Management of Islamics Schools: An Examination of How Islamic Education Was Managed and Developed in The Colonial and Post-Colonial Eras in Northern Ghana

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Abstract: The study examined how Islamic education was managed during colonial and post-colonial Eras of Northern Ghana. It traced the history of the management of Islamic education in Northern Ghana, touching on aspects like management of Islamic Education during Colonial period, management of Islamic Education during the post-colonial regimes, integration of Islamic and secular education and the take over management of Islamic education from the proprietors by post-colonial regimes and managing these as public schools. The study adopted qualitative methodology and used historical research design. A sample of 24 participants were purposively selected and interviewed. The work integrated interview with focus group discussion to ascertain the credibility and dependability of the results. Data was also obtained from documentary analysis of articles, journals, archival records, books, letters and minutes from education commissioners of the northern territories. It was found that the colonial government failed to manage Islamic schools as expected. Thus, they attempted to leave northern Muslims in abject ignorance of their religion; prevented them from studying the Arabic Language by preventing the importation of both Islamic and Arabic literature. Post-colonial regimes, however, boosted Islamic education by encouraging the study of Islam and the Arabic Language; integrating Islam with secular studies as well as modernizing Islamic education in Northern Ghana. The post-colonial administrators also trained Islamic and Arabic teachers. It was recommended that government should equitably provide educational infrastructure for both Islamic and secular schools; make Arabic Language examinable at the basic and second cycle schools in in Northern Ghana.

Key words: Islamic Education, Northern, Ghana, Management, Colonial and Post-Colonial Regimes

I. INTRODUCTION

Northern Ghana is the region north of the Black Volta River and Lake Volta. It is geographically divided into five broad regions. Viz: North region, Upper East, North East, Upper West, and Savannah regions. There are about forty ethnic groups in those areas, each with their own distinctive language. Among the diverse tribes of the North are Islamic scholars who are also Islamic educators. Some prominent northern tribes which influence Islamic education include Gonja, Dagomba, Nanumba, Mampurusi, and Waala.

Northern Ghana (the five northern regions) covers approximately 13,564 km2 and shares borders with Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east and Ivory Coast to the west. In Ghana, it shares boundaries with the Bono, Bono East, and Oti regions of Ghana. The region has a population of approximately 4,228,116.00 which represents 17.5% of the population of Ghana. The total Muslim population of the NG is approximately 2,038,794,086, representing 48.22% of the NG population (Nortey, 2015). Comparatively, the Muslim Population is very significant and is mainly dominated by Muslims who have established several Islamic Mission schools under the basic, second cycle, and tertiary sectors of the Ghana education system. The implication is that the development of Islamic education has reached a level where it provides secular education to the population of Northern and elsewhere in Ghana. It is necessary, therefore, to study and understand how Islamic Education Mission manages schools established by them in this part of the country, in its quest to provide both secular and Islamic education for the Muslims in Northern Ghana.

Northern Ghana is currently the home of the Islamic Education 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).

The notion of Islamic education.

The significance of Islamic education may differ depending on the scholar and their perspective. Some emphasize the "Tarbiya", namely character improvement. Others define it as a religious education, emphasizing the study of the Koran and other basic Islamic teachings and values. For this study, Islamic education refers to the study of the Qur'an and its sciences, the Tarbiya (character development in line with Islamic teachings), spiritual development, and provision of knowledge and skill for the students 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 the Qur'an (96: 1-5) which makes the acquisition of knowledge mandatory for the prophet and for that matter every Muslim (Mumuni, 2004). In the context of Islamic education, the prophet used to engage prisoners of war to teach Muslims Arab 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 northern Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries. Muslims were gifted in commerce, state art and scholarship, and Islam supplied the rules for an impartial society and personal piety. In parts of Africa, Islam has been the first intrusive faith to come across African beliefs and practices (Cooper, (2019).

Ivor Wilks, quoted by Iddrisu (2005), postulated that in Ghana, the main traditions of Islamic learning started with the Wangara and Hausa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Wangara people, who were Malians, built a complex trade network that included Begho, which was beside the borders of the Akan Forest. Its mission was to encourage the development of gold resources in the Volta Basin. The Hausa also concentrated their trade on the Kola business of the Northeast. The Holy Men and other traveling Ulema also moved their examples. Islamic education took place in these commercial establishments, but not on a formal basis. Islamic schools have been built and this Islamic educational custom has continued to this day.

Islamic school systems in Ghana.

Mumuni (2003) suggested that Islamic education could be accessible in Ghana in three different ways. These include the Makaranta system, the Madrasah mode, and lay education. In his view, etymologically, the word Makaranta is derived from two Hausa words. This is "Ma" and "Karanta". In Hausa, Ma means venue and Karanta means recitation. Thus, Makaranta designates a place of recital and more precisely a Koranic school or an Islamic school. Nonetheless, some Islamic scholars have estimated that Kara as in Makaranta is borrowed from the Arabic word "Oara" meaning recite. Makaranta is thus a school to acquire the skills needed 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 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 from the Holy Quran as a way to learn how to form Arabic characters. The slate is washed periodically and sunburned to dry, after which it is ready for reuse. According to Mumuni (2003), the Makaranta system is unique because the Ulama (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 madrasa, which could be interpreted as the Arabisation of the Makaranta. This system came into being after Ghana became independent in 1957. Here, there was a kind of modernization of the classroom structures, the calibre of the teaching staff, and orientation that had an impression on the Muslim community. The Hausa language was no longer the teaching language, it was 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 population increased, and the homes of Ulamah, 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 explains why many schools sprang up in the Muslims habitations. In an interview with Dr. Tamim of Anbariya College of Education, Tamale on 20th December 2020 in Tamale, it was revealed that the Madrasah system was brought to Northern Ghana by Afa Yussuf Ajura – the founder of Anbariya Muslim Community in the Northern Region.

The third system of learning Islam is in secular schools (Mumuni, 2003). Nonetheless, Christianity was taught in the colonial educational institutions, to the degree that one could not tell Christianity and secular education apart. In the light of this, Ghanaian Muslims viewed secular education a threat to the Islamic faith. Mumuni acknowledged that the few Muslims who attended secular schools were either converted into Christianity or turn out to be nominal Muslims (Mumuni, 2003). Many stakeholders put in a lot of efforts in starting secularization of Islamic education in Ghana. According to Adam (2019), the forerunners to secularize Islamic education in Ghana were Benjamin Sam and his friends Mahdi Appah in 1896 at Ekrawfol in the Central Region. Further attempt was by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, which arrived in Ghana around 1921 (Iddrisu, 2005), then the West Africa examination council (WAEC), among others played diverse roles in starting the teaching of Islamic education in the secular schools (Adam, 2019, p. 34).

Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission built secular schools from basic to the second cycle level country wide. For the West African Examination Council (WAEC), after taking over from Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate in 1953, the Council developed syllabuses for Islamic Religious Studies and Arabic Language studies respectively, which made it possible for candidates to be examined in these disciplines. Similarly, the Ghana Muslim Students Association (GMSA), at its birth in 1972, encouraged Muslim students to attend secular schools. Ghana's education service adopted some Madrasah by stationing professional teachers to teach secular subjects accepted by the Ministry of Education in these Makaranta schools. This culminated in a new brand of schools. That is the

English and Arabic schools. The development culminated in Islamic literacy tradition and Western secular education to go on simultaneously in same schools. Owusu-Ansah (2017) mentioned the abovementioned and submitted that an effort at incorporating Islamic schools and secular ones in northern Ghana was adopted in 1974. According to him, the new development was made possible after the government persuaded the Ulamah 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).

Types of Islamic Schools in Northern Ghana

From the works so far reviewed, four major types of Islamic schools are found in northern Ghana namely, Traditional Qur'anic Schools; Arabic Schools; English and Arabic Schools, and the Integrated Islamic schools under the awning of the Islamic Education Unit of 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 memorization. These types of schools were pervasive in 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 allows 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 Arabic Schools, some secular subjects are taught, however, the language of instruction is Arabic, and Islamic religious studies are also emphasized (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 the Arabic language.

Integrated Islamic Schools: They are schools that are legally and officially government schools that fall under the management of the Islamic Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service although they were initiated by private proprietors. They teach a 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, and 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.

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 Weslevans 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 discouraged 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 policy 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, which 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 reservouir 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).

Managing Muslim education during the post-colonial era.

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. As part of this policy, various management policies have been put in place to make secular education attractive to 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 mainstream 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 suwar 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 were 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 *malams* 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 Takeover 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 Ghana, 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, hopping 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, 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). 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.
- 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 Hussein, the Deputy General Manager, National Headquarters of Islamic Education, Tamale, when J. W. Abruquah took over (1973–1976) as the Northern Regional Director of Education from 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 Ghana.
- 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 Ghana. This programme was implemented in 1987 by the Regional Director of Education, Alhaji Rahimo Gbadamosi who ruled from (1980-1987). The implementation saw workshops and 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:

- To bring all Makaranta schools at the basic level into the unit in order to be absorbed into the publicschool 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 educational "centralization" to "educational from 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.

II. METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research paradigm was adopted, using the historical research design. Historical studies are purposed to verify and explain history of any area of human activities such as provision of Islamic Education, subjects or events by means of scientific processes (Špiláčková, 2012). Qualitative research refers to an experiential investigation into meaning (Ospina, 2004, p. 1280; Shank, 2002, p. 5). The paradigm is descriptive which collects and examines data as regards meaning rather than statistics. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ogier, 1998, 2002; Punch, 2005). Nkwi, Nyamongo, and Gery (2001) views qualitative research as ". . . any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values" (p. 1). Conversely, the foregoing definition of Nkwi et al. of qualitative research is grossly inadequate because the supposed "paradigm wars" of

the late 1970s, 1980s, and even the 1990s (Gage, 1989), a number of qualitative researchers have protested the use of numerical data in qualitative research on grounds that it lacks compatibility with the constructivists ideas in research (Patton, 1990; R. S. Weiss, 1994), nevertheless, researchers like Howard Becker and Martyn Hammersley have buttressed what Becker named "Quassi statistics" to use expressions like "some" and "most" more precise (Becker, 1970; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Hammersley, 1992; Maxwell, 2010). It is therefore, appropriate to reiterate that qualitative research seldom utilize complex or detailed numerical or ordinal values. This underscore the fact that A. T. Schwandt (2007) indicates clearly that ". . . qualitative studies could utilize quantitative data" (p. 251).

Data were collected using interviews and content analysis of educational policy documents and archival records. The documents that were used for data collection were education committee reports issued by governments of Ghana, education reports issued by various superintendents of education in the northern territories and information obtained from books, journals and archival records.

The researcher purposively sampled as many as twenty (20) participants from a population of five hundred and fifty (550) to assist in data collection. Specifically those who were interviewed included: five (5) Regional Managers of Islamic Education Unit schools in Upper West, Upper East, Savannah, Northern 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.

Seven relevant participants were also selected for focus group discussion on the topic. The participants were made up of three Islamic schools Proprietors, two Regional Managers of Islamic schools and two Arabic Instructors. 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.

The main instruments for data collection were semistructured 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).

Data Analysis

The study used an open-coding system to analyse participants' 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. Data collected from the content analysis of educational policy documents and archival materials were analysed. The analysis was done according to the objective of the study.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results indicate that, 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 that 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-llory 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 then 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 polices 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 postcolonial 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 attended 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 much 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 carrried out to the benefit of both secular teachers and Arabic Instructors to guarantee better teaching and learning.

Takeover Management of Islamic Education

The nineth 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 study has revealed a number of reasons why the post-colonial administrators took over management of Islamic education in Northern Ghana. 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).

IV. CONCLUSION

It is concluded that, Colonial government did not manage Islamic Education and showed no interest in the growth of Islamic Education in Northern Ghana. The colonial government wanted to leave the Ghanaian northern people in abject ignorance so as to weaken their ability to reason effectively so that they could exploit them without question.

It is also concluded that the colonial government in other to weaken and prevent the Muslims from studying Islam, decided to hamper the study of the Arabic Language. They also prevented the importation of both Arabic and Islamic literature and even denied Muslim business men import license to facilitate the importation of these literatures.

The post-colonial governments assisted the growth of Islamic learning in Northern Ghana. Indeed, the post-colonial

governments organised, formalised, integrated and modernised Islamic education in Northern Ghana. The post-colonial government sought the welfare of all Ghanaians and did not want to leave any stone unturned to educate all Ghanaians. Thus, the post-colonial government integrated the Makaranta schools with formal secular schools so that all children in Islamic Makaranta schools would get formal education and employable skills so that Muslim children would not be disadvantaged in the job market.

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.

Again most of the Arabic instructors are unqualified and do not have the requisite knowledge to be able to teach even Islamic religion properly let alone teaching the Arabic language as expected.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POSITIVE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Government should encourage the Muslims to study Arabic Language by training Arabic teachers, make Arabic language examinable in both first and second cycle institutions as well as grant import license to Islamic business men and women to import whatever literature deemed necessary that can inure to effective study of both Islam and the Arabic language.

The government of Ghana should be fair in the provision of educational infrastructure in all communities in Ghana so that there will be equity in making educational opportunities available to all without regard to religious affiliation and location. This would help bridge the gap created by the colonial administrators in the northern territories (Northern Ghana) in terms of both Islamic and secular education. Any remaining gap should be taken care of by Islamic non-governmental organisations.

The central and local government should collaborate with the Islamic Mission to ensure that all Islamic schools (Makaranta) are formalized and the curriculum properly integrated to ensure that no part of the curriculum suffers. Thus, both secular and Islamic education would be equitably taught to Muslim children in order that their talents would harness for national development and integration.

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