in Bawku which runs only Islamic religious programmes.

Summary of the Review

The review covered both theoretical and conceptual. The theoretical review which encompassed the works of Sivalon's (1995) and that of Damon (2011), was meant to guide the analysis and the discussion of the data. The conceptual review was also done and that discussed mission-State relations in education. It further indicates that, the relations between faith-based educators and the state is traceable in the colonial era. It (the relations) became necessary when the colonial government in 1882, saw the need to provide standard education for Gold Coasters. So, government entered into an agreement with the missionaries and began granting subsidies to faith-based schools and paying their teachers' salaries. The review indicates that governor Guggisberg's 16 principles of education and the 1961 education Act on education, Act 87 played a significant role in cementing these relations. The review also touched on the concept of Islamic education. This explained that Islamic Education is concerned with improving the character of the Muslim and teaching him/her to be able to read and interpret the holy Quran. It indicated the need for Islamic education by quoting Qur'an 96: 1-5 as making education and learning compulsory for all Muslims. It also indicates that Islam came to Ghana from North Africa through trading activities by the Wangara, Hausa and others and that Islam was the first to encounter African beliefs and practices. The conceptual review further looked at the *Makaranta* system, the *Madrasah* system and the secular systems of Islamic education. The review identified four categories of Islamic schools in Northern Ghana viz: Traditional Qur'anic Schools, Arabic Schools, English and Arabic Schools and Integrated Islamic Schools. Further, Islamic missionary education in

Ghana was also reviewed. Furthermore, review based on research questions was done. Thus, it revealed that management of Islamic education in northern Ghana during the colonial period brought tension and conflict between colonial administrators and Islamic missionaries. This was because, the colonial administrators initiated and implemented some management policies that restricted Missionary efforts in the northern territories and maintained the status quo for exploitative reasons. Again, the review revealed that management of Islamic education in the post-colonial era brought harmony and cordial relationship between government and Islamic administrators. The reason for this relationship is that post-colonial government started and put into use policies that promoted Islamic and secular education among Muslims in Northern Ghana. The review further demonstrated that both Islamic missionaries and the Post-colonial government implemented policies and strategies that improved the relationship between the two stake holders in education. The empirical review saw a lot of articles relating to both Christian and Islamic researchers reviewed. Some of these studies showed negative relationships between State and Islamic Missionaries in the provision of education. While others showed positive relationships between the states and Islamic missionaries, some researchers found a mixed feeling about the relationship between the states and Islamic Missionaries. Thus, these results remain unreliable and diametrically opposite to each other, therefore, difficult for policy formulators and academia to understand and use. It consequently, calls for a reassessment of the relationship by scoping the study to Islamic education in Northern Ghana where Islam appears predominant.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter highlights the procedures and approaches used in data collection to provide answers for the research questions. It describes the type of data, target population, accessible population, research design, sampling and sampling strategies. The research instruments for the research are also discussed. The last part of the chapter describes other aspects of the methodology like pilot study, data processing and analysis as well as problem encountered in the course of the research.

Research Design

A qualitative research paradigm was adopted, using the historical research design. The historical research (HR) is a process of investigating past events systematically to provide an account of happenings in the past (Historical Research, n.d.). HR is not merely the accumulation of dates and facts or even just a description of past happenings but is a flowing and dynamic explanation or description of past events which include an interpretation of these events in an effort to recapture implications, personalities and ideas that have influenced these events. Historical studies are purposed to verify and explain history of any area of human activities such as provision of education, subjects or events by means of scientific processes (Špiláčková, 2012).

Population

The researcher purposively sampled as many as twenty (20) participants from a population of five hundred and fifty (550) to assist in data

collection. The population is made up of 487 Proprietors (*Mallams*), 52 District Directors of education, 5 Regional Directors of Education responsible for the five northern regions, 5 Regional Managers of Islamic Education Unit and 1 General Manager of Islamic Education Unit. Specifically, the sample composed of (5) Regional Managers of Islamic Education Unit schools. Upper West, Upper East, Savannah, and North East Regions of Ghana. (5) five Theologians, who are proprietors and Islamic educationists in Northern Ghana; four (4) Heads of Islamic Educational Unit schools, one (1) General Manager of Islamic Education Unit, and five (5) District Directors of Education.

Research Area and Context

The five northern regions comprise Northern, Upper East, North East, Savannah and Upper West Regions of Ghana. They are the five managerial regions in northern Ghana (NG). Tamale, Bolgatanga, Nalerigu, Damongo and Wa are the principal cities and towns of these regions. Northern Ghana, covers about 133,564km². Then within Ghana, it shares boundary with Bono, Bono East and Oti Regions of Ghana. The Northern Ghana is populated with about 4,228,116.00 which denotes 17.5% of Ghana's population.

The area has a lot of Muslims compared to the southing sector of Ghana. The Muslim population of NG hovers around 2,038,794.086 and this denotes 48.22% of the population of NG (GSS, 2010). There are quite a good number of Islamic schools in the area ranging from basic to tertiary institutions established by Muslims' proprietors. About 543 Islamic schools are in Northern Ghana. Eighty-one (81) of which belongs to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit. Nine (9) are senior high schools and two (2) are

Islamic tertiary institutions. All, these schools provide both secular and Islamic religious knowledge and the Arabic Language. It is essential to study and understand the kind of relations government of Ghana has with the Islamic Missions in their quest to providing both secular and Islamic education for Muslims in NG. Charts showing these schools have been left at the appendixes.

Samples and Sampling Procedure

The researcher purposively sampled as many as twenty (20) participants to assist in data collection. Creswell (2014) observes that, in the qualitative study, purposive sampling is used to select participants. He argued that purposive sampling is used based on a specific criterion met at the time of selection. In their studies Adler & Adler (1987) argued that researchers using qualitative paradigm should sample between 12 and 60 making 30 the mean. While Ragin (1992), pegged the sample size at 20 for Masters of Arts thesis and 50 for PhD dissertation. Researchers using qualitative approach should avoid adding cases when they are sure that nothing new is being learnt (Becker, 1996). Sampling was purposively done. Specifically, participants included (5) Regional Managers of Islamic Education Unit schools responsible for the Northern, Upper West, Upper East, Savannah, and North East Regions of Ghana. (5) five theologians, who are proprietors and Islamic educationists in Northern Ghana; four (4) Heads of Islamic Educational Unit schools, five (5) District Directors of Education and one (1) General Manager at the National Headquarters in Tamale. These participants were sampled because the researcher believed they had adequate information to assist in the successful completion of the work.

The snowball sampling strategy was also used to select the five Islamic theologians and educationists to participate in the interview. In the view of Bailey (1978, p. 498), as cited in Asare-Danso (2017), Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling strategy by which individuals originally selected for the sample are used as informants to discover other individuals who may share similar characteristics and for that matter may equally be eligible to be part of the sample.

Sampling for Focus Group Discussion

The researcher purposively selected seven relevant participants for the focus group discussion. The participants were made up of three Proprietors, two Regional Managers and two Arabic Instructors. This is important because, when selecting participants for a focus group discussion, the researcher is interested in those who have the best information for him and that is only possible when purposive sampling strategy is employed. Krueger & Krueger (2002), alludes that 5-8 participants could be purposively selected to be in a group. Nyumba et al., (2018) also postulated that purposive sampling is the best sampling strategy for focus group discussion.

Recruitment and Training of Field Assistants

The researcher recruited and trained four field assistants to help him carry out the interview and the focus group discussions. The training centred on purpose of the research, the interview guide and the focus group discussions guide. Skills required for interviewing and how to facilitate focus group discussions was discussed. Also, discussed was questions and questioning techniques. All these are necessary for effective implementation of the data collection activities. Looking at laborious nature of interviews and

focus group discussions, I solicited assistance of field officers of great service to my work.

Research Instruments and Data Collection

The main instruments for data collection were semi-structured interview guide, and focus group discussion guide, content analysis of existing documents like articles, journals, books, letters, archival records, newspapers, etcetera and focus group discussions guide. The study collected both primary and secondary data. In a historical research, data is sourced from both primary and secondary sources (Berg, 2001; Lundy, 2008; Moore, Monaghan & Hartman, 1997). The primary data was collected using interviews and original documents such as letters, minutes etcetera. While secondary data was obtained from content analysis of educational policy documents, local daily papers, textbooks, journals, articles, archival records and the constitution of the republic of Ghana to be able to gather adequate data. The validity and the reliability of the data were ascertained through external and internal criticisms. External criticism is described as the genuineness of the data source itself, (documents). Its purpose is to find out whether the document really is what it purports or seems to be and whether it reads true to the original (Merriam, 1985; Lundy, 2008 & Berg, 2001). Internal criticism is concerned with the meaning and trustworthiness of statements that remain within the document (Merriam, 1985; Lundy, 2008 & Berg, 2001)).

In the view of Lincoln and Guba (1985) the trustworthiness of qualitative data is expected to measure up to varied criteria, like credibility (instead of internal validity), transferability ((instead of external validity), dependability (instead of reliability), and conformability ((instead of

objectivity) Credibility was ascertained by using prolonged engagement, interviews, document review, member check, reflexivity and thick description, as suggested by Patton (2015). Transferability in a research has to do with the degree to which the research could be transferred in other contexts. The research, thus provided detailed description of the context, situation and the methods used in the research. Dependability requires that the research results are consistent and could be replicated. The research described the inquiry process, data collection and analysis procedures, so as to permit external researchers to understand the methods and their effective application and repetition of the protocol and achieve similar results. Conformability requires that the research results are supported by the data collected. Qualitative research allows researcher to introduce a unique perspective to the field of research which permits any external researcher to confirm the original conclusions based on the data to prove how the conclusions were arrived at (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2015).

This historical research study was based on an individual audio-taped, semi-structured interview using 15-20 inductive open-ended questions that assisted the researcher in identifying and understanding the roles played by Islamic Education Unit schools to ensure harmony with the government of Ghana in the provision of secular and Islamic education for northern Ghana. The work also made use of focus group discussion in order to ascertain the dependability, credibility and transferability of the interview data and the results of the research. Aside this, I also went back to some of the respondents in the personal interview and read out the results and my interpretation of the

results to them for confirmations. The foregoing was alluded to by (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

The Interview Process

The interviews took a semi-structured form. Semi-structured interviews permitted interviewees sufficient space and opportunity to express their varied views which made it possible for the researcher to follow up on interviewee's emerging ideas and viewpoints (Alshenqeeti, 2014). In the same vein, it also allowed participants to share their personal experiences. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews gave room for the interviewer to evaluate the validity of respondent's answers via observing non-verbal clues which is especially beneficial due to the sensitive nature of this research (Gordon, 1969). It reduces the burden of having to compare respondents' responses since similar questions are asked across all respondents (Alshenqeeti, 2014).

There was an interview guide which spelled out key areas of questioning and identified specific issues and areas that ought to be discussed with participants. The intention was to probe general and specific areas of interest, on the four research questions. The interview was also flexible enough for both interviewer and the interviewee to express a wide range of ideas about select topics under the four research questions. The interview commenced by briefing participants about the research, its purpose and why their input into the interview is crucial. Interviewees were alerted about the opportunity to withdraw from participation in the research any time, they deem it fit.

Briefing on the possibility of withdrawing was included in a letter of informed consent, and this information was re-emphasised at the commencement of the interview. They were then told about the researcher's willingness to digitally record the interviews. The interviewer commenced the process by asking some few questions on the background of participants prior to asking questions on the main research questions. The interview was formal and conversational, with most of the questions open ended. As stated earlier those who could not be physically accessible, were interviewed on phone. It should be noted that, while telephone interview is flexible in terms of scheduling, it is limited, in that, the interviewer would be deprived of interviewee's other cues such as body language and facial expressions that are present in face-to-face interviews.

The researcher made use of research assistants to enable him carry out the interview successfully. It took the researcher and his assistants, one month to conduct the interview. Each interview lasted for thirty (30) minutes to complete. In all, there were twenty interviews each of which took thirty minutes to complete. All interviews were completed in English Language except some Mallams who could not speak the English Language. So, they were interviewed in Dagbani. The recorded data from the interviews was transcribed verbatim into a word document. All transcribed data were read through to highlight responses which are relevant to answering the research questions posed. Thereafter, the most relevant responses were systematically identified and categorised under each research question and finally, these data were presented for interpretative purposes.

Ethical Considerations

The Institutional Review Board approved of the Ethical Issues to be dealt with in the study before the commencement of the face to face interview with the participants. I, therefore, applied for ethical clearance from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Cape Coast to that effect. Clearance letter was obtained. The prospective participants were duly informed about the objective and purpose of the study. The objectives and purpose of the study were outlined in a letter seeking their permission to partake in the interview which was delivered to them a week before the due date for the interview. Verbal and written agreement of the participants was considered irrespective of their educational background and social status. Participants' responses provided in respect of this study and the focus groups discussion in lieu of this study was protected. The data so obtained from participants was kept safe and be shared with only relevant persons who were reviewing the data especially my supervisor. Alase (2017). argued that researchers need to give protection to their research participants, develop trust with respondents, enhance the integrity of the research, prevent misconduct and indecency that might reflect on their institution. In response to these requirements, as proposed by Alase, the interview will commence by refreshing the minds of participants about the research, its purpose and why their input into it is crucial.

Interviewees were alerted about the opportunity to withdraw from participation in the research any time, they deem it fit. Briefing on the possibility of withdrawing was included in a letter of informed consent, and this information was re-emphasised at the commencement of the interview. I a

situation where a participant could not read and understand the informed consent, the participant was given the opportunity to bring a relative who could read and interpreted it to him or her before he/she agreed to participate. Also, the interview for the study made no provision for the name of respondents rather; the interviewer coded interviewees with letters to prevent identification of information by a participant. As a consequence, the study ensured that all ethical issues concerning confidentiality and anonymity of participants as well as consequences of the interviews are adhered to before commencement of the interview. Finally, the participants were then be told about my willingness to digitally record the interviews. Majority of participants did not want to be recorded.

Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis is described as a process of identifying patterns, coherence, themes, categories and new perspectives and ascertains better comprehension of the phenomenon under investigation or process (Suter, 2006, p. 327). Interviewing is purported to find out what the thoughts of other persons are or what occupies their minds that are not directly observable, (Patton, 2015). Data were reviewed after the completion of each semi-structured interview, analysed, and interpreted into themes and meanings.

Neuman (2004), looked at data analysis as the course of identifying patterns for the purpose of explaining the goal of the phenomenon under study. The analysis of data was formulated based on responses gathered from the semi- structured interview sessions and the focus group discussion sessions for the main study and the pilot study. Emerging themes from the analysis

were put into categories and coded. Once the labelling was completed, the data was coded according to the indicators from the literature.

This study used an open-coding system to analyse participants' and responses line-by-line, phrase-by-phrase, and word-by-word (Arunthari, 2005; Suter, 2006). The researcher manually evaluated participants' transcripts and ensured orderly and systematic analysis of the semi structured interview data gathered. Qualitative research is a determination to understand circumstances in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there (Merriam, (2002), p. 49). The aforementioned understanding is an end in itself, thus it is not an effort to predict what is necessarily likely to happen in the future, but to comprehend the nature of that setting. That is, what it means for participants to be in the setting.

The analysis endeavours for in-depth understanding of participants' responses. The content of the data collected was manually analysed. The analysis identified patterns or similar ideas relevant to the participants' experiences on the introduction of Islamic education in Northern Ghana and its relations with the State. The data was presented and analysed based on the four research questions. The focus group discussion data were also analysed thematically. The analysis was similar to that of the individual interview. It was done thematically based on the four research questions and discussed taking cognizance of the personal interview.

Pilot Study

A pilot study is a mini version of a full-scale study or a trial run done in preparation for the complete study. It can also be a specific pre-testing of research instruments such as the semi structured interview guide and the focus

group discussion guide. The pilot testing is to enable the researcher correct questions that would have been problematic. (Malmqvist, Hellberg, Möllås, Rose, & Shevlin, 2019, p. 1). In the pilot study of this historical research, various techniques were used to gain in-depth understanding of how to obtain a credible instrument for the main study to take place. This included gaining consent and conducting manual recording, audio-taped, individual semi-structured interviews with the participants.

The validity of the instruments was tested to ascertain its credibility before using it to collect data. Both face and content validity of the instrument were determined by giving it to colleague students to critique. It was again given to experts, in this case my supervisor to critique it and the resultant suggestions were used to review it. The semi-structured interview guide was then used to interview four selected individuals at Savelugu. This place was chosen for the pilot study because the participants shared similar characteristics like age, knowledge and experience, proprietorship etcetera, with the actual participants who finally responded to the actual interview. When an instrument is developed and or modified and adopted, the face and content validity and reliability ought to be ascertained, (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996).

Findings and Results of the Pilot Study

The pilot study of this research was an important part of comprehending the history of Islamic education in northern Ghana. The variety of participants and data collected from the pilot study was appreciable by way of getting responses from a cross-section of the total population of stake holders of Islamic and secular education in northern Ghana.

The results from the pilot study were generally positive, because participants showed gratitude for being endowed with a platform that enabled their voices to be heard. The rapport created appreciated participants' confidence and made them relaxed throughout the process. Some participants in the pilot study advised the researcher to contact some particular *Mallams* who were potential participants for the main study. The use of an interview procedure was crucial in explaining the experiences participants have relative to the history of Islamic education in Northern Ghana. Results further showed, participants felt the interview protocol's content and readability level was easily understood, though, several questions were misconstrued by some participants and needed to be reworded.

Participants' observations, both positive and negative, were very helpful and gave the researcher useful feedback to review and improve the interview protocol for the main study. Several questions were restructured, or reworded to ensure relevance, readability and solicitation of extensive and varied responses from participants. The reviewed interview tool permitted participants to engage in meaningful dialogue that described their positive and negative experiences about history of Islamic education in northern Ghana. The positive comments from most of the participants showed that the reviewed interview protocol would be a valuable data collection tool during the main study.

Summary

This chapter discussed the research methodology employed in the qualitative research study that used a historical research design. Also, it explained data collection procedures as well as data analyses procedures,

which included identifying recurring patterns and themes from the answers collected from participants' audio-taped, manually-recorded semi-structured interviews. Finally, the chapter discussed the suitability of the research design, the population, and limitations, delimitations and ethical considerations and the results of the pilot study. Chapter four reports the results for the main study which were presented and discussed.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to examine relations that existed between the State (government) and Islamic Mission in the provision of Islamic and Secular Education for the people of Northern Ghana during Colonial and post-Colonial Eras. Specifically, the work sought to establish how Islamic Education was introduced in Northern Ghana, examine how Islamic schools were managed by the Islamic missions during the colonial and post-colonial eras, to ascertain what made post-colonial government decided to take over the management of Islamic Schools in Ghana, and to find out the steps that have been taken to restore harmonious relations that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools.

The study adopted a qualitative research paradigm and used historical research design. An open-coding system was used to analyse participants' narratives. It has an advantage of analysing the responses line-by-line, phrase-by-phrase, and word-by-word. The researcher used purposive sampling technique and sampled 20 participants whom he interviewed for data; however, 17 participants were finally interviewed. The table below indicates the characteristics of the participants who responded to the semi-structured interview guide. Again, the researcher embarked on Focus Group Discussion with another seven (7) participants. This is important, so, the credibility of the personal interview conducted earlier would be ascertained. As a consequence, 24 interviewees were involved in the data collection.

Table 2 Demographic Information on the Participants

S/N	Pseudonym	Region	Age	Nationality	Education
1	Participant A	Northern	80	Ghanaian	Hon. Dr. in Islamic Studies & Shariah
2	Participant B	Northern	62	Ghanaian	B.A in Islamic Studies
3	Participant C	Northern	40	Ghanaian	B.Ed in Basic education
4	Participant D	Northern	50	Ghanaian	B. Ed Religious Education
5	Participant E	Northern	34	Ghanaian	B. Ed Arabic & Islamic Studies
6	Participant F	Northern	56	Ghanaian	B.A. Religious Studies
7	Participant G	Northern	55	Ghanaian	Ahmadi Mission Studies (Maulvi)
8	Participant H	Northern	50	Ghanaian	PhD in Sc. Edu. (Chemistry)
9	Participant I	Upper West	54	Ghanaian	M.Ed. Religious Education
10	Participant J	Savanna	52	Ghanaian	B.A. Study of Religions & Psy
11	Participant K	Upper West	50	Ghanaian	B. Ed Special Education (hearing)
12	Participant L	Upper West	52	Ghanaian	B.A. Ahmadi Mission Studies
13	Participant M	Northern	56	Ghanaian	B.A in Islamic Studies
14	Participant N	Upper West	45	Ghanaian	B. Ed in English Education
15	Participant O	Northern	45	Ghanaian	Masters in Educational leadership & innovation
16	Participant P	Upper West	55	Ghanaian	M. Ed in Educational Administration
17	Participant Q	Upper West	56	Ghanaian	B.A. Study of Religions & Psychology

Source: Field Work, 2020

Table 3 Demographic Data on Participants for Focus Group Discussion

s/n	Pseudonym	Religion	age	Nationality	Education
1	Participant R	Islam	55	Ghanaian	B.Ed. Primary Education
2	Participant S	Islam	46	Ghanaian	Islamic Religious Knowledge (private)
3	Participant T	Islam	56	Ghanaian	B. Ed Psychology (Religion)
4	Participant U	Islam	62	Ghanaian	Islamic Religious Knowledge (private)
5	Participant V	Islam	50	Ghanaian	B.A. Ahmadi Mission Studies
6	Participant W	Islam	48	Ghanaian	PhD in Shariah
7	Participant X	Islam	49	Ghanaian	B.A. Study of Religions & Psychology

Source: Field work, 2020

In this chapter, the researcher present the themes identified in this historical research using selections from the participants’ semi-structured interviews. He also illustrates how the daily lives and activities of the participants were influenced by their roles as Islamic and secular educators and its effect on each theme. Every participant was not able to discuss every theme succinctly because responses depended on how experienced the participants were, how they had been practicing their current position as stakeholders in education and their familiarity with Islamic history. The ranges of selections were envisioned to allow the maximum number of participants’ voices to be heard, and to represent the variety of topics inherent in the emergent themes. Eleven major themes related to the Mission-State relations in the management of Islamic Mission Schools in Ghana emerged. Each theme has been labeled as follows: 1). Introduction of Islam in Northern Ghana, 2). Muslims’ Rejection of Secular Education, 3), Impact of Accelerated Development Plan on Islamic Education, 4), Management of Islamic

Education, 5). Government Takeover management of Islamic education, 6). Funding of Islamic Education, 7). Organisation of Islamic Education, 8). Methodology used in Islamic Education, 9). Role played by Northern Chiefs, 10). Steps to harmonise relations, 11). Credibility on Government- Islamic Mission Partnership.

The above themes were identified and selected because they appeared to be recurring in each participant's interview. Although there were other categories that came up, they were not cogent enough to be selected. The results were presented based on the research questions and the themes identified from the semi-structured interview as follows:

Research Question one: How was Islamic education introduced in northern Ghana?

This question sought to solicit information on how Islam came to Ghana and Northern Ghana. It was answered by all participants except the Ghana Education Service Directors of Education as their interviews related to the school administration.

Introduction of Islam in Northern Ghana

The following were responses in respect of this theme.

Participant A said that

“Islam was introduced to Ghana and the Northern Ghana by the Hausa people. They taught Dagombas how to read the Qur'an and the Dagombas therefore accepted Islam and loved the religion more than anything else. The evidence of Hausa Islamic activities in Dagban is that Dagombas were not able to understand Hausa but they sing in Hausa and explain the Qur'an in Hausa Language. The Hausa people taught us to name our children using Islamic Names eg: Mohammed, Zakaria, Habiba etc”.

Participant B also had this to say

“The Wangara people brought Islam and taught the Qur’an. The Hausa people taught the knowledge associated with the Qur’an. The colonial government did not interfere with the Islamic education. The Wangara merchants operated an open compound schools (Makaranta). Some of the learner stayed with them while others stayed with their parents and went to them daily for the Qur’anic studies. The Wangara and their Qur’anic students were responsible for the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana. They did not settle in one area. They were like nomads who wander from place to place in search of their merchandise to purchase. Nevertheless, some of them finally settled at one place and taught the Qur’an. They taught the Qur’an for free. They never charged any learner”

The contribution of participant C on the theme was that.

“Hausa people brought Islam to Northern Ghana through trading activities. The people were mostly Wangara, the Zambarama and the Hausa people. They were trading in cola nuts, ivory and Gold. The Dagomba, the Gonjas, the Waala, Mamprusi and the Nanumbas influence the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana”.

Participant F also added that

“Islam was introduced into the Northern Ghana by Hausa traders who came to Larbanga. They first settled at Gbuling and passed to Zieng. From here, they went settled at Savelugu. The traders taught the Qur’an.”

From the narratives of the participants above, it could be concluded that Islam was introduced to Northern Ghana by several Islamic Missionaries who were mostly the Hausa, the Wangara and the Zambarama. This conclusion agrees with the work of ‘Muslims in Ghana’ (2017) and Iddrisu, (2005) who contend that Islam was brought to Northern Ghana by the Hausa among others. The Hausa taught the Dagomba how to read the Qur’an and the Dagomba therefore accepted Islam and loved the religion more than anything else. The evidence of Hausa Islamic activities in Dagbon is that Dagomba are not able to understand Hausa but they sing in Hausa and explain the Qur’an in

Hausa Language. This opinion by participant A was true but it is no more valid today. The Hausa people taught the Dagomba to name our children using Islamic Names eg: Mohammed, Zakaria, Habiba etc. Again, the assertion that Dagombas influenced the spread of Islam and its education in Northern Ghana is of significance. According to Hikmah Way Institute (2019), the Dagomba and Hausa influence Islam and its Islamic education in the north. It is also very clear from the narratives that the Hausa, the Wangara, the Berbers and the Dagomba are very important when it comes to the spread of Islamic education in northern Ghana. The Wangara did not have sound knowledge in Islamic Education so, they taught only the recitation of the Qur'an while the Hausa, who were very knowledgeable in Islamic knowledge, taught the Knowledge associated with the Qur'an. The narrative also attributed irreligiousness found Islam to the Wangara people. This finding is in consonance with the work of Faso et...el (2009) and Curry and Philip (n.d.) they argued that, Islam was presented to the Northern chiefs in a mixed form, ie irreligiousness with the true Islamic religion.

It is also clear that, the Missionaries were traders who were not interested in proselytization. They were interested in their trading actives which they believed could earn them some income. Their interest in propagating Islam was a secondary matter to them. The findings also agree with the work of Hikmah Way Institute (2019). They found that the Berber and the Wangara traders were not interested in the propagation of Islam and its education. They believed it was Dagombas, Hausa, Gonja, Mamprusi etc. that assisted in the spread of Islam. The finding from the focus group discussion corroborates that of the personal interview results. Three members

representing 50% of the group felt that, the Hausa people assisted by Larbanga people, the Dagomba and others were responsible for the introduction and spread of Islam in northern Ghana.

Methodology used in Islamic Education

This theme sought to establish the kind of methodology the early Muslims used to teach the Qur'an. Participant C said the methodology was mainly "rote learning and memorization". This means that the *Mallam* mentioned and the pupil mentioned after him/her until the child committed the material to memory.

Participant B

"Studies were mainly rote and oral. A student who just joined began with oral studies, then after some time the person is introduced to a slate to study '*Bachi koba*' (the Arabic alphabets in Hausa), then '*Bachi bihi*' (pronunciation of the alphabets), then the person is introduced to basic reading but still from the slate and from here, the student is then given the Qur'an if the father parents could afford it. If not, a number of students at the same level contributed and bought single Qur'an to be used together".

Participant C

"The main methodology used was rote learning and memorization".

Participant D

"There was no any clear-cut mythology. Studies were mainly rote learning and memorization".

Participant F

"The teaching was mainly oral and rote (memorization). They curved wood into slate which was white washed with white sand *falinkasa*. The Arabic alphabets were written on the slate for the students to study and when the student understood the lesson, it was white washed again for the next lesson to be written on it. When the slate become too small to support the child's studies parents were made to buy Qur'an for them. However, Qur'an was very expensive and too scarce to come

by so two or more parents could come together buy one for their children”.

Participant H

“The Methodology was mainly rote learning, memorization, and oral. They also used spiritual means to help boost the student’s absorption of the material (what was learnt). That is they were able to boost, the students cognitive abilities to be able to memorise the material very quickly”.

Participant M

“The methodology was mainly rote learning coupled with severe caning. *Afanima* (Islamic teachers) are highly respected at chief palaces some of the *Afanima* were brought up by the Chiefs and gave their children to the them in marriages eg, Mallam Kankani. Their study place was called *karim Zong* (Study Hall). The source of light in the night was burning of stalks and *Atanimegu* (locally Made lamp)”. They started with *Bachi koba*, then *Bachi bihi* the *karim pielga* on a slate. It was washed with white sand and written with local ink known as ‘*Tadabo*’ in Dagbani.

From the data gathered, it is clear that the methodology used was rote learning, oral studies and memorisation. According to participants B and F, a new pupil started with Oral recitation of the short chapters of the Qur’an and when the person mastered the material, he/she was taught *Bachi Koba* (Arabic alphabets in Dagbani) on a white washed slate made from a curved wood known as *Waliga*.

The person was then introduced to *Bachi Bihi* ie pronunciation of Arabic words. When the student was in tune with that, then he/she was introduced to *Karim Pielga* where the passages of the Qur’an were read. Here the passages were written on the *Waliga* with a locally manufactured ink called *Tadabo* for the student to study. When the passages were too lengthy to be written on the slate, the student was introduced to the Qur’an itself.

However, the Qur'an was too expensive and scarce and parents who could not afford a copy for their wards could come together and buy one so, they could be using it. Participant H remembered that Mallams could use spiritual means to boost cognitive abilities of their Qur'anic students to aid memorization, so the student could complete the task of memorizing the Qur'an very quickly. Students were disciplined by caning with *Baranzum* (a specially made cane from animal skin with a wooden handle). The source of light for studies at the night was by burning stalks or using locally manufactured lamp called *Attanimegu*. This lamp used shea butter as source of fuel. Well to do persons bought and used lanterns to study at night. The focus group discussion indicates that the teaching and learning was by rote and memorization. Learners learnt *Bachi koba*, *Bachi bihi* and *Karim Pielga* on a wooden curved slate which was white washed with *Fali Kasa* (white sand). They also used the locally hand written Qur'an when the slate could no more support their studies. This result, documented the personal interview responses

The methodology described above indicates that Islamic education was not just about memorization. Nevertheless, memorization was part of the learning process in Islam and it is still part of Qur'anic methodology even today. This underscores the fact that students were taught to be able to read without any assistance and they could understand what they read. According to Iddrisu (2005), at the latter part of the 18th century, Salaga could be described as a place where everybody could read and write in Arabic. Thus, students could identify words, break them into syllables, pronounce them etc. It should be noted that, Islam encourages Muslims to memorize the Qur'an and a person who memorizes the Qur'an is called *Hafiz* and its plural is *Hufaz*.

According to Participant A, the Wangara people did not have enough knowledge of the religion so, those who studied with them and were able to read the Qur'an on their own and wanted its interpretation or to understand its language, continued their studies with the Hausa people in the southern part of Ghana. On this basis, I disagree with scholars who describe Qur'anic studies at that time as rote, memorization and Oral learning. It must also be made clear that Qur'anic teachings cannot do away with memorization.

Funding of Islamic education

This theme sought to find out how Islamic education was funded at the time it was being introduced in northern Ghana. Participants views were solicited and various responses were recorded.

Participant B

“They in fact, deemphasized but placed value on food staff. As source of income, school children celebrated *Hizb*. The entire Qur'an consists of 60 *Hizb*. So, if a student was able to study one *Hizb*, he/she was made to celebrate it during which parents donated food staff and animals for the celebration and that helped put money in the pocket of the Mallam. Some of them Mallams made the children especially those stayed with them to beg for arms which was used to feed them. Because the Wangara people were not Well grounded in Islam, they combined true Islam with irreligiousness and that affected the fortunes of Islam in Northern Ghana”.

Participant F

“They earned their income through some form of entrance fee known as *kudin bulala* Money for Cain). Some token was also paid for kerosene and that was a source of livelihood for the Islamic teachers. Students were also made to celebrate *Hizb*. Those who got to *Hizb* were made to bring cocks and who celebrated Yasin brought rams for the ceremony and all these served as source of income for the Mallams”.

Participant K

“Some of them derived their livelihood from arms begged for by the students. The *Mallams* were also supported from collections from the Mosque. Students also assisted the by working on their farms and house hold *chores*. The *Mallams* also made who were able to study up to *HIZB* to celebrate during which they donated cocks and those who were able to get to Sura *Al- Yasin* donated rams for the celebration”.

Participant M

“All *Afanima* (Mallams) were also farmers. They prayed for people and taught the Qur’an. People donated children to the *Afa* to teach them the Qur’an. These children worked on the *Afanimas*’ farm and that gave them sustain ace. when the children complete the study of the Qur’an their parents were not charged but they gave *Afanima* food staff to help sustained them”.

Participant P

“The Mallams provided funding for the Islamic education. Funding took the form of begging by students, celebration of *Hizb*, Sura al- Yasin, and parents providing food staff for the *Mallams*. The chiefs also gave them food staff but some of *Mallams* cultivated crops and their Qur’anic students were made to work on their farms in assistance to them”.

Funding of Islamic education those days was not as we experience it today. According to Participant B, the *Mallams* those days deemphasized money but was rather interested in the blessing the society and the child was going to receive from him. They placed value rather on food staff. Once they ate to their satisfaction, they were satisfied to do their work. So, parents who donated their children into their care, donated food staff to them and that contributes to their sustenance.

All the participants contend that children were made to celebrate the extent of studies they had achieved so far. For instance, children who studied

up to *Hizb* celebrated it and their parents donated cocks for the celebration. Similarly, those whose studies took them to *Surah Al- Yasin*, also celebrated it and their parents contributed rams for the celebration. All these contributed to sustaining the Mallam.

Aside this, the available data indicates that children who stayed with some of the *Mallams*, begged for arms to support the income of his teacher. Participant F recalled that some entrance fee was paid by fresh students into the schools. This was called *Kudi Bulaala* money for cane, while continuing students paid *Kudi Kerozine* Kerosene money. All these moneys assisted the 1970s *Malams* to subsist. It should be noted that the Mallams were also farmers who did not joke with their farming activities. So, children who stayed in the residence of the *Mallam*, assisted him on his farm. They assisted him to meet the feeding requirement of every student in the *Mallam's* care. Based on the responses of the focus group discussions, sources of funding of Islamic education in the pre-colonial era include: helping the *Mallam* on his farm, celebration of *Hizb*, *Yasin*, *Baqara*, “*Walima*” (graduation), *Kudin Bulala*, and Kerosene money. These responses have substantiated the responses of the individual interview results.

Organisation of Islamic Education

This theme is about how Islamic education was organized. Various participants have expressed their views on how it was organized when it was being introduced in northern Ghana.

Participant A has this to say:

“Those who had a bid organized schools thought the government wanted to cease their schools from them. Islamic education was informal because there were no classrooms, no formal trained teachers, no offices for administrators, no

examinations or certification etc. It was not organized as we have it today”.

Participant B

“The kind of Qur’anic education by the Wangara was not organized. They were studying in clusters according the number that joined the *Makaranta* on a particular time period, ie those who joined at the same time studied together”.

Participant C

“The kind of Islamic education provided was minimally organised and studies took place in open compounds. The students sat around the *Mallam* and learnt what they were taught but there was non-certification and the teachers too were not trained to teach”.

On the basis of the above narratives, Islamic education at the time of its introduction, was not organized. It was a kind of informal education which did not have classrooms, no professional teachers to assist for better and effective learning, no examination and no certification. Participant B argued that studies were on cluster basis. That is, those who were admitted at a particular point in time studied together in a cluster. Participant C opined that the students sat around their teacher in an open compound and learnt what they were taught. Based on the responses of Member E, A and C of the focus group, the kind of education provided by the *Makaranta* schools were not organized especially into discrete classes for learners at different levels of studies. The schools were opened compound and students studied in clusters according how they were admitted. It was difficult to get teachers. So, students who were advanced taught those who followed them. The students also assisted in spreading Islam in the north. These responses supported those of the individual interviews.

Role Played by Northern Chiefs

The theme discusses the role played by northern chiefs at the inception of Islamic education in northern Ghana. Participants have presented their opinions on the theme. Analysis of the data below would suffice.

Participant B

“Northern chiefs also played a significant role in Islamic education in the area. They love Islam more than any other person loves it. So, they gave their daughters out in marriage to the *Mallams* with hope that their grandchildren will be Muslims”.

Participant C

“Chiefs supported Islamic education by giving land for the Imams to settle. The chiefs also ensured that the *Mallams* were accepted by all and gave them protection”.

Participant D

“The chiefs demonstrated commitment by giving out their own children for Qur’anic studies with aim of encouraging community members to also do the same. They accommodated the *mallams* and gave them food staff to boost their morale to stay and teach the children. The chiefs also gave their daughters to *Mallams* for marriage with the hope that their grandchildren will be Muslims chiefs in future. It was also an avenue to have Muslims in their families and the understanding of the Hausa language which appeared unique”.

Participant E

“The chiefs gave land to the *Mallams* to build their houses wherein the schools located”.

Participant K

“The Chiefs gave land and food staff to the *mallams* especially during festive seasons like *Mauludu Nabiyyi*. In return, the mallams supplicate for the chiefs for political advantage over their opponents and in waring situations. The chiefs also gave their children to the Mallams for Islamic studies so that in future they will attain some spiritual position in the community”.

Participant P

“The chiefs accepted the *Mallams* as secretaries to their places so that they were able to records history of their various kingdoms. They also made them their Imams to take care of the spiritual needs of their kingdoms and to assist the chiefs gain upper hand in competitions and in waring situations. The *Mallams* recited the Qur’an to protect the chief against his enemies and chiefs cherished this more than any other duty the Mallam was assigned. They also gave them land to build their houses and the Makaranta schools”.

On the basis of available data, Northern Chiefs played a pivotal role in ensuring the success of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. Participant B indicated that the chiefs gave their daughters out in marriage to the Missionaries with the hope that in future, their grandchildren would be Muslims. Again, the chiefs released land to the missionaries to build their residence where their “Karim Zona” were located. Chiefs also ensured that the individual Mallams were protected and accepted by all in the community.

Participant D contended that, the chiefs’ commitment to Islam influenced them to give their own children to study the Qur’an under the *Mallams*. This was a demonstration of leadership by example. Thus, many community members would emulate chiefs’ example by sending their sons and daughters to *Makaranta*. By this, the chiefs were privileged to have Muslims in their families and studied the Hausa Language. This finding corroborates Levtzion (1968). He mentioned that the chiefs gave their children to the Mallams to teach them the Qur’an and to write in Arabic.

Besides, the chiefs offered employment opportunities to the Missionaries. Some of the chiefs employed the *Mallams* as secretaries to their kingdoms. By this appointment, they assisted the chiefs to adjudicate disputes and recording history and events of the Kingdom. The chiefs also made the

Missionaries their Imams. The Imam supplicated to protect the chiefs against their enemies and to gain political advantage and success in competitions and in waring situations. Faso et...el (2009) indicated that African chiefs and Kings accepted Islam because the traders served as secretaries to chiefs, they could read and write so, they helped the chiefs to adjudicate cases and manage their kingdoms.

Northern Muslims Rejection of Secular Education

The theme is about the Northern Muslims shying away from secular education when it was being introduced. It seeks to understand why northern parents did not desire their children to study secular education. The theme is under the research question one and was responded to by most participants. Many participants contend that northern Muslims did not just reject secular learning as it is presented in the literature. Various reasons have been mentioned as why it appeared that Northern Muslims hated secular education.

Participant A

“Dagombas love for Islamic principles made them hate secular education because the pioneers of the secular education J.S. Kaleem demonstrate support for Islam. Some of them got converted to Christianity while others became drunkards and exhibit European life style which was foreign to Islamic practices.”

Participant B

“It was the Dagombas who did not want their children to study Western secular education. This was because the pioneer educated people in Dagbon did not set good example for the Dagbon kingdom because they were easily converted to Christianity and resorted to drunkenness and that discouraged many parents from sending their children to school. The white fathers only requested children from parents some donated their children to them while others refused”.

Participant C

“The Muslims developed negative attitude towards secular education because they felt it was against their beliefs because the white fathers could convert their children was their fear. Most parents accepted Islam and sent their children to the *Makaranta* schools leaving the secular public schools empty”.

Participant D

“Muslims developed negative attitude to secular education because the feared conversion and that pioneer Muslim secular scholars did not demonstrate good examples. For instance, some of them resorted to drunkenness while others got converted to Christianity”.

Participant F

“The Muslims and *mallams* were challenged with fear that their children would be converted to Christianity and indulge in drunkenness. They were also worried about why the government did not want Islam to triumph over Christianity. The Muslims also sensed that both the colonial and the post-colonial government want to use them as labourers and want the Muslims to remain backward as far as Islamic civilization is concern.”

Participant K

“The Muslims develop negative attitude towards secular education because they feared conversion into Christianity, besides, pioneers of secular education in northern Ghana became Christians, drunkards, and adopt European life style etc and that discouraged parents from sending their children to secular schools”.

Participant L

“The people of the north developed negative attitude towards secular education because the early beneficiary of secular education did not live up to expectation. As a consequence, the parents refuse to send their children to secular school because they wanted to avoid conversion or being a drunkard and ladies becoming town helpers. Teachers also gave Christian names to Muslim children who were sent school the very first day the child get enrolled primary one. For instance, Names like:

Roland Yahaya, Roland Issifu R. I. A, and Oliver Sigli Mahamud examples that scared parents and they tried to avoid secular education”.

Participant N

“The Muslims also developed negative attitude to secular education because pioneers of secular education did not proof it is of benefit to Islamic society because some of them became drunkards, others got converted to Christianity while some adopted European life style.”

From the above analysis, reasons for which the Dagomba appeared to hate secular education is clear and significant. In the first place, the Dagomba’s love for Islamic Religion and its principles made them hate secular education because the pioneers of the secular education like J.S. Kaleem did not demonstrate support for Islam. Some of them got converted to Christianity while others became drunkards and exhibited European life style which was foreign to Islamic practices. The fore going is in consonance with the findings of Asare-Danso (2017). He contended that the Muslims perceived Price Henry the Navigator as having both political and religious objective and so resisted education started by the Europeans. The results of the focus group discussion confirmed that Muslims in northern Ghana refused secular education due to fear of their children being converted into Christianity and practiced drunkenness which was characterized by those in the secular sector.

Secondly, after secular education some ladies become town helpers, exposing themselves and behaving in manner that does not reflect Islamic tenets. The narratives also revealed that, it was the Dagomba who did not want their children to study Western secular education otherwise the white fathers invited them to be part of it. They felt it was against their beliefs and their principal reservation was that the white fathers could convert their children.

Thus, most parents accepted Islam and sent their children to the Makaranta schools leaving the secular public schools empty. This finding contradicts that of Pobee (1975) as cited in Asare-Danso (2017). According to him, the Danish Governor provided protection and assistance to Andreas Riis who was a Christian Chaplain, and that action made Muslims to suspect that the Missionaries are agents of Danish political power and so they disassociated themselves from the education provided by the Christian Missionaries.

Fourthly, The Muslims were also worried about the kind of education as they could not understand why government did not want Islam to triumph over Christianity. The Muslims also sensed that both the colonial and the post-colonial governments wanted to use them as labourers and want the Muslims to remain backward as far as Islamic civilization is concern.

And lastly, teachers also gave Christian names to Muslim children who were sent to secular school the very first day the child got enrolled in primary one. For instance, Names like: Roland Yahaya, Roland Issifu, and Oliver Sigli Mahamud and Ayi Genet etc. are instances that scared parents and they tried to avoid secular education.

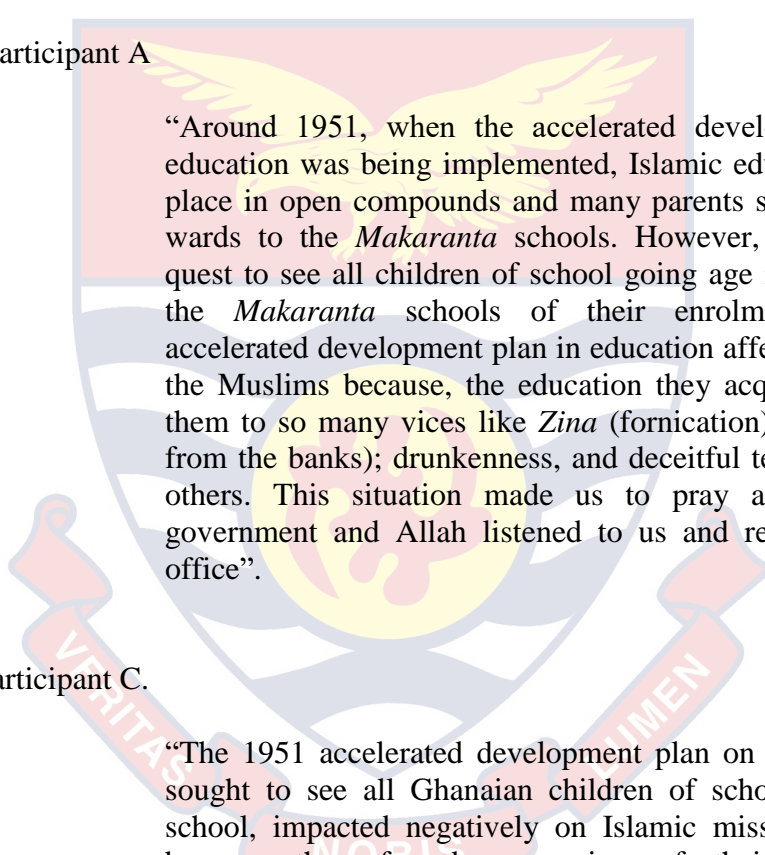
Research Question two: How were Islamic schools managed during the colonial and post-colonial era?

This question seeks answers on how Islamic education was managed during Colonial and post-colonial Era. Each participant discussed their experiences on how Islamic education was managed during both Eras. After analysis of the data the following themes emerged under the research question:

Impact of Accelerated Development Plan on Islamic Education

The theme was discussed by each participant. While majority felt that there was no management of Islamic education during the colonial period some thought otherwise. Majority, however, believe that post-colonial administration did a lot for Islamic education to grow but maintained accelerated development plan on education did not affect Islamic education directly.

Participant A



“Around 1951, when the accelerated development plan on education was being implemented, Islamic education still took place in open compounds and many parents still brought their wards to the *Makaranta* schools. However, the government quest to see all children of school going age in school robbed the *Makaranta* schools of their enrolment. The 1951 accelerated development plan in education affected the *Iman* of the Muslims because, the education they acquired introduced them to so many vices like *Zina* (fornication); *Ribba* (interest from the banks); drunkenness, and deceitful tendencies among others. This situation made us to pray against Nkrumah government and Allah listened to us and remove him from office”.

Participant C.

“The 1951 accelerated development plan on education which sought to see all Ghanaian children of school going age in school, impacted negatively on Islamic missionary activities because they feared conversion of their children into Christianity”.

Participant H

“The 1951 accelerated development plan on education was setup for three reasons: access to education; quality education and good management of schools in Ghana. It was therefore one of the reasons why government took over management of Islamic schools so all the three components in the plan would be realised in northern Ghana. Another way the 1951 development plan affected Islamic schools was that it called for a dialogue between government and the Islamic Missionaries to

allow government to introduce secular teachers in the Islamic schools in the country”.

Participant M

“The 1951 accelerated development plan on education forced parents to send their children to school to avoid prosecution. Even Islamic school proprietors were forced to donate their children for secular education. However, the policy did not have direct impact on Islamic Makaranta schools”.

Participant N

“The accelerated development plan of education in 1951 impacted positively on Islamic education in Ghana because it led to increase enrolment in Ahmadi schools. It also forced parents to understand the need for them to have their children in secular schools. It raised the literacy level of Ghanaians. It assisted Muslim children to acquire both secular and Islamic education at the same time thus enabling them acquire decent jobs and earn decent salaries”.

Participant O

“Parents of children of northern Ghana misconstrued the 1951 accelerated development plan in education to be a missionary plan to convert northern Muslim children into Christianity and make some of them pastors. This misunderstanding of the plan made most parents reject the post-colonial government initiative of providing secular education for the Muslim children in northern Ghana. Under the plan, Mallams and proprietors of Islamic schools were forced to send their children to secular schools. All other Muslim parents followed the footsteps of the proprietors and got all their children into the secular schools and today, some of these children are doctors, teachers and lecturers in our various universities”.

Base on the responses above, the 1951 accelerated Development Plan on Education (ADPE) did not have direct impact on Islamic education. Although it sought to see all children of school going age in school, it did not affect the Makaranta schools in terms of infrastructure and quality of teachers. According to Participant A, the Makaranta schools were still open compound

schools under the plan and many parents still sent their children to them. The ADPE only affected the Makaranta schools negatively as it sought to force parents to enroll their children in public secular schools, the enrollment figures in the Makaranta schools reduced. That is notwithstanding, the Makaranta schools still had more pupils than the public schools. I share the view that accelerated development plan did not affect Islamic education directly because, at the time of this policy, Islamic Education Unit did not exist. However, the way it affected existing education units at that time, is the same manner it affected Islamic unit when it was later formed in the 1980s. For instance, Missionaries had lost chance to manage their own schools (Asare-Danso, 2017) and that is what happened to Islamic unit schools when it was formed.

It is also clear from the narrative of Participant C that the Islamic missionaries still suspected that their children could be converted to Christianity, thus, they intensified proselytising activities against secular education and the Christians. Once again, responses from the focus group discussion alluded to the fact that the accelerated development plan of 1951 did not have direct impact on Islamic education in Ghana. This is because, Islamic education was at the rudimental level and did not warrant government intervention however, the group noticed some kind of indirect positive and negative effects on *Makaranta* education as the number of pupils *Makaranta* schools reduced. But those who attained both Islamic and secular education gained better jobs comparatively.

Again, based Participant H's narrative, the ADPE was meant to achieve three objectives, viz access to education, quality teaching and quality

management. Although at the time of implementation, *Makaranta* schools still remain private, government was worried and concern about the welfare of the numerous children that were locked up in the *Makaranta* schools without secular education. Kojo Botsio the then minister of education in 1951 as quoted by Asare-Danso (2017) alluded to this finding. In His annual report of the Northern Territories (NT), he lamented that only some few places in the NT crave for secular education and that the chiefs who request for it, did it for reasons of prestige. In order to rescue these children, government entred into a dialogue with the proprietors of the Qur'anic schools so, secular teachers could be introduced into those schools. Although, this idea did not see light of the day, subsequent post-colonial governments implemented it in the 1970s. This move affected the *Makaranta* schools positively.

Furthermore, from the narrative of Participant M, the ADPE forced parents to get their children enrolled in secular schools to avoid persecution while the proprietors of Qur'anic schools were forced to donate a child each into the secular schools. Participant M, however, admitted that the ADPE did not register direct impact on the *Makaranta* schools. Participant N contended that the ADPE impacted positively on Islamic schools. He argued that it increased enrolments in Ahmadi Islamic schools and created opportunity for Muslim children to acquire both secular and Islamic education at the same time. Thus, ADPE enabled Muslim children to get decent jobs and earned decent salaries.

On the basis of the narrative of Participant O, parents and owners of *Makaranta* schools misconstrued the ADPE as a missionary plan to convert Muslim children into Christianity and make them pastors. This

misconstruction prevented the Muslim community in northern Ghana from enrolling their children into the secular schools. Some of the children who attended Arabic and English schools are now Doctors, teachers, and lecturers in our various colleges and Universities.

Management of Islamic Education

This is another theme that relates to management of Islamic education in Ghana which the research question two sought to answer. About nine participants responded to the question that answered this theme. Each of them contended that the colonial administration did not manage Islamic education in any way. There is a general feeling that it was rather the post-colonial government that did a lot to support for Islamic education. Let's look at the various responses and get experience of the participants on how Islamic education was administered.

Participant A

“The colonial government did not even recognised Islam let alone managed it. It was the early Muslims and Missionaries that managed Islam and its education. The very people who brought Islam to Northern Ghana were the same people who saw to the management of its education. For instance, it was Mustapha Elvis who ordered books for Islamic education in Ghana. He was stationed in Takoradi in the Western Region but was able to distribute the books to every part of Gold Coast (Ghana)”.

Participant B

“The colonial government did not interfere with management of Islamic education in the Gold Coast. It was the post-colonial government that allowed Islamic studies in public schools. *Mallam* Yussif Ajura, *Mallam* Fali (Zohi Nayim), Abdul-Rahmani Issah, Sheik Razaq Saeed etc. were the pioneers to teach in secular schools in Northern Ghana. Islam was taught to only children of Muslim parents. Each *Mallam* was given 40 minutes per period per day and the *Mallams* did not face challenges in the course of teaching. *Mallam* Yussif Ajura was selected among a delegation to partake in their independent day

celebration in 1960 by Nkrumah government. Others who were part of this journey were: Mohammed Liman, Sheikh Issah and Iddris Abdul -Mumin. It was during this journey that Afa Yussif Ajura visited an Islamic School in Nigeria put up by Sheik Al-Ilory Adam Abdullah and replicated the model of this school in northern Ghana in the form of Anbarriya Islamic Institute in Tamale. Until then Islamic studies in Anbarriya was not organised”.

Participant C

“Management of Islamic education was done by Muslims themselves. Thus, the Islamic educators managed their own schools. The colonial government did not encourage the propagation of Islam and its education because they saw it as a counter to their beliefs”.

Participant D

“The colonial government did not manage Islamic education and they did not also encourage Islamic education because it appears their aim was to propagate Christianity which had different beliefs from Islam. They saw Islam as a threat to Christianity”.

Participant E

“The colonial government did not manage Islamic education. It was Kwame Nkrumah who showed interest in Islamic education. He brought a system that sought to see all children of school going age to be in school. He chose Afa Yussif Ajura as his Imam. He made sure that Muslim children attended secular schools during his time. In the 1970s efforts were made by the post-colonial government to integrate Islamic and secular learning in public schools. Later secular teachers were introduced into the open compound *Makaranta* schools. The *Mallams*, however became suspicious of the secular system that government was tricking them to deny them their schools notwithstanding the fact that government had paid allowances to the head *Mallams* and some two Arabic instructors. This suspicion appeared confirm when adequate time was not given to them to teach the Qur’an. As time went on, the proprietors decided to sack all secular teachers from their schools.”.

Participant H

“To ensure quality teaching and teachers’ compliance to G.E.S regulations, the teachers in all Islamic schools use G.E.S. syllabus and they are given orientation on how to use the G.E.S. curriculum. Both the Arabic instructors and the secular

teachers benefit from these orientations. The circuit supervisors monitor the activities of both the secular teachers and the Arabic/ Islamic teachers in all Islamic schools. All teachers in these institutions are encouraged to religiously use the curriculum materials of Ghana Education Service such as text books, syllabus, teachers hand book etc. which enhances better teaching and learning”.

Participant K

“Management of Islamic education was in the hands of the local people eg. Funding, admissions etc was in the hands of the Islamic community. After the exit of the colonial government, management was still in the hands of the mallams. And the Mallams provided their own infrastructure for their own schools. In order to pay Arabic instructors, students were made to contribute some money called ‘*Masarif*’ and that was to support the Mallams and bought logistics such as chalk and stationery. During Nkrumah Era, there was a conscious effort to educate the local people to understand that secular education was as important as Islamic Religious education.

Secular schools were built closer to the Makaranta schools as a way of encouraging the local people to send their children to secular school. In fact, colonial government did not assist Islamic education because there is no evident to show that. What we read is that Guggisberg said he detested the growth of Islam and its education in Northern Ghana. The colonial government thought Islam was competing with Christianity and it was their duty to let Christianity succeed and so they did nothing to promote the growth of Islam. The intention of the colonial government was to use northern people as a reservoir of labourers to work in Gold Mines and to fight in Wars. For example, some northerners were made to fight in the first and second world Wars”.

Participant L

“The early Muslims did a lot for Ghana. For instance, secretaries to the Ashanti chiefs were Muslims and even court interpreters were Muslims. The colonial government did not manage Islamic education. Even after the colonial government it was the *Afanima* who still managed their own Islamic education. The white fathers came with their own religion and they worked for it and never helped to develop Islam. The *Afanima*’s children did go to school early because they donated children according to households”.

Participant P

“The colonial government did not manage Islamic education in Ghana. It was the local people who continued to manage Islamic education even in the 20th century. With the passage of time, *Mallams* tried to improve Islamic education by organizing the pupils into classes in the same way it is experienced in the secular sector. The colonial government did not encourage Islamic education because they did not want the northern Muslims to be exposed to Islamic civilization so that they would continue to use them as labourers in the gold mines and cocoa farms”.

On the basis of the responses, about nine participants believed that the colonial government did not manage Islamic education and they never did anything that promoted the growth and development of Islam and its education in northern Ghana. Iddrisu (2005) indicated this in his work. According to him, the colonial government developed and to use policies that curtailed missionary activities in northern Ghana. He further alludes that the restriction was to prevent the development and progress of Islamic education in northern Ghana.

Participant A contends that it was the Early Muslims and the Missionaries who managed Islam and its education. He cited one Mustapha Elvis, a Takoradi based business man who took it upon himself to supply Islamic and Arabic literature for Islamic educators and learners throughout the country. Iddrisu (2002) agreed to this when he said that even around 20th century, the local *Mallams* still managed their schools.

The narrative of Participant B indicates that post-colonial government demonstrated interest in the Islamic and secular education in Northern Ghana. He contends that, the CPP government led by Kwame Nkrumah showed interest in the development of Islamic education. He said, Kwame Nkrumah selected some *Mallams* viz: *Mallam* Yussif Ajurah, *Mallam* Fali (Zohe

Nayim), Abdul- Rahman Issah, Sheikh Razaq Saeed etc. to teach Islamic Religious Knowledge in public secular schools in northern Ghana. Although the time allocation of 40 minutes per session was not adequate enough for the *Mallams* to effectively teach, it was appreciative because that was just the beginning and the first of its kind in the history of Ghana. This finding supported the focus group discussions. The discussion found that the colonial government did very little to promote the growth of secular education in northern Ghana. According to the group discussion, the CPP administration demonstrated interest in the refinement of Islamic education by introducing secular education in the *Makaranta* schools. However, it was the *Mallams* who were not in tune with the government intentions which resulted in them sacking the secular teachers from their schools. The group discussion findings have substantiated the responses of the individual interview responses.

Nkrumah also selected as the Imam for Ghana, *Mallam Yussif Ajura*. Thus, *Mallam Ajura* attended a lot of conferences around the Globe. For example, in 1960, he and other Muslims were selected to attend and Independence Day celebration in Nigeria on behalf of Ghana. While in Nigeria, *Mallam Yussif Ajura* visited an Islamic College established by Sheik Al-llory Adam Abdullah. *Mallam Ajura* emulated Sheik Al-llory's example and modelled Anbarriya Islamic Institute after the college back in Ghana. Thus, Anbarriya Islamic Institute was structured and organised like any other secular institution in the world.

Conversely, participant C argued that the colonial government showed no interest in the propagation of Islamic education. Rather, Islamic education was perceived as counter to their beliefs which they ought to protect. For

Participant D, Islamic education was regarded a thread to Christianity and should be truncated or nib in the bud. For instance, “Guggisberg is reported to have said that he detested the growth of Islam and its education in Northern Ghana (Iddrisu, 2002).

Indeed, post-colonial government demonstrated no interest in the Islamic education. This is evidenced in the response of participant E. He contended that CPP government ensured that Muslim children attended secular and Islamic education. He added that the post-colonial government integrated Islamic and secular education in the 1970s, and that they also introduced circular learning in the *Makaranta* schools to enable the numerous children who were locked up in the *Makaranta* schools to also enjoy secular learning. Unfortunately, however, some of the *Mallams* sacked the secular teachers out of suspicion that the integration was a plan to forcefully confiscate their schools. For Instance, Manhaliya Islamic Institute and Anbarriya Islamic Institute both in Tamale sacked their secular teachers.

The response of participant H indicates that there is quality teaching and learning put in place by the post-colonial authorities. He argues that curriculum materials like the teachers’ handbook, the syllabus book, the students’ course text book etc. has been supplied to teachers in all Islamic schools in northern Ghana. And that school-based insets and orientations have been carried out to the benefit of both secular teachers and Arabic Instructors to guarantee better teaching and learning.

Research Question three: What made post-colonial government decide to take-over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana?

Research question three sought to establish reasons why the post-colonial authorities found it prudent to take over management of Islamic education when the *Mallams* are providing some form of management of their schools. After the interview and analysis, one of the themes that fell under this question is:

Government takes over management of Islamic education

About ten participants responded to this, and expressed various reasons why government took over management of the Islamic education in Ghana. A critical examination of the responses below would suffice:

Participant A

“The legalization of secular education in Dagbon was a process. It did not take place in a day. But Dagbon is feeling its impact now because what was considered ‘Haram’(illegal) before secular education in Dagbon is now legal. Nyankpala Lana J. S. Kaleem (the chief Nyankpala, Kaleem) saw the need for children of Dagbon to be secularly educated. So, he prepared a time table and selected some renowned *Mallams* to teach Islamic education in existing public schools. This action was meant to disabuse our minds that government did not desire anything bad for the *Mallams* and their schools. Afa Ajura Yussif, afa Ibrahim Gushegu, Afa Ibrahim Basha etc. were appointed to teach in this arrangement. It was Mr. Mohammed Yakubu (pity), then regional Director of education for the Northern region who advocated for the conversion of Islamic Schools into Arabic and English schools because the Islamic Schools had enrolled almost all children in Dagbon leaving the public schools almost empty. Mr. Mohammed Yakubu pity succeeded in his plan although some of the *Mallams* refused to accept his request. When I wrote a letter to him requesting for education unit for Muslim educators like our Christian counterparts, my request was granted and We were given Nuriyyah Unit. It was Alhaji Ibrahim Gbadamosi who later changed it to Islamic Education Unit in 1986 due to reasons best known to him. The reforms resulting from Gbadamosi took the form of workshops for the *Mallams* that gave them Certificates equivalent else while middle school

leaving Certificate and Payment of *Mallams* and their proprietors. However, some of these *Mallams* received the salaries without working. I was appointed national adviser on issues relating to Islamic education. I suggest that government policies on Islamic Education should be changed to suit Islamic educational principles. I am currently the National chairman for National council for Islamic Education but I delegate to ...”

Participant B

“As time went on, government saw the need to incorporate Islamic studies with western secular education because the Muslims were backward in everything. For instance, they could not occupy any political post, they could not get government job and they could not earn salary of some sort because the Islamic schools did not teach the students to occupy such positions. In the 1986 or so, government gave Islamic schools their own unit just as our Christian counterparts had their own units. Anbarriya, however did not accept the Islamic Education Unit because some government policies on education did not favour Islam. For example, resting on Saturday and Sunday. Currently Tamale-Metro Education Directorate oversee all Anbarriya schools”.

Participant C

“The main challenge faced by the Islamic educators was how to prevent conversion of their children into Christianity and in line with this, some of the *Makaranta* schools’ proprietors refused to admit the secular teachers into their schools. For instance, Manhali Islamic Institute and Anbarriya Islamic Institute rejected secular teachers into their respective *Makaranta* schools. As a head Master, we ensure that there is quality tuition and our teachers are aware of Ghana Education Service regulations and obey them. We ensure this through strict monitoring, School Based Inservice Training for teachers and Arabic instructors on quality teaching and administrative issues. The government saw that the takeover was necessary because she wanted every citizen of Ghana to get quality secular education which was imperative for national development. The takeover was to ensure that everybody is part of government business and acquire employable skills and to raise socio-economic status of the citizens and this was not possible with only Islamic education which was being provided by the *Makaranta* schools”.

Participant D

“The takeover was to provide better management strategies for Islamic education in northern Ghana. The Muslims allowed the takeover because they saw that children in the *Makaranta* schools also got employable skills for the world of work which Qur’anic schools could not provide. The takeover impacted positively on the *ummah*, in that, it had broadened Islamic proselytization which hitherto was limited to only Muslim colleagues. Islam now also can boast of highly skilled labour like doctors, teachers, police and the Army etc.”

Participant F

“There was a time post-colonial government decided to take over the management of Islamic mission schools. This happen when the *Mallams* themselves saw the need for integration because they had seen how Muslims whose children attain the secular education were fairing. Some parents decided to send their children to public secular schools while others sent them to *Makaranta*. Children who were at the makaranta schools were more than those in public schools several folds. The takeover was done so that all these children would also benefit from secular education. Another reason for government takeover was to ensure better management for the Islamic schools so that the secular education provided there would be of quality as that provided in public schools. Before the takeover, the Muslims did not have enough funds to put up infrastructure for the Islamic mission schools. They also lacked teaching and learning materials for effective teaching. The mission schools did not have curriculum materials like syllabus, text books, teachers hand books etc”.

Participant H

“The government wanted every child of school going age in Ghana to be in school and attain secular education. The *Makaranta* schools taught Islam which did not prepare the children well enough to fit into the secular society in future. The Islamic curriculum was too narrow and could not help the children to be functional in society and so government took over the management of Islamic mission schools to ensure this. Again, the public secular schools had poor enrolment in the Muslim dominated northern Ghana while the Islamic Mission schools were full to capacity and that resulted in the government take over management of the schools”.

Participant I

“Muslims’ community made proposals, government accepted the proposals and took over management of Islamic unit schools. The government felt that the Muslim group was left out in occupying some positions in the country and that could not be possible without secular education and that is why government took over the Islamic unit schools. The government also took the management of the Islamic schools so as to meet international treaties and protocols. The constitution of Ghana expects everybody in Ghana to be educated and Ghana also belong to international organisations like united nations organisation which demands that member nations reduce their illiteracy rate to some reasonable level acceptable to the organization and the *Makaranta* without government intervention would not have been able to do it.”

From the above responses, the pioneers of secular education in Dagbon were those who initiated moves to secularise *Makaranta* schools in Northern Ghana. This was to ensure that the Muslims children who were packed in the *Makaranta* schools also experienced some secular education. The foregoing corroborates the work of Asare-Danso (2017); he contends that post-colonial government took-over management of Islamic education with the intention of making the numerous pupils in those schools also benefit from secular education.

Contrary to Popular views that pioneers of secular education in Dagbon, did not live responsible lives which sought to explain why the Dagomba hated secular education is unfounded. Participant A argues that it was J. S. Kaleem who prepared a time table and detailed some renowned Islamic scholars to teach Arabic and Islam in public secular schools. Mohammed Yakubu Pity another pioneer, advocated for the conversion of *Makaranta* schools into English and Arabic for the benefit of Muslim children. Although some of the proprietors of the *Makaranta* schools refused to accept secular teachers in their schools. Mohammed Yakubu Pity, nevertheless,

finally granted Nurriya Education Unit in 1980. Based on Participant A's narrative, the Nurriya Education Unit was later Changed to Islamic Education Unit by Ibrahimu Gbadamosi in 1986. This means that although some pioneers of secular education did not live responsible lives, others like J. S. Kaleem and Mohammed Yakubu Pity are cases in point. So, other reasons could account for northern negative attitude towards secular education.

The Gbadamosi reforms was critical to the survival of secularization of *Makaranta* schools in Northern Ghana. According to Participant A, the reforms gave certificates to the *Mallams* which guaranteed their payment. It also guaranteed payment of some teachers and proprietors, the reforms also provided workshops to enhance the knowledge of both Arabic instructors and secular teachers. This finding is alluded by Iddrisu (2002). He concluded that the take-over led to the formation of Nurriya Education Unit in 1980 which was changed to Islamic Education Unit in 1986.

From the narratives, the second reason that culminated in the takeover management of Islamic schools was to enable talents of Muslim children to be tapped for national development. These children were exposed to only Islamic (Qur'an and Hadith) studies to the neglect of employable skills which could helped got the Muslim children employed after education. Unfortunately, the Islamic curriculum was too narrow to ensure this. Thus, the takeover of management of Islamic schools was to provide a broader curriculum that could teach the children tenets of Islamic and secular education thereby raising the socioeconomic status of the products.

According to Participant D, the takeover of the management has broadened the base of listeners to Islamic proselytization. Hitherto, it was only

the Arabic and Qur'anic scholars who could preach to the masses, however, because Islam now has English speakers, preachers now use the English Language to preach. Thus, the base of listeners to Islamic sermons and preaching activities had increased. Participant A further documented increase in better management strategies into Islamic schools through the creation of Islamic education Unit.

Thirdly, Muslim parents and Islamic scholars advocated for the takeover of management of Islamic schools. They witnessed how better the lives of those who attained both Islamic and secular education had been. This reason was alluded to by Participant F. according to him, parents realised that those who had both systems of education had better jobs and also practised as good Muslims. The kind of prejudices people had about secular education appears not to be the case. So, proprietors, appealed to government to take over management of their schools and give them secular teachers.

Participant H opined that *Makaranta* schools had more enrolment in Muslim dominated areas than secular schools in these areas. The efforts by post-colonial government to reverse this trend were fiasco. Hence, government decided to absorb these schools so that the teaming youth in those schools would also get formal and secular education. This thinking was shared by Participant I. He argued that Muslim communities made the proposals for their schools to be absorbed, then, the proposal was accepted and the schools absorbed. He added that, the constitution permits every Ghanaian child of school going age to be in school. The basis of this has compelled the post-colonial government to adopt the Islamic schools.

Participant I contends that the adoption of Islamic schools was to respond to international protocols and conventions which mandates all member countries to eliminate illiteracy from their various communities. Participant K also alluded to this. The Islamic education Unit ensured teaching and learning through regular monitoring by headteachers, proprietors and circuit supervisors. The above finding agrees with the work of Iddrisu (2002). He found that the *Makaranta* schools had more pupils than the secular public schools and that called for the take-over of management of the religious schools so that the pupils in those schools would become literates. These findings substantiated that of the focus group discussion. The discussions contend that, government takeover of management of Islamic education was due to the following reasons:

- i. The proliferation of children in the *Makaranta* schools who invariably had been denied secular education.
- ii. The *Mallams* themselves requested for the takeover due their personal experience of the significance of western type of education to the progress of Islam and Muslims.
- iii. Another reason was to provide better management for Islamic schools so, they would provide quality secular and Islamic education for the Muslim children.
- iv. The takeover was also to provide infrastructure for the *makaranta* schools.
- v. It was also to provide logistics like chalk, text books, syllabuses, teachers' handbooks etc. for teachers in the *Makaranta* schools.

- vi. Government negotiated for the take over and was able to convince the Islamic school proprietors to agree for it.

These findings had once again, validated the responses of the personal interviews.

Participant K

“The post-colonial government wanted to take over management of Islamic Mission schools with the intention of providing quality management for them. However, after government has taken over the management, quality management was compromised. The takeover of the management did not include changing the Arabic and Islamic curriculum to suit that of government. So, there was no real integration of Islamic and secular education. What really necessitated the takeover of the management of Islamic schools was to bring prudence in the integration of Islamic and secular curriculum so that children do not lose grip of the tenets of Islam after studying the secular education. Again, it was to give employable skills to Muslim children to enable them function effectively in the Muslim communities. The government took over the management of the Islamic mission schools because Muslim children were not getting access to formal education. It was also to meet international conventions and protocols. For example, reducing the illiteracy rate among Ghanaians. The Islamic education unit ensured quality of teaching through effective monitoring and supervision to ensure that teachers are at post and teaching, post quality staff to the Islamic mission schools as headteachers and classroom teachers. The Ibrahimu Gbadamosi educational reforms in the 1980s saw a number of purely Islamic schools in the north got converted into secular schools. Most Arabic instructors were made under go some training and they were certificated and that enabled them to take salary equivalent to that of a middle form four teacher’s salary. It also resulted in government providing infrastructure in all Islamic schools that were converted and products of these Institutions are now lecturers in the Ghanaian Universities today”.

Participant M

“The takeover put all Islamic schools under one unit for effective management. The takeover also let to training of Arabic instructors and certificating them”.

Participant P

“The takeover of management of Islamic education was meant address infrastructural challenges and financial challenges facing Islamic institutions. It has also led to the introduction of Arabic curriculum in Ghanaian schools and making it examinable once again. The Islamic education time table has also been integrated. It has also led to the introduction of a Diploma programme for Arabic instructors as their professional programme and qualification. The takeover was to help Muslim children get both Islamic and secular education at the same time and to meet international protocols eg reducing illiteracy among citizens of member nations. To ensure regular monitoring and supervision of the Islamic schools by the Unit managers, headteachers and circuit supervisors. In order to ensure quality teaching and learning, both secular and Islamic/Arabic instructors are given in service training on GES policies attend workshops and meetings for the purposes refreshing existing teachers of current issues trending in Ghana education Service”.

The takeover has impacted greatly on the Islamic schools. Based on the narratives of Participant M and P, the takeover led to all Islamic schools coming under one Unit where by only one General Manager takes care of all the schools. This brought unity of purpose among Islamic Missionaries irrespective of their denominational affiliations and differences. In the view of Participant M’s narrative, as a result of the takeover, Arabic Instructors had gained some training and obtained professional certification. Again, the takeover was meant to address infrastructural challenges facing the Islamic schools. Asare-Danso (2017) alluded to this. This challenge has been addressed by successive post-colonial governments.

Besides, it has led to the introduction of Arabic curriculum among Islamic schools and the introduction of Arabic curriculum among Islamic schools as well as introducing professional training to the Arabic instructors which leads to Diploma certificate. The government intervention has helped

Muslim students get both secular and Arabic, secular and Islamic education at the same time.

Research Question four: What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools?

From the literature it is indicated that the Colonial and the Post-colonial governments efforts to integrate *Makaranta* and Secular education brought some kind of tension between the State and the Islamic missionaries. After some dialogue between government and the Islamic missionaries, however, the integration took place. This research question is seeking to find out what have been put in place by both the state and the missionaries alike to restore the harmonious relationship that existed between the state and the Missionaries as they provide secular and religious education for the people of northern Ghana.

In answering this question, the theme that emerged is “Steps taken to harmonise relations”. The various participants provided their responses to the questions that were posed relative to the research question and the following narratives emerged. Thus, critical analysis of these perspectives gives two different answers to the question. What the state put in place to ensure Harmonious relations and measures put in place by the Islamic missionaries to bring about harmony between the State and the Islamic Mission schools in the provision of secular and religious education. So, answers to the question is on the two headings.

Participant B

“Anbarriya Islamic Institute has done a lot to ensure harmony between government of Ghana and the Islamic education mission in the provision of both Islamic and secular education for people of Northern Ghana. In the first place, Anbarriya provides infrastructure for their schools and educating people of Northern descend and beyond. Secondly, Anbarriya, assists by providing Relief items for disaster victims for instance in 1989 flood in Tamale, 2018 flood victims and the 2020 flood victims in various parts of the northern Ghana were assisted by Anbarriya Islamic Institute. Thirdly, the Mission also provide peace and stability through the Islamic curriculum, sermons during congregational prayers. Examples of conflict the mission partook in resolving include: the Bimbilla conflict and the Dagbon conflict. For these two conflicts, Anbarriya collaborated with Tamale Central Mosque before they could resolve them”.

Participant C

“In the 1980s when secular teachers were introduced into the Arabic schools, the *Mallams* made sure that Islamic principles still prevailed in those schools except that there was reduced time for Islamic and Arabic studies”.

Participant D

“Government has taken a number of strategies to ensure harmonious relations with the Islamic Mission in the following ways: Pays Arabic instructors; provide infrastructure; invite proprietors and instructors for meetings on government policies; has raised socio-economic status of both Islamic and secular staff. And give incentives like best teacher awards to staff of Islamic Mission schools”.

Participant G

“Ahmadis are at home with all government policies relating to secular education in Ghana. Thus, the Kwame Nkrumah accelerated development plan in education rather encouraged the Ahmadis to put up more Islamic schools to assist government eradicate illiteracy among Ghanaians”.

Participant H

“Government have put in a lot of measures to ensure that its relations with the Islamic missionaries is cordial. Among these strategies is the setting up of various councils to ensure good management of the unit schools. The Islamic unit councils are made up of *Mallams* and G.E.S. officers. They collaborate in the appointment of officers for all Islamic unit Schools. Eg Heads of schools, managers and their auxiliary staff as well as teachers. Government also pay the Arabic instructors and proprietors. The setting up of the entire Islamic Education Unit (IEU) and appointing the managers and their supporting staff who are all on government pay roll as well as provision of infrastructure and supply of logistics to the Islamic unit Schools by government of Ghana is an indication of government desire to be in harmony with the Islamic education unit in the provision Education for Northern Ghana. Nevertheless, this arrangement by the government, is not without problems which the *Mallams* complain about. The proprietors do not have control over the teachers who teach in their schools, the time table does not favour the Islamic curriculum, most teachers who went on retirement or died have not been replaced, the Islamic and secular curriculum have not been integrated as it is claimed etc”.

Participant I

“...to ensure quality education and for the teachers in Islamic education Unit to obey Ghana Education Service regulations, GES provide in-service training for all teachers in IEU. The headteacher organizes school-based inset for all teachers including Arabic instructors and any new teacher who joins the staff. All teachers both religious and secular work under the school headteacher and controls all affairs of the teachers and ensure that they all comply to GES policies and regulations. Again, the cordial relation between government and Islamic mission is because of the education that usually precede policy implementation and such policies are usually accepted whole heartedly. Before the secular’s teachers were sent to the Islamic schools, there was a kind of Natural agreement between proprietors and government. So, nobody was forced to keep the circular teachers in their school. Eg the proprietors were educated on the 1951 accelerated development plan on education. They also invited the Muslims educationist into their meetings to discuss issues affecting the welfare of the schools. Government also provided infrastructure and logistical support to the mission schools and so, the proprietors saw the need to develop cordial relations with the government. Thus, the Islamic educationist are looking for trust from government and so, comport

themselves in all situations. Teachers in all the mission schools are paid and government takes full responsibility of the unit schools”.

Participant J

“The mission encourages Muslim students to attain both Islamic and secular education which would eventually convince local *Mallams* that secular education does not prevent a Muslim from practicing his or her religion. When our Christian counterparts invite us into a programme we attend and even present papers that are meant to cement the relations between the two missions”.

Participant K

“The Islamic education unit have not been able to work together structurally like other education units like Catholic, Methodist, Ahmadi Muslim Education Unit etc. and that has affected our harmony with government”.

Participant L

“To ensure that all children attend the secular education Mr. Excel, and Ahmadi was part of the government team that worked on the document that sought to establish harmonious relations between government and the mission schools in the provision of integrated education for Muslim students, headteachers and proprietors. Government took over salaries of teachers. The Ahmadi Muslim Education Unit was then properly constituted in 1986 with full complement of staff. Hitherto it was the Mission that took care of all Ahmadi schools but the teachers were paid by the government”.

Participant M

“In order to harmonize our relations with the state in the provision of secular education, Islamic unit attend all meetings organised by Ghana Education Service. The unit also assist government in disaster situations for example flood victims and the stadium disaster victims”.

Participant N

“In order to harmonise relations between government and Islamic Mission schools the missionaries expand their schools by providing infrastructure in their various institutions which should have been the duty of the central government. The Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit implement government policies relative to provision of secular and religious education for Ghanaians. They also help the Arabic/Islamic instructors understand government policies on quality and effective teaching”.

Participant O

“To harmonise the relationship between Missions Schools and the state, unit school management has come out with an association known as the Conference of Managers of Educational Units (COMEU). Ministry of education is aware of the association and endorse its activities. The association meet yearly to deliberate on our grievances and submit our deliberations and the minutes to ministry of education for consideration. Through COMEU we also submit reports of our operations to the government for attention. We also have meetings of general managers who stand in between headquarters of the various educational units and the religious leaders. Through this, the identity of individual units is made known to Ghana education Service as regards the rules and regulations governing each unit. This is very important as it educates GES on how to deal with each Education unit in terms of their needs and operations. For example, contact hours and dress code etc. The unit wants to be a member of GES Council where they could ventilate their grievances for the government attention. Again, the Unit has developed Arabic curriculum with the hope that it could lead to the Arabic language being examinable. The government is by this effort, trying to improve the Arabic language and the Islamic Religious Studies. To ensure effective management of the unit, three councils are in charge of its management viz: The National Council of which the general manager is the chief executive officer; The regional council. Headed by the regional manager; The district council. Headed by the Local Manager. Each council has 20 membership for effective collaboration”.

Participant P

“There has been a friction between the state and Islamic Mission on the provision of secular education for Northern Muslim children as a result of a misunderstanding of government intentions to introduce secular educations into the Islamic Institutions in northern Ghana. In order to bring harmony between the State and Islamic Mission, a dialogue has ensued between government and Islamic education unit on the progress of Islamic schools in the country. For example, on curriculum, syllabus and to make Arabic Language an examinable subject”.

Steps Taken by the Islamic Mission to Bring Harmony

Based on the responses above, the Islamic Education Unit has put in place several measures to cement its relations with the State in the provision of secular education in northern Ghana. From the narratives of the various participants, the following measures has been put in place: in the first place, the Mission provides infrastructure to expand its schools to be able to take in more Ghanaians. This is significant because it is the responsibility of the government to educate Ghanaians.

Secondly, the Islamic religious Mission assist government of Ghana during disaster situations. Most often than not, when a disaster strikes, for instance, floods, conflicts and fire, the mission usually provides relief items like clothes and food staff to mitigate the hardship on the citizenry. For instance, Anbarriya Islamic Institute provided relief items to help people who were affected when the old dam in Tamale got broken in 1989. Similarly, Anbarriya again featured in the 2018 and 2020 floods when the Bagri dam was open and many houses had collapsed in various villages of northern Ghana. The Mission also helps brings peace and harmony at a time of conflict among Northern people and to Ghana as a whole. This has been possible through

Islamic curriculum, sermons during congregational prayers and preaching sessions. For example, Anbarriya Islamic Institute in collaboration with the Central Mosque in Tamale helped resolve the Bimbilla chieftaincy crisis and the Dagbon chieftaincy conflicts respectively.

The Islamic Mission also ensure that all Arabic /Islamic instructors comply with the rules and regulations put in place by the Ghana Education service to ensure effective teaching and learning. The Mission ensures that Arabic instructors take instructions from the GES appointed headteachers. Although majority of them do not take salary from government pay roll. The Islamic Mission also encourage Muslim youth to study both secular and religious education so as to erase the erroneous impression that secular education prevents Muslims from being good Islamic practitioners. The Islamic Mission further ensures that all workers in the Mission attend all meetings organize by Ghana education service (GES).

In order to have effective collaboration with the government, the Islamic education Missions have formed an association known as the Conference of Managers of Education Units (CoMEU). This association is responsible for getting grievances from the units communicated to the government for redress. It is also responsible for submitting reports of Islamic Units operations to the Ghana Education Unit Council. The Unit has also assisted in developing Arabic curriculum to complement government effort of Improving Arabic Language studies in Ghana and making it examinable once again

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit was established in 1986 with full complement of staff and are paid from the public purse and that is done to

bring harmonious relations with the government. The Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit implement all government policies relative to the provision of religious and secular education. They also make sure that all Arabic/ Islamic instructors comprehend government policies on effective teaching and learning.

Steps Taken by the State to Bring Harmony

Similarly, the data available from the narratives show, the government of Ghana has put some measures in place to ensure harmonious relations with the Islamic Education Mission. Firstly, the governments have established unit councils and appoint managers and their auxiliary staff and pay all of them to assist Islamic Schools' proprietors to provide right and effective education to the northern people. This alone is an indication that government is interested in living in harmony with the Islamic missionaries.

Secondly, before she implements a policy on education, the government educates all stakeholders in education including Islamic missionaries on the new education policies. This is necessary to avoid the *Mallams* acting in contrary to the new education policies.

Thirdly, government pays some Arabic Instructors and proprietors; provide infrastructure for all Islamic Unit schools; invite proprietors and instructors to meetings bothering on government policies and raise socioeconomic status of some Islamic unit staff through best teacher awards.

Credibility of Government Islamic Mission Partnership

This theme comes under research question four. It seeks to establish the credibility of the partnership agreement between government and Islamic Religious Mission in the provision of Islamic and secular education in

Northern Ghana. It tries to establish how government and the Islamic Mission relate under the partnership that enable them collaborate to educate northern Ghana. Participants were asked various questions to elicit answers on how the two parties benefit from the partnership. Generally, there was a mixed feeling on how the participants perceived the credibility of the partnership that brought relations between the State and the Islamic Mission. While some described it as credible others bastardised as incredible but some say it is to some extent credible. Analysis of the responses below highlights the nature of the partnership.

Participant C

“The partnership that exist between the government and the Islamic mission is to some extent credible because there is peaceful co-existence between the secular teachers and the Arabic instructors. Nevertheless, only one out of eleven Arabic instructors take salaries from government pay roll. As an implementor of the partnership, I have never sighted the partnership deed so we are not privy to provisions in the partnership document. So, the partnership cannot be completely described as credible. Notwithstanding, government payment of some of the Arabic instructor is important ant improves government relations with Islamic Mission in education”.

Participant D

“The partnership is not all that credible because some of the Arabic instructors are not considered for best teacher award, most of the Arabic instructors are not on government pay roll. For example, at Ahmadiyya Junior High School in Zogbeli at Tamale, only two Arabic instructors are on government pay roll. Meanwhile all secular teachers are on government pay roll”.

Participant F

“The partnership is not credible because, although *Mallams* are paid, those of them who went on retirement or dead have not been replaced. Most of the *Mallams* are not privy to the provisions in the partnership deed. The central government

have usurped the powers and authority of the Missions' managers. Thus, no manager can recruit or discipline a teacher”.

Participant H

“... However, the partnership that exist between government and Ahmadi Muslim Education Unit in the provision of both secular and Islamic education is not completely credible. The partnership has made government takeover our schools and leaving nothing for us because we do not have the capacity to employ any teacher into our schools. We cannot discipline a recalcitrant and immoral teacher. We cannot transfer a teacher who in our view does not help our course. We can only recommend and Ghana Education Service directorate accepts or rejects our recommendations. Besides we were tasked to draft memorandum of understanding between the government and all mission schools. This has been done but the government is dragging her feet on accepting and implementing it. I can say with authority that no unit manager can say he/she is privy to the partnership deed that establish our relations. Government have also captured some of the Arabic instructors under Nation Builders Corp (NABCo)”.

Participant I

“... That is notwithstanding, Unit managers do not have control over the teachers they preside over. Ie they can neither appoint a teacher nor discipline a teacher. The powers of the regional and general managers have been taken away from them. The partnership deed has never been sighted by any of the stake holders and memorandum of understanding between government and the mission schools which have recently been drafted have not been scented to. Almost all Islamic unit offices in the northern Ghana are almost dilapidated, the Wa office was recently renovated by Mr. Issahaku Tahidu (the Municipal Chief Executive); Hajia Hummu (NPP parliamentary candidate for Wa Central) and Mr. Rashid Pelpo (the NDC parliamentary candidate for Wa central). Because of their relationship with the Islamic religion”.

Participant J

“The partnership is credible due to the following reasons: the government has introduced Arabic curriculum into the secular schools; The government has also recruited Arabic instructors into the NABCo to teach Arabic; The government has made Arabic language examinable”.

Participant K

“The partnership is very credible. We have formed an association of Education unit Managers known as (CoMEU) this association serves as liaison between government and education units in matters affecting the interest of the Mission schools. There is a fear on the part of government that missionaries will completely take back their schools that will be a crest fallen on the part of government. Although government pays the Arabic instructors, most of them are not on government pay roll”.

Participant L

“The partnership between government and the missions is to extent credible because under the partnership, government is responsible for infrastructure, payment of teacher’s emolument, provision of logistics, and supervision. The provision of these things is inadequate. Besides these, government has taken away the powers and authority of the unit managers. They can neither appoint a teacher nor discipline him/her. They only have to recommend and government deserve the right to either accept or reject the recommendation. Under this education reforms, the parent’s teachers’ association which used to supplement the inadequate resources provided by the government has collapsed”.

Participant M

“Indirectly government have taken over all our schools because Islamic schools do not have local managers, no unit accountants, no appointment of teachers, no transfer of teachers, we do not have full control of the teachers and we cannot even discipline a teacher. We are only asked to recommend and Ghana Education Service Directors either accept or reject the recommendation”.

Participant N

“The partnership between the State and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit in the provision of secular education is to some extent credible. As part of the partnership agreement government provide infrastructure for the Mission schools, pay salaries of all teachers, train teachers for the Mission schools, hold Insets for all existing teachers etc. However, the Missionaries complain of their powers being eroded year in year out. They are no more in charge of recruiting, transferring,

disciplining their teachers and that has led to moral decadence among teachers and pupils in our schools. The authority of unit managers in relation to recruitment and discipline has been reduced to only recommendations and G.E.S. directors only accept or reject our recommendations. That is why I describe the partnership as to some extent credible”.

Participant P

“The partnership between the State and the Islamic Unit is fairly credible because we recognise one another as partners in the provision of education. Thus, government provide infrastructure for our schools, recruit and pay all our teachers and some Arabic instructors, provide logistics such as paper, books, chalk and markers to our schools. However, government has failed to give us subvention to run our offices, means of transport has not been given, office equipment and logistics are not given to us and we have no authority to recruit teachers, release teachers or discipline teachers. This has made our work very boring and difficult as partners in the provision of education”.

Based on the above data, those who feel the partnership is credible argued that under the partnership, the government is expected to recruit all teachers under the unit and pay their salaries; provide office equipment and logistics to enable them work effectively; provide infrastructure for the existing Arabic and English schools and build more new schools for the Arabic and English school; provide incentives for staff working in Islamic education Unit. Besides, the unit is supposed to peacefully co-exist with other units working with Ghana education service and with the government. Further, the State and the Mission see themselves as partners in the provision of education and employment. According to the participants most of these have been provided by the government. Hence, a conclusion that the partnership is credible.

Participants who felt that the partnership was not credible felt that, for participant C Arabic instructors were not considered for best teacher award and that was one of the ways teachers were motivated in the country to give of their best. Participant F and C opined that majority of the Arabic/Islamic instructors were not on government pay roll and that even those who were on the pay roll, those who were on retirement or those who died were not replaced. However, all secular teachers were on government payroll.

Participant D contended that most implementors of the partnership agreement were not privy to provisions in the partnership even some claim they have never seen the document containing the provisions. This was a recipe for adhoc decision making which affected the Mission-State relations in providing education in northern Ghana. Participant F further stated that, the central government had usurped the powers and authority of the Unit managers. Thus, a Unit manager could not appoint discipline, dismiss, sack, promote or demote a teacher in their jurisdiction. Simply, they did not have control over the teachers who worked under them. The situation resulted in indiscipline among staff and students in Islamic schools.

Again, participant I said that due to the obsolete nature of the partnership agreement which was signed in 1882, a proposal was made for memorandum of understanding to be redrafted. This redrafting was done but the government was dragging her feet on accepting and implementing it. Participant I further argued that most of the Islamic Unit offices were dilapidated. Although central government provided some of these offices, they had been left to deteriorate. They had not been renovated for a long time. In fact, when I visited the general manager's office in Tamale, I was shocked to

see what he sat on to work. All the furniture in the office were worn out. Only one colonial type desk top computer was found on a wretched table. The walls and the floor were dusty and some of the louvre blades removed from the windows with some torn wire mesh. When I went to Wa the regional capital of upper west region, I saw that the story about their regional office was different. The office was well furnished and painted. In fact, the office befitted its status. In the course of interview, when I threw a question on why their office looked so nice, I was told it was renovated by three politicians because of their relationship with the Islamic religion. They include: Mr. Issahaku Tahidu (the Municipal Chief Executive); Hajia Hummu (NPP parliamentary candidate for Wa Central) and Mr. Rashid Pelpo (the NDC parliamentary candidate for Wa central).

Chapter Summary

Chapter four presented the results of the study and the discussions of the results. It started by giving an overview of the purpose of the study and the research paradigm and design used. Following this was the demographic information of the participants in a table. Finally, the results were presented by research questions while the discussion was by the themes emerged after analysis of the individual personal interview and the focus group discussion data.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This qualitative historical research examined the State-Mission relations in education. It purposively sampled twenty (20) participants from the Ghana Education Service who were stake holders in both Islamic and secular education. They were people of varied backgrounds in terms of age, education and experience. The common characteristic among them is the kind of education they provide. The purpose of this historical study was to examine the relations that exist between the State (government) and Islamic Education Mission in the provision of Islamic and Secular Education for the people of Northern Ghana during Colonial and post-Colonial Eras.

The researcher worked to answer the following research questions that were used to guide the work: How was Islamic education introduced in northern Ghana? How were Islamic schools managed by the Islamic mission during the colonial and post-colonial era? What made post-colonial government decide to take over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana? What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools?

The researcher used a qualitative research paradigm and adopted historical research design. A comprehensive review of related literature was essential to reach an understanding of how Islamic education was introduced in Northern Ghana. The related literature also covered how Islamic education was managed in both colonial and post-colonial eras as well as steps that were taken by both Islamic mission and government (State) to ensure harmonious

relations existed between Islamic Mission and the State as they provide Islamic and secular education to the people of northern Ghana.

In order to provide data to answer these research questions, it was important to develop an interview guide which had the possibility of nearly the totality of the participants' experiences. The research study's participants revealed in one-on-one semi-structured interviews the transpersonal experiences of becoming aware of their religious education consciousness that culminated in their quest for excellence in Islamic and secular education in northern Ghana.

This historical research study employed the methods of a review of related literature, pilot phase, interviews, audio-recording, manual recording and transcription to collect data and answered the above research questions. After the analysis of the data, eleven salient themes emerged from the data that helped examine Mission-State relations in education. The work also used 7 member focus group discussions to ensure reliability (Dependability) and validity (credibility) of the interview data.

Key findings:

Research Question one: How was Islamic education introduced in Northern Ghana?

The question was answered based on the themes that came under it. Theme one was Introduction of Islam in Northern Ghana. It was found that, Islam was introduced in Northern Ghana by several Islamic Missionaries who were mostly traders. Some of them were of Hausa, Wangara, Larbanga and Zambarama origins.

The Hausa were relatively more knowledgeable than the Wangara and the Zambarama. The Hausa were those who taught the Knowledge associated with the Qur'an. Participant B made it clear the Wangara did not have much knowledge and they were responsible for the mixed nature of Islam. The missionaries were not interested in proselytizing activities. It was their students who spread Islam in Northern Ghana. Among them include: Dagomba, Gonja, Mamprusi, etc. They taught Islam after they graduated and so, they spread Islamic education too. The prophet said the best of you is the one who learnt the Qur'an and teaches it. The Hausa taught people of northern Ghana to name their children with Islamic names.

The theme two is Methodology used. The theme revealed that the methodology used by the early Missionaries to teach was mainly rote learning, oral, and memorization. Participant B and F contended that a new pupil began with oral studies of short chapters of the scripture, then he/she was taught *Bachi koba* (Arabic alphabets), then *Bachi Bihi* (pronunciation of Arabic words) then *Karim Pielga* (reading of passages) written on *Waliga* (a slate). The person is then introduced to the Qur'an itself. *Mallams* could use spiritual means to boost students' memory. Students were disciplined via caning with *Baranzum* (a cane made from animal skin with wooden handle). Stalks were burnt for light to study at night. They also used lanterns or *Atanimegu* (locally made Lantern with share butter as source of fuel).

Theme three was Funding of Islamic education. The theme revealed that funding took the form of donating food staff for the *Mallam* which they valued so much. Again, funding came from celebrations of *Hizb*, *Sura Al-Yasin*, and *Mauludi Nabiyi* etc. Cocks and rams were donated in the process

by the graduands and the proceeds from these cushioned the teacher financially. Fresh students paid *Kudi Bulaala* and *Kudi Kerosene* and some *Mallams* made the learners to beg for arms to support their studies while some *Mallams* develop their own farms for sustenance. The *Mallam* cherished the blessings he would receive from Allah than the material and financial gains he would make from teaching.

Theme four was **Organisation of Islamic Education**. The theme revealed that Islamic education at that time was not organized. Based on the data, learners sat around the *Mallam* and studied in clusters. Learners who were admitted at a certain time period learnt together as a group. So, Islamic education was like informal one with no classrooms, no examination and certification and the teachers were not paid.

The fifth theme is Role played by Northern Chiefs. The theme revealed various roles played by Northern Chiefs to ensure the success of Islamic Education. The chiefs gave parcels of land to the *Mallams* to build their houses and the *Makaranta* schools. Secondly, they gave their daughters out in marriage to the *Mallams*. Also, their sons were 'donated' to the *Mallams* for Qur'anic studies. Furthermore, the chiefs ensured that the Kingdom accepted the *Mallams* and guaranteed their protection. Lastly, the chiefs gave employment to the *Mallams* by appointing them as secretaries, court interpreters, managers of their kingdoms and recorders of history and events of the communities.

Research Question two: How was Islamic schools managed during the colonial and post-colonial era?

The seventh theme that came under this question is Impact of Accelerated Development Plan on Islamic Education. The theme revealed that the Accelerated Development Plan on Education did not directly affect the *Makaranta* schools positively. Participants contended that the Islamic schools received neither infrastructure nor quality teachers which were the priorities of the plan. Participant A argued that, under the plan, *Makaranta* schools remained open compound schools. He indicated that ADPE rather affected *Makaranta* schools adversely because it sought to get all children in secular schools and that reduced enrolment figures in the *Makaranta* schools.

Management of Islamic Education

The eighth theme is Management of Islamic Education. The theme revealed that, 56.25% of the respondents indicated the colonial government did not manage Islamic schools properly because they did nothing to bring about growth and progress of Islamic learning in Northern Ghana. This finding corroborated the work of (Iddrisu, 2005), who indicated that governor Guggisberg made an open declaration of his hatred for Islamic education and preference for Christian education. Again, Participant A contended that it was the local *Mallams* that managed their own schools even in the 20th century. This finding has been corroborated by (Iddrisu, 2002), who maintained that even in the 20th century the local *Mallams* continued to manage their own schools. The colonial government believed that Islamic education was seen as a counter and a threat to Christianity which they must protect.

Conversely, the post-colonial authorities showed commitment to the progress and growth of Islamic education in northern Ghana. It was the CPP government led by Kwame Nkrumah that appointed Mallam Yussif Ajura as his Imam and through his tours, he came upon a college build by sheikh ALLory and on his return he modelled Anbarriya Institute in Tamale after that college.

Furthermore, post-colonial government integrated Islamic education with secular education in the 1970s. Though some *Mallams* rejected the move and even sacked the secular teachers sent to them. More so, post-colonial government guaranteed quality education in the Islamic schools in northern Ghana. Materials like pupils text books, teachers hand books, pupils work books, syllabus books etc., has been supplied to Islamic schools in Northern Ghana.

Post-colonial government provide infrastructural development for Islamic schools; recruit and paid teachers, Arabic instructors and management staff; provided logistics and curriculum materials for Islamic schools; integrated Islamic education with secular learning.

Research Question three: What made post-colonial government decide to take-over management of Islamic Schools in Ghana?

The ninth theme revealed that it was the pioneer secularist in Dagbon who initiated the move to integrate *Makaranta* and secular education. Examples of these pioneer secularists in Dagbon are Mohammed Yakubu Pity and J. S. Kaleem (The late Nyankpala chief).

The reforms initiated by Ibrahimu Gbadamosi were crucial to the successful integration of *Makaranta* and secular education in Northern Ghana.

Participant A, (2020) posited that the reforms led to the certification of some of the Arabic Instructors and Proprietors and they were paid as a result. The reforms also increased the knowledge of the *mallams* through workshops. Furthermore, it led to formation of Islamic education unit.

The takeover of management of Islamic schools enabled government to harness the potential of the Muslim children for national development. The *Makaranta* taught only Islam without employable skills because of the narrow nature of the Islamic Curriculum.

The *Mallams*, themselves, advocated for the takeover of management of Islamic schools because they wanted to increase the base of listeners to Islamic preaching, thus, it is a departure from the traditional way of preaching to a modern one.

Besides, parents and school owners advocated for the takeover of management of Islamic schools because they realised that those who pass through the two systems of education were better off in terms of religious practice and academics laurels.

Another very basic reason for takeover of management of Islamic schools is that the *Makaranta* schools had more pupils than the secular schools. Government resolved to reverse the trend was futile and so, the government took over management of the schools.

The theme further revealed that, the takeover of management of Islamic schools has brought all Islamic schools under one umbrella irrespective of their ideological differences. All Islamic schools came under Islamic Education Unit and administered by one general manager. This has culminated in unity of purpose among the proprietors. Thus, all Islamic

schools' proprietors assisted the government in educating Ghanaians. The Islamic Unit has advocated for Arabic curriculum which has been granted by government. So Arabic is now taught in Islamic schools and would soon be examined by West African Examination council (WAEC).

Research Question four: What steps have been taken to restore harmonious relationships that existed between the State and Islamic mission schools?

The tenth theme Harmonious Islamic Mission-State relations, is the sub-theme one. The Islamic Mission provided infrastructure to expand their schools to improve intake of fresh pupils. Secondly, it also makes available relief items to assist disaster victims in their catchment areas when it occurs. Thirdly, the Mission uses its ingenuity to resolve conflicts especially among the Nanumba and the Dagomba. This, they do through sermons, Islamic curriculum and preaching sessions (Da'awa activities). Furthermore, the Mission's management has formed various associations which coordinate their activities including grievance transmission to the government so as to improve Mission-State relations. A cardinal example is Conference of Managers of Education Units (CoMEU). Lastly the Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit implemented all government programmes that relates to the provision of Islamic and secular education. This effort was to bring harmonious relations between the state and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit.

State Harmonious relations with Islamic Mission, is Sub-theme two. The State has also brought the following steps to ensure harmonious relation with the Islamic Mission. In the first place, the state has established unit councils, appoints General Managers, Regional and Local Managers and their auxiliary

staff and paid them from the public purse to oversee effective management of the councils. The State has often educated all stakeholders in education on government new education policies before their implementation. Furthermore, the State paid salaries of all teachers in the Islamic schools including some Arabic Instructors and Proprietors. Again, the state sees to the provision of infrastructure in all Arabic and English schools. And last but not least, government provides logistics in all Islamic mission schools whether Ahmadi or orthodox schools. Logistics like books, chalk or white board markers, dusters, vehicles etc. are all provided by the state with the reason of harmonious relations.

The eleventh Theme under this research question is Credibility on Government Islamic Mission Partnership. On the basis of responses of the participants, there was a mixed feeling as to the credibility of the partnership between Islamic Mission and the State in the provision of Islamic and secular education in Northern Ghana. Some say it is credible others deny its credibility and yet others say it is credible to some extent.

It Is Credible

Government has been able to live up to her responsibility relative to the partnership. Thus, government recruit teachers, pays them, gives them incentives; provides logistics such as vehicles, books, chalk, marker boards and white board markers; provide infrastructure like school blocks, roads in schools; form Unit councils and recruits Managers and their auxiliary staff and pays all of them to manage these units effectively. The state also ensures peaceful co-existence among other units operating in the Ghana Education

Service by maintaining her neutrality with all units. Hence the conclusion, the partnership is credible.

It is Incredible

Arabic instructors and their proprietors are not considered for best teacher awards; majority of Arabic instructors are not on government pay roll as against all secular teachers and even the few that are on the pay roll are not replaced when they retire or dead. Thus, pupils in Islamic schools have no Arabic teachers to teach them. So, most of them do not complete studying the Qur'an before they go to Junior high Schools and abandon Qur'an studies all together.

It is Credible to Some Extent

Most administrators in Islamic mission schools are not privy to the partnership agreement's document; the central government has usurped the power and authority of the Unit Management, ie a unit manager cannot appoint a teacher, control him/her, discipline him/her, transfer him/her, promote him/her or even dismiss him/her. This state of affairs in Islamic education, does not prove the State is helping the course of Islamic Mission schools. The managers' functions have been reduced to only making of recommendations and GES directorate deserves the right to either accept or reject managers' recommendations.

Besides, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Missions schools and the State which was drafted at the request of government, to improve relations between Mission schools and government has not been accepted and implemented by government. Government is dragging her feet in

accepting the document. So, it remains a draft for some years now. A copy of the draft MoU has been left at the appendix column.

Furthermore, most Islamic unit offices throughout northern Ghana are dilapidated. Even the National Headquarters in Tamale have been left to deteriorate. The offices have not been renovated for a long time. It is only Upper West Regional Office that have been renovated by some politicians in Wa Central due to their relationship with the Islamic religion. Cognizance has been taken about what government have been doing to make Islamic Education Unit workable, and hence a conclusion that the partnership is credible to some extent.

Other Findings

1. This theme revealed that the pioneers of secular education did not demonstrate love for Islam. Participants argued that, some of them got converted into Christianity; some became drunkards while some female graduates became prostitutes, a practice that was not in line with Islamic tenets.
2. The narratives further revealed that the Dagomba by nature just hated secular education because it reduced the number of farm hands in their households and so they did not want their children to attend it.
3. Lastly, teachers gave Christian names to pupils at the point of entry into a secular institution and that amounted to an attempted conversion.
4. Islam can now boast of ten (10) senior high schools in northern Ghana.

Conclusions

The work was purported to examine State relations with the Islamic Mission as they collaborate to provide Islamic and secular education in Northern Ghana. The following conclusions were drawn:

1. It was concluded that participants portrayed mixed feelings about the State-Mission relations. Participants expressed both positive and negative views about the state-missions' relations in the provision of Islamic education in Northern Ghana. It was further concluded that the aim of the missionaries were mostly to trading and not proselytisation, so Islamic education was a secondary matter to them. The missionaries who were Hausas, Wangara, Larbanga etc. brought unorganised and informal Islamic Education to Northern Ghana. The main methodology was rote learning, oral studies and memorization of excerpts of the Qur'an. Funding took the form of donating foodstuff, celebration of *Hizb*, *Yasin* and *Bacara* as well as begging for arms. Chiefs helped *mallams* by making land available to them to build their homes which accommodated the schools.
2. It is also concluded that, Colonial government did not manage Islamic Education and showed no interest in the growth of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. The post-colonial governments assisted the growth of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. Indeed, the post-colonial governments organised, formalised, integrated and modernised Islamic education in Northern Ghana.
3. The third conclusion is that, the takeover of management of Islamic schools was a good decision. The reasons given, thus, the quest to harness potential of pupils in *Makaranta* schools, give employable skills to all

Ghanaians, Proprietors requesting for the takeover of their schools among others were cogent enough as products from these schools are equally competent.

4. Last but not least, both State and Islamic Mission interested in good relations between them and are doing everything within their means and capacity to sustain it. Thus, Islamic Missions provided infrastructure in their schools, make available relief items to assist disaster victims in their catchment areas, resolving conflicts especially among various tribes in the north especially among the Nanumba and the Dagomba and lastly, Islamic Mission's management formed various associations among others to coordinate their activities including grievance transmission to the government are the Mission's efforts to bring about improved Mission-State relations.

On the other hand, the State also try to sustain the relation by establishing unit councils, appoints General Managers, Regional and Local Managers and their auxiliary staff and pays them from the public purse to oversee effective management of the mission schools. The state further Provides infrastructure among others just to ensure harmonious relations with the Islamic Missionaries. Although some Participants showed mixed feelings relative to the credibility of the State-Mission Partnership in the provision of religious and secular education, government still honours her side of the contract as spelt out above. It may not be adequate enough though.

Recommendations

Islamic educators should organize and formalize any new *Makaranta* being put up so as to enable Ghanaians get better Islamic and secular

education and Islamic Missionaries should acquire proper training in educational administration to enable them manage their own schools.

The study revealed that it was traders and business men who brought Islam and Islamic Education to Northern Ghana. Therefore, it is recommended that, Muslim traders and business men and women should assist in funding Islamic Education not only in Northern Ghana but also the entire country.

The study revealed that the main methodology of Islamic education was rote learning. That is not acceptable in this modern era. Hence, Islamic Educators should resort to modern approaches to religious education such as Value Clarification Approach, Educational Drama, Existential Approach, Life Theme Approaches and Child Centred methodologies for Islamic Education. Furthermore, Islamic Education Unit should emphasise on effective teaching of the Arabic Language which colonial government denied Muslims from studying, (Asare-Danso, 2017). So, Islam can better be understood through the Qur'an and the Hadith literature.

Islamic Education in Northern Ghana should be properly organized to reflect modern trends in education. Thus, the curriculum should be organised such that it would provide Islamic spiritual knowledge and employable skills so as to increase students' chances of employment after completion and make them proud for being products of such a unique curriculum.

The work recommends that Northern Chiefs should continue to recognise Islamic educators as they used to do in the past and continue to release land to those who want to establish Islamic schools. For instance, Anbarriya Islamic Institute and Nurriya Islamic Institute require land to establish Islamic Universities in the north.

The Islamic Education Unit Managers and Proprietors should have their roles defined by the Ghana Education Service in managing the Islamic Mission Schools. This would ensure their effective participation in managing schools built by them.

The research reveals that most Islamic Schools do not have qualified Islamic education teachers. In fact, it is not enough to integrate curriculum without training personnel to implement it. Hence, it is recommended that government and Islamic Mission (Unit) should collaborate to train teachers who are capable of teaching both Islamic and secular education and such teachers should be posted to the Islamic schools after completion.

The Islamic Education Unit should coordinate the activities of various Islamic Missions like Nurriya, Anbarriya, Ahmadis, Nahda, the Shiah etc. especially when it comes to conflict resolution and provision of relief items for the assistance of disaster victims. This would greatly improve State-Mission relations in the country.

It appears there is mistrust between Islamic Mission and the State. Some proprietors felt they were deceived and they ignorantly gave out their schools without any proper truce with the state. Most Arabic instructors are not on state pay documents and even those that went on retirement have not been replaced while the State looks on nonchalantly. Hence, the state should recruit, train, post and pay Arabic instructors so as to bring trust and harmonious relations.

The State should do more to redeem the image of the Partnership Agreement between the Mission Schools and the State in the provision of secular and religious education for Northern Ghana. Most stake holders in

Islamic Education Mission felt that the Partnership was not credible because they were not privy to the provisions in the Partnership Deed and that government continued to drag her feet and failed to accept the Memorandum of Understanding drafted by the Missionaries at government request.

The State should empower not only Islamic Education Unit Management but management of all unit schools in Ghana to enable them appoint, disappoint, transfer, and discipline a teacher when he or she fails to live up to expectation.

Lastly, the State should also renovate and refurbish all Islamic Unit offices across Northern Ghana. This would make Islamic Missionaries feel they have not been denied their share of development. In the same vein, Islamic Education development partners like African Muslim Agency, World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) etc. should come to the aid of the Islamic Education Unit Mission to help renovate and provide infrastructure to better the lot of Muslims and Ghanaians.

Suggestions for Further Research

The work sought to examine the state relations with the Islamic Mission in the provision of secular and Islamic religious education in Northern Ghana. Bulk of the study was centred much on the provision of basic education by Islamic Mission schools in Northern Ghana. Very little emphasis was on Islamic secondary education. It is therefore suggested that, future researchers who want to do research on Islamic education, could consider it in the area of senior high education. Researchers may also research into the kind of methods used in Islamic schools today in Northern Ghana.

REFERENCES

Archival Sources

Public Record and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) (1931).

Letter from Superintendent of Education NT, Mr A. G. N. Thompson to Director of Education, Accra, J. Edwin Enstice, 8 June 1931. Tamale, Ghana: NRG 8/19/1.

PRAAD (1931). *Report on visit to the North by local head of the Ahmadiyya Mission at Saltpond, Mr. M. Nazir Ahmad, 25 June 1931.* Tamale, Ghana: NRG 8/19/1.

PRAAD (1932). *Letter of permission to preach in the Protectorate of the Northern Territories from CCNT, Tamale, to the local head of the Ahmadiyya Mission, Saltpond, 24 January 1932.* Tamale, Ghana: NRG 8/19/5.

PRAAD, (1928). *Letter from Superintendent of Education NT, A. H. Candler to Director of Education, Accra, J. Edwin Enstice, 20 February 1928.* Tamale, Ghana: NRG 89/19/1.

PRAAD, (1931). *Letter from local head of Ahmadiyya Mission at Saltpond, Mr. M. Nazir to CCNT, Tamale, Ghana: F. W. K. Jackson, 25 June 1931.* Tamale, Ghana: NRG 8/19/1.

PRAAD, (1940/41). *Annual Reports on Education, Northern Territories.* Tamale, Ghana: NRG 8/311/18, p. 25.

PRAAD, (1948). *Colonial Government's Letter No. WP 48/ii/4 stating its policy towards Islamic education, 24th June 1948.* Cape Coast. Ghana: ADM 23/1/3161.

PRAAD, (1951). *Letter from Minister of Education, Kojo Botsio to J. A. Braimah, Minister of Education and Works, April 1951*, Tamale, NRG 8/9/23/10.

(PRAAD). (1925). *Memorandum issued by Governor Guggisberg, 23rd February 1925 on Education in the Northern Territories*. Tamale, Ghana: ADM 56/1/305.

Field Notes

Iddrisu, A. (1996). *Fieldnotes*, Tamale, 10 August.

Other sources

Abadamloora, L. (2006). *One hundred years of grace in the Tamale ecclesiastical province 1906-2006*. Takorade, Ghana: Franciscan Press.

Abdul-Hamid, M. (2017). *Islam and gender in Dagbon*. Unpublished doctoral theses. University of Cape Coast. Cape coast. Ghana.

Adam, I. I. (2019). *The Madrasah and Muslim Child Upbringing in Accra: A Study of Institute of Islamic Studies, Nima-Accra* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Adler, P. A & Adler, P (1987). *Membership roles in field research*. Newbury Park, USA: Sage Publication.

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 5(2), 9-19.

Alshenqeeti, H. (2014). Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review. *English Linguistics Research*, 3(1), 39.

Arunthari, S. (2005). *Information technology adoption by companies in Thailand: a study of enterprise resource planning system usage*.

- Asare-Danso, S. (2017). Effects of Governments' Educational Policies on Islamic Education in Ghana. A Historical Study. *The international journal of humanities & social studies* 5(9)72-76.
- Asare-Danso, S. (2018). Church and state in educational dialogue. *New international studies on religions and dialogue in education*, 111.
- Ayaga, A. M. (2015). Planning for Church and State Educational Leaders' Partnerships in Ghana: An Examination of Perceptions Impacting Relationships. *Educational Planning*, 22(3), 37-62.
- Bailey, K. D. (1978). *Methods of social research*. London: Collier Macmillan Publishers.
- Becker, H. S. (1996). The epistemology of qualitative research. *Ethnography and human development: Context and meaning in social inquiry*, 27, 53-71.
- Bening, R. B. (1990). *A history of education in Northern Ghana, 1907-1976*. Ghana Universities Press.
- Berg, B. (2001). Historiography and oral traditions. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, 210-224.
- Boisi, T. H. E., Religion, O. N., The, I. N., & States, U. (n.d.). *Separation of Church and State*. NOBIS
- Boyle, H., N. (2004). *Quranic schools: Agents of preservation and change*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Braimah, B. A. R. (1976). Islamic Education in Ghana. *In Religion in a Pluralistic Society*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Bravmann, R. A. (1980). *Islam and tribal art in West Africa* (No. 11). CUP Archive.

- Buchert, L. (2002) Towards a new partnership in sector wide approaches: Comprehensive experience from Burkina Faso, Ghana and Mozambique. *International journal of educational development* 22(1) Pp. 69-84.
- Byron G., M., & Samir A., J. (1983). *Education in the Arab World*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Casely-Hayford, L., and Palmer, R. (2007) *Aids and donors' partnership in Ghana's education sector, 1987-2007: A critical review of the literature and progress*. Accra, Ghana: Research consortium for educational outcomes and poverty.
- Clemence, Y., B. (2012). *The role of religious bodies in the development of education in Eastern Region of Ghana*. Unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of Arts Education, University of Cape Coast. Ghana.
- Cooper, F. (2019). *Africa since 1940: the past of the present* (Vol. 13). Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, D. and Jimenez, E. (1990) the relative effectiveness of private and public schools: Evidence from two developing countries. *Journal of development economics*, 34 (1) Pp. 99-221.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Damian A. (2012). *Strengthening state-church partnership in education*. Retrieved from. <https://www.Modernghana.com/news/415611/strengthening-church-state-partnership-in-education.html>.on 30th August, 2013 at 10:40 PM.
- Damon, C.. (2011). Effects of judicial and legislative attempts to increase religious freedom in US state courts. *Journal of Church and State*, 53(4), 615-634.
- Dapatem, D. A. (2017, May, 117). Gov't to return mission schools to religious bodies, *MyJoyOnline* Retrieved from <https://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2017/may17th/govt-to-return-mission-schools-to-religious-bodies.php>
- Denzin, K.N. & Lincoln Y.S. (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, California: Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Dupuis, J., (1874). [1966], *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*. London: Henry Colburn; Frank Cass Second Edition.
- Emre, Y. (2017, February, 18th) *Ghanaian Muslims*, the Insamer. Main page. Retrieved from: https://insamer.com/en/ghanaian-muslims_1118.html
- Evans, C., & Thomas, C. A. (2006). *Church state relations in the European Court of Human Rights*. 2006(3).
- Ewuah-Nyamekye, S. (2010). Salvaging nature: the Akan religion-cultural perspective in world views: *Global religion culture and ecology*, 13(3). Pp 251 -282.
- Foster, P. (1965) *Education and social change in Ghana*. London: Rutledge & Kigan Paul.

- Gall, M. D. Borg, W. R. & Gall, J. P. (1996). *Educational research. An introduction* (6th ed.). New York: Longman.
- Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). (2012). *2010 population & housing census: Summary report of final results*. Accra, GH: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Gin, O. K. (Ed.). (2015). *Brunei-History, Islam, Society and Contemporary Issues*. Routledge.
- Gordon, R. L. (1969). *Interviewing: Strategy, techniques, and tactics*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey press.
- Graham, C., K. (1991). *The history of education in Ghana: from the earlier times to the declaration of independence*. Landon Bk: Bank and Company Ltd.
- Hansen, H. B., & Michael, T. (2002). *Religion and politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey.
- Hikmahway Institute, (2019). *Islamic history and Islamising Ghana*. Retrieved from <https://hikmahway.com/history/islamininghana/> on Monday 15th June 2020 at 4:41 PM.
- Hill, M. (2009). The spread of Islam in West Africa: containment, mixing, and reform from the eighth to the twentieth century. *Spice digest*.
- Historical Research. (n.d.). Retrieved April 15, 2015, from University of Mumbai:http://www.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/Research%20Methadology-Paper-3/Chapter-6.pdf
- Holmes, B. (ed.), (1968). *Educational Policy and Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, NY, p.11

- Humphrey, F., (1975). *The Modernisation of Islamic Education ...*, in *Conflict and Harmony ...*, eds Brown and Hiskett, London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 199.
- Huntington, S. P. (1993). *The Clash of Civilizations? Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22-49.
- Hunwick, J. (2008). The Arabic Literature of Africa Project. *The meanings of Timbuktu*, 303-319.
- Iddrisu, A. (2002). Between Islamic and western secular education in Ghana: A progressive integration approach. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 22(2), 335- 350.
- Iddrisu, A. (2000). The Case of the Northern Territories of Gold Coast, 1890 to 1940', *Journal of the Institute of Education, UCC*.
- Iddrisu, A. (2002). Between Islamic and Western secular education in Ghana: A progressive integration approach. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 22(2), 335-350.
- Iddrisu, A. (2005). The Growth of Islamic Learning in Northern Ghana And Its Interaction with Western Secular Education. *Africa Development*, 30(1). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.4314/ad.v3i1.22212>.
- Iddrisu, A., (1998). 'British Colonial Response to Islamic Education: A Case Study of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 1890-1940', *Journal of the Institute of Education, UCC*, 4(2).
- Iddrisu, A., (2002a). *The Changing Role of the Mallam Intelligentsia During the Colonial Era in Ghana*, Paper presented at the Working Group Presentations, Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa,

Program of African studies, Northwestern University, Evanston/Chicago, USA. May 18.

Iddrisu, A., (2002b). *Colonial Control and Muslim education in northern Ghana, 1900-1925*, Paper presented at the International ISITA Colloquium, Harris Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston/Chicago, USA, 15-19 May, 2002.

Iddrisu, A., (2002c). Between Islamic and Western Secular Education in Ghana: A Progressive Integration Approach, in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 22(2), 336.

Jones, R. D. (2014). University challenges: negotiating secularism and religiosity in higher education institutions. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(8), 1983-1999.

Kasoma, D., & Naila, G. N. (2013). The relationship between church and state. *International Journal of Applied Sociology*, 3(2), 9–18.

Kasomo, D., & Naila, G. N. (2013). The relationship between church and state. *International Journal of Applied Sociology*, 3(2), 9-18.

Kazempur, A. (2014). *The Muslim Question in Canada: A Story of Segmented Integration*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Kimble, D. (1963). *A Political History of Ghana*, London: Clarendon Press, p. 533.

Korankye-Gyamera, Y. (2012). *Challenges of state-Church partnership in schools' administration in West Akim Municipality of Ghana*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Institute of Education Planning and Administration. University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

- Kpobi, L. (1995). *Tripple Heritage: Facts and figures about the Presbyterian Church of Ghana*. Accra: Asampa Publishers.
- Krueger, R., A. & Krueger, R. (2002). *Designing and conducting focus group discussion*: October.
- Laycock, D. (2006). *Church and State in the United States: Competing conceptions and Historic changes*. 13(12).
- Levtzion, N. (1968). *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa. A study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial period*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Lundy, K. S. (2008). Historical Research. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods: Volumes 1 & 2* (pp. 395-399). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Malmqvist, J., Hellberg, K., Möllås, G., Rose, R., & Shevlin, M. (2019). Conducting the pilot study: A neglected part of the research process? Methodological findings supporting the importance of piloting in qualitative research studies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 1609406919878341.
- Merriam, S. B. (1985). The case study in educational research: A review of selected literature. *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET)/Revue de la Pensée Educative*, 204-217.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*, 1(1), 1-17

- Mhina, A. (2007). *Religion and development in Tanzania: A preliminary literature review*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
- Moore, D. W., Monaghan, E. J., & Hartman, D. K. (1997). Conversations: Values of Literacy History. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 32 (1), 90-102.
- Muhammad M., K. (1996). *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Riyadh: Maktaba Dar-us-Salam.
- Mumuni, S. (2004). The relevance of Arabic and Islamic Education in the upbringing of the Ghanaian Muslim Child, *Nigeria Social Science Review* (6) 1. 82-103.
- Mumuni, S., H. (2003). Islamic Literacy Tradition in Ghana. *Maghreb Review*, 28(2-3), 170-185.
- Neuman, D. (2014). Qualitative research in educational communications and technology: A brief introduction to principles and procedures. *Journal of Computing in Higher Education*, 26(1), 69-86.
- Nortey, E. (2015). *National Analytical Report: 2010 population and housing census*. Retrieved from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274696661>.
- Nyumba, T. O., Wilson, K., Derrick, C. J., & Mukherjee, N. (2018). The use of focus group discussion methodology: Insights from two decades of application in conservation. *Methods in Ecology and evolution*, 9(1), 20-32.

- Obeng-Mireku, E. (2017). *Christian-Muslim relations in Sub-Saharan Africa : a comparative analysis of Ghana and Nigeria*. Master of Arts dissertation, University of Lethbridge. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10133/4866>.
- Odamtten, S. K. (1978) *Missionary factor in Ghana's development (1828-1880)* Accra: Waterville Publishing House.
- Opoku, J., K., Manu E., & Wiafe., F. (2015). Religion, education and development in Ghana: A historical perspective. UK: *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 3(12), 6–18. Retrieved from: www.eajournals.org
- Owusu, K. A. (2017). *The Development of Islamic Education in Ghana: Perspectives of Reformers on the Transformation of Integrated Public Islamic Schools* (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University).
- Owusu-Ansah, D. (1984). *The Talismanic Tradition*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL,
- Owusu-Ansah, D. (2017). Secular education for Muslim students at government assisted Christian schools in Ghana: Joining the debate on students' rights at Religious Schools in Ghana. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture*, 8(2), 1.
- Patton, M.Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (4th ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Patton, M.Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (4th ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Philip, O. A, (2007). *The development of education in Ghana*. Kumasi: Ghana, Adu Press.

- Pobee, J. S. (1975). Church and State in the Gold Coast in the Vasco da Gama Era, 1492-1947, in *Journal of Church and State*, 17 (2).
- Pobee, J. S. (1976). *Church and State in Ghana, 1949-1966*, in *Religion in a Pluralistic Society*. Edited by J. S. Pobee. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Presbyterian Church of Ghana (2003). *Cry justice: A compilation of messages, addresses, resolutions, statements and communiqués issued by the Synod now General Assembly to various governments of Ghana*.
- Putnam, R. D., & Campbell, D., E. (2012). *American grace: How religion divides and unites us*. (n.p.): Simon and Schuster.
- Ragin, C., C. and Becker, H., S. (1992). *What a case*, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Samwini, N. (2006). *The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950: its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations* (Vol. 7). LIT Verlag Münster.
- Sanneh, L. (1997). *The Crown and the Turban*. Boulders, Co. Westview Press, 30.
- Shakeel, M. D. (2018). Islamic schooling in the Cultural West: A systematic Review of the Issues Concerning School Choice. 1, 1-31. <https://doi.org/10.3390/re10120392>
- Sivalon, J. (1995). The Catholic Church and the Tanzanian State in the provision of social services, In J. Semboja and O. Therkildsen (Eds.), *Service Provision under Stress: States and Voluntary Organizations in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda*. Dar es Salaam: African World Press.
- Smith, N. (1966) *the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (1835-1960): A younger Church in a changing Society*. Accra: Ghana universities Press.

- Špiláčková, M. (2012). Historical Research in Social Work - *Theory and Practice*. *ERIS Web Journal*, 3 (2), 22-33.
- Suter, W. N. (2006). *Introduction to educational research: A critical thinking approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Tambiah, S. J. (1997). *Leveling crowds: ethnonationalist conflicts and collective violence in South Asia*. Univ of California Press.
- USAID, (2007, February). *Islamic Education Sector Study*, Ghana. Education Development Centre Inc.
- Wilks, I. (1986). *Chronicles from Gonja: A Tradition of West African Muslim Historiography*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, T. D. (1964). Sir Gordon Guggisberg and educational reform in the Gold Coast, 1919-1927. *Comparative education review*, 8(3), 290-306.
- Yakubu, S., A. (1972). *The Evolution of Political Consciousness in Northern Ghana*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, p. 39.
- Yusuf, A., A. (1946). *The Holy Qur'an. Translation and commentary*. U.K: Islamic Propagation Centre International.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWEES

1. Abdul-Majeed Soale, Arabic instructor at Nahdah, Tamale 20th December, 2020.
2. Afa Tahidu Abdullah Nigeria, Islamic Cleric and Arabic Instructor, Manhaliya Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
3. Alfa Iddi Abdullah Nayim, Proprietor, a teacher in Manhaliya Islamic Institute Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
4. Alfa Saeed Neindow, Islamic cleric and Islamic Instructor, Manhaliya Islamic Institute Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
5. Alfa Sule Kobilimahagu Limam, Islamic Cleric, and Imam and a Lecturer, 29th November, 2020.
6. Alfa Tanko Abubakari, a teacher and Head of Anbarriya Islamic Institute, Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
7. Alhaji Nashirudeen Abdul-Mumin, Regional Manager Islamic Education Unit, Damomgo, 7th November, 2020.
8. Alhaji Rasheed Mahmud Regional manager of Islamic Education Unit, Wa. 11th November, 2020.
9. Dr. Peter Attafuah Northern Regional Director of Education Tamale, 16th November, 2020.
10. Dr. Tamim, a teacher and principal of Anbarriya Arabic College of Education, Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
11. Madam Fatima Moomin, Northern regional manager Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit, Tamale, 26th October, 2020.
12. Malam Iddrisu Haruna, Islamic Cleric and Proprietor, Manhaliya Islamic Mission, 22nd October, 2020.

13. Mohammed Majeed Maulvi, Islamic Cleric and Imam of the Ahmadi Islam in Yendi, 23rd November, 2020.
14. Mr. Abdul-Mumin Abdul-Gafaru, Teacher, Ahmadiyya JHS Zogbeli Tamale, 22nd November, 2020.
15. Mr. Abdul-Mumin Sa'ad, Headmaster Ahmadiyya JHS Zogbeli Tamale, 22nd November, 2020.
16. Mr. Abdul-Razak Z. Korah, Upper West Regional Director of Education, 12th November, 2020.
17. Mr. Abu Sawedu, Regional manager of Islamic Education Unit, Bolga, 17/11/20
18. Mr. Bapuni Abdul-Karim, General Manager of Islamic Education Unit, Tamale, 29/10/20.
19. Mr. Issahaku Illiyasu Headmaster, Manhaliya JHS Tamale, 22nd November, 2020.
20. Mr. Malik Zakaria Islamic cleric and a Teacher of the Qur'an in Wa, 12/11/20
21. Mr. Muhammed Sulaiman, Reginal Manager of Ahmadiyya Muslim Education Unit, Wa, 9th November, 2020.
22. Mr. Wahab Alhassan, Islamic Cleric and Imam, Bawa Baracks, Tamale, 20th December, 2020.
23. Shaikh Imam Dr. Alfa Ibrahim Basha, Proprietor, Nurriya Islamic Institute Tamale, 17th November, 2020.
24. Ustaz Iddrisu Abdul-Hamid Islamic Cleric and a teacher Anbarriya Islamic Institute, at Tamale, 18th October, 2020.

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION STUDIES

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ARTS EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This is an interview guide seeking the candid opinion from Islamic Education Stake Holders in Northern Ghana to help ascertain the State-Islamic Mission relationship in the provision of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. Your responses remain confidential and for academic purpose only.

How was Islamic education introduced in northern Ghana?

1. How was Islamic education introduced in Ghana?
2. Which people brought Islam to Northern Ghana?
3. Which tribe (s) in Ghana influenced the spread of Islam in Northern Ghana?
4. Who provided funding for Islamic education?
5. How was Islamic education organized before the coming of the colonial administrators?
6. What methodology did teachers adopt to deliver their lessons?
7. How did the northern chiefs facilitate the Islamic education in the north?

Management of Islamic education during the colonial and post-colonial era?

1. How was Islamic education managed during the colonial era?
2. How was Islamic education managed after the colonial administration?

3. Did the colonial government encourage Islamic education? If yes, how? If no, why?
4. Why did Muslims develop negative attitude towards secular education?
5. Why did the colonial government hate the progress of Islam and Islamic education in the northern Ghana?

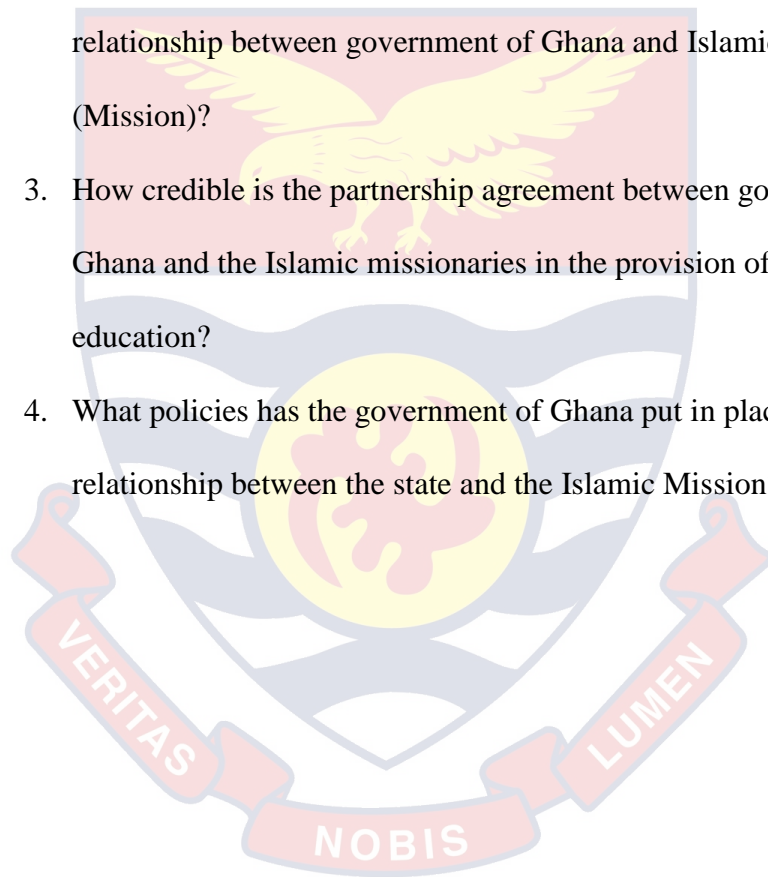
The Takeover of Management of Islamic Schools in Ghana By Post-Colonial Government

1. What impact did the goveplan on education in 1951 have on Islamic education in northern Ghana?
2. What were the challenges faced by managers of Islamic education in the Gold Coast (Ghana)?
3. How have the historical aspects of Islamic Education Reform influenced the modernization process of Islamic education in Northern Ghana?
4. What really necessitated post-colonial government takeover of management of Islamic Mission schools?
5. How did the Islamic Education Unit (IEU) advocate for integrated Islamic schools on policy and administrative issues for quality and adherence to Ghana Education Service (GES) regulations?
6. What was the nature of Alhaji Rahimu Gbadamosi's Islamic education reforms in the 1980s

Steps Taken to Restore Harmonious Relationships That Existed Between

The State and Islamic Mission Schools

1. How did the 1951 accelerated development plan on education affect the relationship that existed between Islamic education Mission and Ghana government in the provision of education?
2. What strategies did the Islamic education unit (IEU) adopt to improve relationship between government of Ghana and Islamic Education unit (Mission)?
3. How credible is the partnership agreement between government of Ghana and the Islamic missionaries in the provision of Islamic education?
4. What policies has the government of Ghana put in place to improve the relationship between the state and the Islamic Mission?



APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION STUDIES

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ARTS EDUCATION

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Facilitator's welcome, introduction and instructions to participants

Welcome and thank you for volunteering to take part in this focus group. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy and I appreciate your time.

Introduction: This focus group discussion is designed to assess your current thoughts and feelings about the Mission -State relationship in the provision of Islamic and secular education for the people of Northern Ghana. The focus group discussion will take no more than two hours. May I tape the discussion to facilitate its recollection? (if yes show by hand)

Anonymity: Despite being taped, I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. The tapes will be kept safely in a locked facility until they are transcribed word for word, then they will be destroyed. The transcribed notes of the focus group will contain no information that would allow individual subjects to be linked to specific statements. You should try to answer and comment as accurately and truthfully as possible. I and the other focus group participants would appreciate it if you would refrain from discussing the comments of other group members outside the focus group. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer

or participate in, you do not have to do so; however please try to answer and be as involved as possible.

Ground rules

- The most important rule is that only one person speaks at a time. There may be a temptation to jump in when someone is talking but please wait until they have finished.
- There are no right or wrong answers
- You do not have to speak in any particular order
- When you do have something to say, please do so. There are many of you in the group and it is important that I obtain the views of each of you
- You do not have to agree with the views of other people in the group.
- Does anyone have any questions? (answers).
- OK, let's begin

Warm up

- First, I'd like everyone to introduce themselves. Can you tell me your name?

Introductory question

I am just going to give you a couple of minutes to think about your experience as teachers/ Arabic Instructors in an English and Arabic school. Is anyone happy to share his or her experience?

Guiding questions

7. How was Islamic education introduced in Northern Ghana?
8. How was Islamic education organized?
9. Who funded Islamic education?

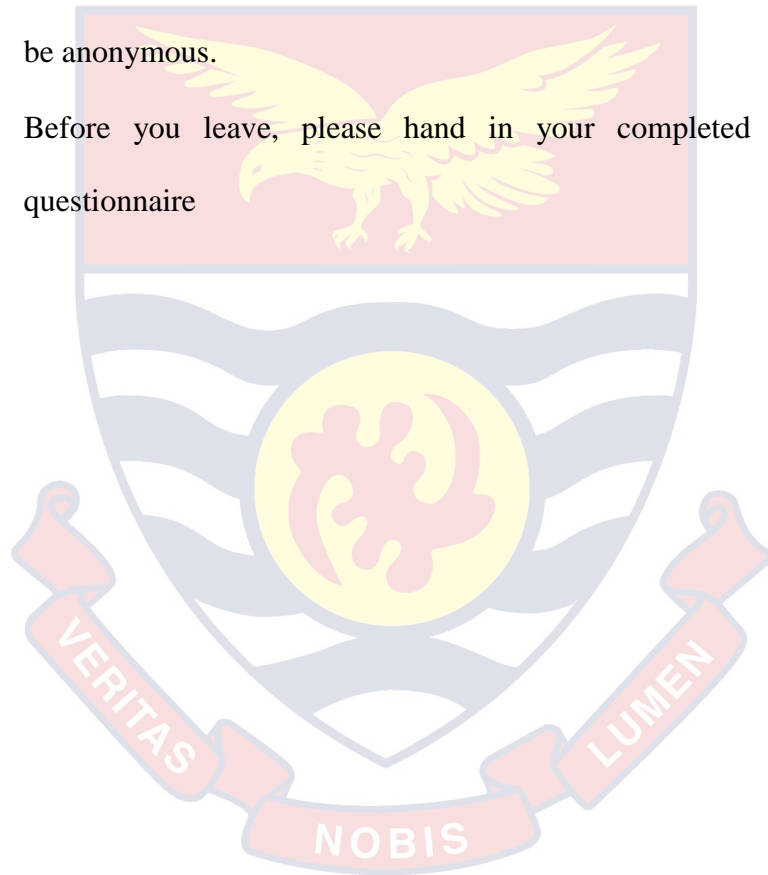
10. How was Islamic education funded during colonial and post-colonial Era?
11. What really necessitated post-colonial government takeover of management of Islamic Mission schools?
12. How does the Islamic Education Unit (IEU) on policy and administratively ensure quality teaching by teachers and Arabic Instructors and their adherence to Ghana Education Service (GES) regulations?
13. How did the 1951 accelerated development plan on education affect the relations that existed between Islamic education Mission and Ghana government in the provision of education?
14. What strategies did the Islamic education unit (IEU) adopt to improve the relations between government of Ghana and Islamic Education unit (Mission)?
15. How credible is the partnership agreement between government of Ghana and the Islamic missionaries in the provision of Islamic education?
16. What policies has the government of Ghana put in place to improve the relations between the state and the Islamic Mission?
17. What positive changes has Islamic new education paradigm brought for Ghanaians?
18. What negative impact has the new paradigm bring to Muslims?

Concluding question

- Of all the things we've discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues you would like to express about this checklist?

Conclusion

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very successful discussion
- Your opinions will be a valuable asset to the study
- I hope you have found the discussion interesting
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to complain about, please speak to me later about it.
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this report will be anonymous.
- Before you leave, please hand in your completed personal details questionnaire



APPENDIX 4

DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING (MoU) BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA AND THE RELIGIOUS AND OTHER BODIES IN THE MANAGEMENT AND SUPERVISION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED BY THESE BODIES

1.0. PREAMBLE

That this document contains:

Agreement between the government of Ghana of the one part and the religious and other bodies of the other (see appendix 1). Change in any of the Terms in this agreement shall be subjected to negotiations by the two parties i.e. the religious and other bodies and the government of Ghana. All parties will undertake wide dissemination of MOU to their constituent and the general public and ensure their compliance.

2.0. PURPOSE

The objectives emanating from the purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding establishes the guidelines for collaboration between the Government and Unit Schools for effective delivery of education in Ghana.

This is in accordance with the provision of Education Act 2008, Act 778, 22(4) and 29 (m)

Act, 778, 22(4)

'the district education directorate in consultation with the appropriate Religious educational units are responsible for the efficient delivery of educational services to meet the peculiar needs of the areas within the

district and in accordance with the educational policy and directives as determined by the Minister.”

Act, 778, 22(4)

the Minister may, by Legislative Instrument, in consultation with the appropriate body, make Regulations in respect of...."the determination of the relationship between the district education and the education units of the religious bodies.”

3.0. AGREEMENT:

The Government of Ghana and the Religious and other Bodies who are the owners of the unit schools, hereby agree to work together in the management of unit schools. The Agreement initiates the process to establish, manage and maintain the schools: to maintain high moral and academic standards; and to supplement Government's efforts in providing quality and holistic education in schools in the public sector. Government shall continue to fulfill its constitutional responsibility to provide free, compulsory and universal basic education to all Ghanaian children in all public schools, and pay the salaries of teachers: regardless of the management arrangement.

4.0. ROLE OF PARTIES

4.1. Recruitment and Appointment of Officers

4.1.1. Both Parties have agreed that to manage the unit schools there shall be:

The General Manager, the Regional Manager, and the Local Manager.

4.1.2. The Religious and other Bodies shall recommend to the Government the recruitment and appointment of:

a. General Manager

- b. Regional Manager
- c. Heads of Educational Institutions of the Unit

4.1.3. The Religious and other Bodies shall recruit and appoint the Local Manager.

4.1.4. The Religious and Other Bodies shall undertake the recruitment using the GES guidelines and any other qualification relevant to the specific units.

4.1.5. **The Government** shall appoint:

- a. General Manager
- b. Regional Manager

4.2. Management of Unit Schools

The Government shall establish an Educational Unit Directorate at the GES Headquarters under the Deputy Director General (Management Service) in furtherance of the objectives of this partnership agreement.

The Unit is to be headed: by an officer of the grade of Divisional Director and shall be recruited and appointed by the Government in consultation with the Partner Bodies to this Agreement.

4.3. Support

4.3.1. **The Religious and Other Bodies** shall within their means, complement Government effort in providing quality education to Ghanaians by:

- i. Acquiring land and construction of educational facilities for the Unit schools
- ii. Providing Office accommodation for the Unit

iii. Providing residential accommodation for the Education Unit Managers

iv. Support regular maintenance of school structures.

v. Levying students to raise funds for the management of the Schools

4.4. Core Management Activities of Schools

4.4.1. Both Parties do recognize and agree that:

i. Unit Schools should be managed and supervised by the Units within the Rules and Regulations of the GES

ii. The existing structure of the Educational Units, should be maintained.

iii. All important policy circulars emanating from the GES Headquarters be copied to the General and Regional Managers

iv. For Inter District transfers within the same District, Managers shall not post teachers to Districts they were released from

v. Inter-unit transfers within the same District should be handled by District Directors in consultation with unit Managers concerned.

4.5. Core Management Positions

4.5.1. General Manager (GM)

Both Parties have agreed that the General Manager shall be of the grade of Director II. Their functions are contained in the attached schedule (Schedule 1)

4.5.2. Regional Manager (RM)

The Regional Manager shall be responsible to the General Manager.

Both Parties have agreed that the RM shall be of the Grade of Deputy

Director. Their functions are contained in the attached schedule (Schedule 2).

4.5.3. Local Manager (LM)

Religious and other Bodies who are parties to this agreement shall appoint Local Managers and inform Regional Managers and District Directors concerned. Their functions are contained in the attached schedule (Schedule 3).

5.0. REVIEW OF MOU

Review process of the MoU will take place following partner review meeting every two years for the purpose of Monitoring and Evaluation and possible review of the MoU. Any amendments will be by mutual consent of both Parties.

Misunderstandings and disputes regarding this MoU shall be dealt with amicably, timely and appropriately by the Parties. The GES Council is the final arbiter in any misunderstanding that has not been resolved amicably.

To accomplish the objective of this MOU, partner Bodies will meet with their key functionaries at least once a year for the purpose of program planning, monitoring and evaluation outcomes.

FOR GOVERNMENT,

Minister for Education

Name.....

Signature and Date.....

Director General-Ghana Education Service

NAME

Signature and Date.....

FOR RELIGIOUS BODIES

Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference

NAME.....

Signature and Date.....

Christian Council of Ghana

NAME.....

Signature and Date.....

Islamic Council

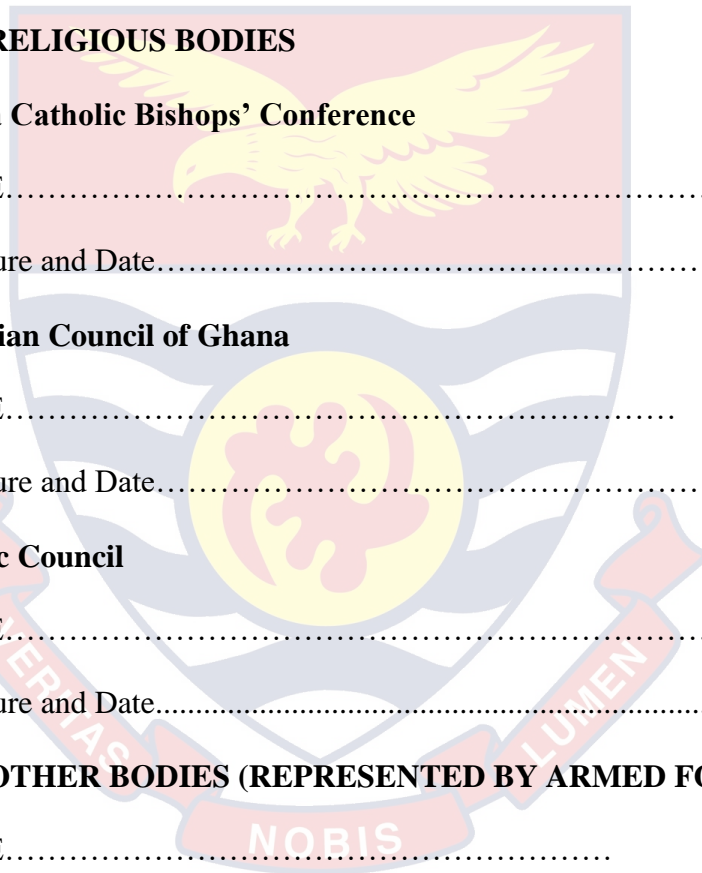
NAME.....

Signature and Date.....

FOR OTHER BODIES (REPRESENTED BY ARMED FORCES UNIT)

NAME.....

Signature and Date.....



APPENDIX 1: LIST OF EDUCATIONAL UNITS

1. Catholic Educational Unit
2. Presbyterian Educational Unit
3. Methodist Educational Unit
4. Anglican Educational Unit
5. Seventh Day Adventist Educational Unit
6. African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Zion Educational Unit
7. Islamic Educational Unit.
8. Ahmadiyya Educational Unit
9. Salvation Army Educational Unit
10. Evangelical Presbyterian Educational Unit
11. African Faith Tabernacle Educational Unit
12. Garrison Educational Unit
13. Police Educational Unit
14. Prison Educational Unit
15. Assemblies of God Educational Unit



APPENDIX 2:

SCHEDULE ASSIGNMENT

Schedule 1: Roles of General Manager

- i. Ensure the implementation of Government Policies on Education in all Unit Educational Institutions.
- ii. Ensure that the concerns of the relevant Religious and Other Bodies are addressed in all Educational Institutions within the borders context of GES regulations and guidelines,
- iii. Co-ordinate the activities of all the Regional Managers in the Unit.
- iv. Keep up-to-date Statistical data of the Unit for effective planning monitoring and evaluation purposes.
- v. Recruit the unit's staff based on approved quota in consultation with the Ghana Education Service (GES).
- vi. Inspect, monitor, and supervise effective teaching and learning.
- vii. Advise the leadership of the relevant religious body on all educational matters.
- viii. Represent the individual Religious Body on National and International Educational Conferences.
- ix. Write and submit annual reports to the leadership of the relevant Religious Body with copies to Ghana Education Service (GES).
- x. Serve as members of the board of governors of their respective educational institution.
- xi. Organize Conferences, Seminars, In-service training etc. for the Regional Managers, Schools and other members of the Unit staff.

xii. Assist the GES, in consultation with the owners of schools, in the appointment of Heads of the Unit Higher Institutions.

xiii Appraise the work of all the Regional Managers using GES appraisal forms for the senior Officers,

Schedule 2: Roles of Regional Manager

- i. Be responsible for the management and supervision of personnel in the Unit schools within the Region.
- ii. Be responsible for posting Newly Trained Teachers. Releasing and transferring of Teachers in the Region in accordance with the GES policies on transfer and in consultation with the respective District Education Directorates.
- iii. Ensure the discipline of Teachers and personnel of the Unit schools in the Region according to GES code of discipline.
- iv. Facilitate the processing of applications for re-engagement and reinstatement of Teachers in the Unit.
- v. Recommend the recruitment and termination of appointments of Untrained Teachers to the respective District Education Directorates.
- vi. Recommend the confirmation and promotion of Teachers and Non-Teaching Personnel in the Unit to the respective District Education Directors.
- vii. Oversee welfare matters of teaching and non-teaching staff in the Unit.
- viii. Ensure Professional development of Teachers and other Personnel in the Unit
- ix. Facilitate the application for resignation, retirement, leave with/without pay of Teachers and other personnel in the Unit.

- x. Monitor, Inspect and supervise schools to improve Teaching and Learning.
- xi. Liaise between the Religious Body and the Ghana Education Service at the District and Regional levels.
- xii. Represent the General Manager at Board Meetings.
- xiii. Inform the District Director of Education of the appointment of Local Managers in the Region with copies to the Regional Director.
- xiv. Advise Local Managers on Policies and relay information coming from GES to them.
- xv. Monitor payment of salaries, allowances and other entitlements paid to teachers of the Unit from the respective District Education Offices.
- xvi. Keep statistical data on all Institutions of the Units in the Region.
- xvii. Undertake any other educational duties that might be assigned by the General Manager/Religious Heads of Other Bodies.
- xviii. Make recommendations on their teachers for promotion and furnish District Directors with appraisal reports.
- xix. Prepare schedules of appointment of Head teachers, and issue appointment letters to those who have passed the relevant interviews with copies to the District Directors of Education and the Regional Directors.
- xx. Post, transfer and discipline their teachers in consultation with the District Directors of Education in accordance with laid down GES regulations.
- xxi. Sign performance Agreement with the Regional Director.

- xxii. Work closely with the District Directors who have the overall responsibility for development of education in the district.

Schedule 3 Roles of Local Manager

- i. Be responsible for the collection, use and safe-keeping of fees or levies where applicable.
- ii. Ensure conducive school environment for quality education.
- iii. Liaise with field officers of the Ghana Education Service, e.g. Circuit Supervisors to oversee the schools.
- iv. Encourage Heads of schools under them to carry out promptly, programmes and other interventions from the GES. :
- v. Ensure that religious education, spiritual formation and moral training of the pupils and teachers in their schools conform to the requirements of the relevant Religious Body and consistent with the constitution of Ghana.
- vi. Assist the Heads of schools in their areas of jurisdiction in finding solution to problems and to foster cordial relationship among the heads.
- vii. Submit situational quarterly and annual reports to the Regional Manager.
- viii. Be responsible for the welfare of teachers in the schools.
- ix. Undertake any other educational duties that might be assigned by the General/ Regional Manager / The Head of the Religious Body.

APPENDIX 5
NUMBER OF SOME ISLAMIC SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN GHANA
AND ENROLMENT FIGURES

S/N	DISTRICT	NO OF SCHs	NO OF ARABIC TEACHERS	TOTAL NO OF PUPILS
1	TAMALE METRO	84	115	23,655
2	SAVELUGU MUNICIPAL	32	20	10,074
3	TOLON DISTRICT	24	08	0,000
4	KUMBUNGU DISTRICT	23	00	5,650
5	GUSHEGU MUNICIPAL	21	03	5,612
6	NANUMBA NORTH MUNICIPAL	12	09	3,211
7	NANUMBA SOUTH DISTRICT	07	01	1,482
8	ZABZUGU DISTRICT	06	01	1,790
9	TATALE/SANGULI DISTRICT	02	02	721
10	KARAGA DISTRICT	16	13	4,471
11	MION DISTRICT	19	00	822
12	SABOBA DISTRICT	11	00	1,834
13	YENDI MUNICIPAL	30	16	7,705
14	SAGNARIGU MUNICIPAL	47	57	13,852
15	KPANDAI DISTRICT	12	02	3,677
16	NANTON DISTRICT	19	00	0,000
17	UPPER WEST REGION (AHAMADI SCHOOLS)	38	00	4,987
18	NORTHERN REGION AHAMADI SCHOOS	43	00	5,587
19	UPPER EAST ISLAMIC SCHOOLS	40	00	16,700
20	UPPER WEST ISLAMIC SCHOOLS	48	00	18,126
17	GRAND TOTAL	543	247	45,400

APPENDIX 6

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ISLAMIC SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN GHANA AS AT YEAR 2020

S/N	REGION	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL	LOCATION
1	Northern	Al-Maktoum	Tamale
2	Northern	Tamale Islamic Science	Tamale
3	Northern	Anbarriya	Tamale
4	Northern	Nuriyyah	Tamale
5	North East	Marakaz Islamic	Wale wale
6	Savanna	T. I. Ahmadiyya	Salaga
7	*Upper East	Suwairiyyah	Bawku
8	Upper West	Islamic Girls	Wa
9	Upper West	Islamic Mixed	Wa
10	Upper West	T.I. Ahmadi Muslim	Wa

Source: Field work, 2020

