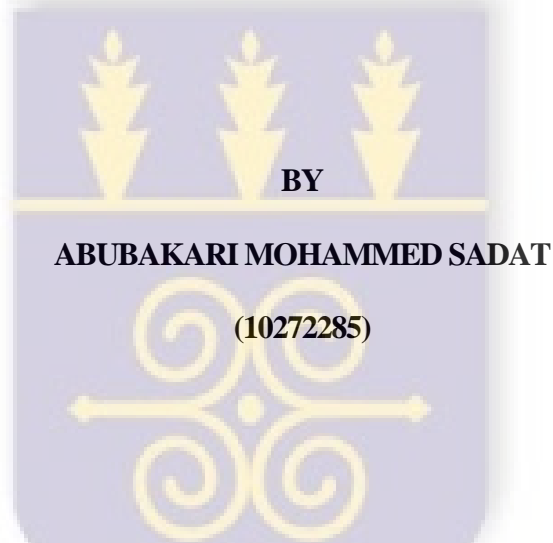


**ISLAM AND POLITICS IN THE NORTHERN REGION:  
FOCUS ON THE TIJANIYYA AND THE AHLU-SUNNA SECTS IN TAMALE**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN  
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF M.PHIL  
IN POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE**

**JULY, 2015**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Master of Philosophy thesis is my own independent work conducted under the supervision of Dr. Iddi Ziblim. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no part previously published by another person or submitted for the award of any other degree. All references made in this work have been duly acknowledged.

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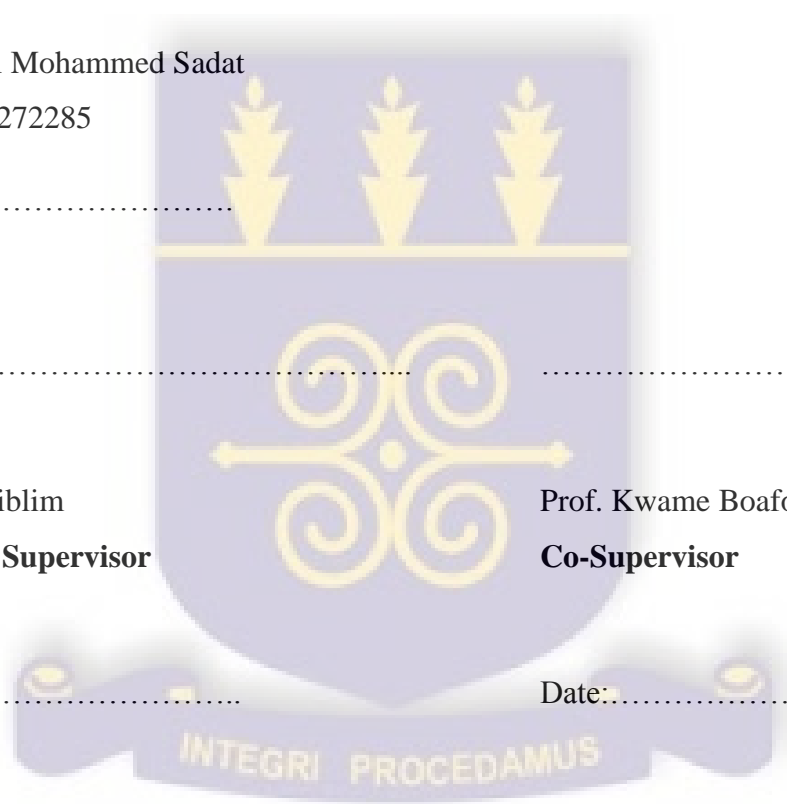
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## ABSTRACT

Like the national level, the dominant political parties in the Northern Region are the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The two dominant Islamic sects in the Tamale Metropolis in the Northern Region are the Ahlu-sunnas and the Tijaniyyas. Interestingly, under the Fourth Republic, most Ahlu-sunnas have aligned themselves with NDC while most Tijaniyyas have been affiliated with the NPP.

This study sets out to investigate both the historical and contemporary reasons for these entrenched political affiliations by the two Islamic sects with the two leading political parties in the country. The study adopts the mix research approach where quantitative and qualitative methods were employed; 120 questionnaires were administered to 120 participants in a survey, interviews and focus group discussions were also organized in the Tamale Metropolis.

The findings indicate that, the historical reason for these alignments is deeply rooted in the Dagbon chieftaincy matters. The contemporary reasons were the death of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II in 2002 and the use of sensitive issues and cheap campaigns by politicians in Tamale. This phenomenon has militated against competent politicians who would have contributed tremendously to the democratic and socio-economic development of the Region.

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all honest people.



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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Throughout history and contemporary societies, religion has played a major role in political development in the world. There is a symbiotic relationship between religion and politics; Politics has an independent causal effect on Religion and Religion has an independent causal effect on Politics. Weber (1904) argued that causality runs both ways between religion and politics. This relationship can have both negative and positive impact on the development of society. However, there has been a general agreement on the need to separate religion from politics and politics from religion by political scientists.

*The relation between religion and politics continues to be an important theme in political philosophy, despite the emergent consensus on the right to freedom of conscience and on the need for some sort of separation between church and state. One reason for the importance of this topic is that religions often make strong claims on people's allegiance, and universal religions make these claims on all people, rather than just a particular community. For example, Islam has traditionally held that all people owe obedience to Allah's will. Thus, it is probably inevitable that religious commitments will sometimes come into conflict with the demands of politics. But religious beliefs and practices also potentially support politics in many ways. (Callaway, 2009)*

The autonomy of the state has been recognized since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. "Under this treaty, the authority of the Pope over Europe's people was radically curtailed. Without this rival spiritual authority, states were free to direct religion within their own territory, subordinating the spiritual to the political."(O'Neil,

2007). Thomas Hobbes in the Leviathan sees religion and its divisiveness as a source of political instability, and argues that the sovereign has the right to determine which opinions may be publicly espoused and disseminated, a power necessary for maintaining civil peace. In recent times, France has passed a law that makes it illegal for students to wear cloths which have religious significance such as the hijab. The rationalization by the French government was that, there was the need to separate religion and the state: to keep France united and not being divided by religion. However, if the right to one's conscience can be the right to choose and believe in the religion of one's choice, then this can be seen as interference in one's faith by the state.

Attention has been drawn on Islam and the West, for that matter democratic politics, in the last century and more; especially after the September 11 attack on the United State. Scholars have argued on both the compatibility and the inconsistency of the two cultures. Tauseef (2011) observed that:

*Islamic resurgence and democratization are two of the most important developments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that have gained an impetus from the final decades. Within these two developments, the question of the relationship between Islam and democracy - the compatibility and co-existence of the teachings of Islam with the principles of democracy – an issue that has now highly intensified – is a theme that is hotly debated, defined, and discussed by the diversity of voices - facing the Muslim world today. There is a misconception (among various scholars, both Muslims and non Muslims) that Islam and democracy are incompatible institutions.( Tauseef Ahmed Parray, 2011)*

Religious conflicts are now a major feature of world conflicts today. Evidence can be seen in the insurgency among the Shiah and Sunni Muslims in Baghdad, Syria, Iran, Pakistan and Jos in Nigeria.

Islam has a considerable long existence in Ghana and in the Northern part of the country in particular. Samwini (2006) observes that Islam has been in Ghana since the 16<sup>th</sup> century: among the Gonja in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, among the Dagombas and Wala in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and by the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was in the South specifically among the Asante. Throughout these periods Muslims have lived peacefully among themselves and their Christian and Indigenous neighbours.

However, the beginning of Islamic resurgence in Ghana can be traced to the emergence of new sects such as the Ahmadiyyah Movement and Ahlu-sunna Wal Jama'a according to Samwini (2006). Their teachings, practices and religious observations are often inconsistent with one another often leading to violent confrontations among them especially in the Northern Region. "This region has experienced a number of conflicts, new and old, small and large. These conflicts include religious, chieftaincy and land conflicts." (Awedoba, 2009).

In 1992, the ban on partisan politics was lifted in Ghana. The New Patriotic Party (NPP) was formed out of the Danquah/Busia Club of the UP tradition. The Eagle Club of the PNDC transformed itself into the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Unlike the NPP, the NDC had no preindependence political root and tradition and, therefore had to draw support from the two main traditions, thus had their followers from both the Abudus and Andanis (two chieftaincy rival gates in Dagbon). The NDC therefore had no party position on the Dagbon chieftaincy and this attitude effectively contained the crisis

during the first two terms of their rule in the Fourth Republic (Yakubu, 2005). However, after their first two terms in office, the NDC turn to associate itself with the Andanis more than the Abudus and the Ahlu-sunnas more than the Tijaniyyas.

These violent confrontations are more prominent between the two major Islamic sects in the Northern Region (the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna). Unfortunately, these confrontations also turn to have political dimension which turn to strengthen the division between these two sects in the Region. It is against this background that the study seeks to investigate the two major Islamic sects in Tamale and their participation in Politics under the Forth Republic.

## **1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Tamale, the Northern Regional capital and one of the largest commercial towns of the country inhabits diverse ethnic groups with different religious backgrounds. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, Islam is the predominant religion in the Tamale Metropolis with 84% of the population affiliated to it. Barker observes that:

*Tamale in particular is becoming an important Muslim centre. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States are channeling oil wealth into promoting Islam in Africa, and in recent years a series of new Muslim institutions has appeared on the scene. In Tamale alone there are over dozen Muslim missionaries at the present time.*  
(Barker, 1986)

The Muslim population consists of Tijaniyyah, Ahlu-sunna, the Ahmadiyyah and the Shiites. The dominant two are the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna sects.

Aside chieftaincy and land, Awedoba, (2009) identifies religious differences, partisan politics and disagreement between communities about ‘Order of Precedence’ and

abuse or over use of communal resources as conflict triggers in the North. All the Islamic sects identified in Ghana based their teachings and practices on the Quran and the Hadith hence they have similar ideologies.

However, the practices of the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna sects often lead to violent confrontations between and among them in the Tamale metropolis "... the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna Waljama'a are the two most dominant groups, whose religious practices have contributed largely to radicalizing Muslim youth and hence predisposing them to potential violence" (Kwesi and Mustapha, 2008).

The two major sects have aligned themselves with the two main political parties and enjoy support from these political parties. That is the Tijaniyyas tend to align themselves with the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the Ahlu-sunnas tend to align themselves with the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

What is more, the two sects are sharply divided along the Chieftaincy divide in the Dagbon conflict. With these alignments, political violence will be viewed as religious violence and also the Dagbon Chieftaincy conflict will be seen as a political conflict and a religious conflict. Whereas the subject of Chieftaincy and Politics in Northern Ghana has been widely researched and discussed in academic literature, very little research, if any, has been done on the interaction of Islam and Politics in the Northern Region. This study therefore seeks to fill the gap in the literature on the topic.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study would be guided by the following research questions:

1. What factors account for the entrenched affiliations of the two sects with the two major political parties?
2. What roles have political parties performed to maintain these affiliations?
3. What benefits do the two sects get in maintaining these affiliations?
4. What are the negative consequences of the marriage between Religion and Politics in Tamale?

### **1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The research has the main objective of examining the reason(s) why the two major religious sects are entrenched in their political affiliations in Tamale. Specifically, the study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To examine the historical and contemporary reasons for the entrenched political affiliations by the two sects.
2. To investigate the role political parties play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects.
3. To examine what the two sects benefit from maintaining their affiliations with these two political parties.
4. To reveal the negative consequences of their affiliations with the two major political parties.
5. To offer possible recommendations to deal with the current pattern of political affiliation in Tamale.

### **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

1. The research will reveal the weaknesses associated with Ghana's political participation and affiliations that often lead to violence in the country. This will help guide politicians and policy makers, especially the security services.
2. This study will fill the gap in literature on political participation and affiliations that often lead to heightened tension and violence.
3. Findings of the research will help promote Ghana's democracy.
4. Finally, the research will provide recommendations and suggestions that will help reduce the violence associated with political participation and affiliation if not completely eliminated.

### **1.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

Even though a lot of scholarly works on Islam and Politics have been done, it tends to be concentrated around the Middle East and in particular the Levantine Countries and North African Countries which are predominantly Muslim areas. In the specific case of Tamale, less scholarly work has been done on the interaction between Islam and Politics which involves the increasingly affiliation of the two major Islamic sects (the Tijaniyyas and the Ahlu-sunnas) with the two major political parties in the country. These entrenched affiliations sometimes lead heightened tension in Tamale. Meanwhile, in recent years, a lot of countries have experienced political turmoil as a result of the interference of religion and politics. It is therefore prudent to investigate into the factors that give rise to political participation and sometimes lead to violence in our democracy and pose a threat to democratic growth.

Findings and recommendations from this research will therefore provide an input to empirical studies of the interaction of religion and politics in Ghana. Also, important lessons from this study shall guide the policy advising community on how to deal with intra religious and or political violence in order to safeguard our democracy.

## **1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Theories often serve as the basis for research and also provide guidance for research ideas. “A theory is a conceptualization, or description, of a phenomenon that attempts to integrate all that we know about the phenomenon into a concise statement or question” (Geoffrey et al 2005). “... a set of interrelated constructs (variables) definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining natural phenomena.” Kirlinger (1979:64).

This section discusses the theoretical basis within which the study is conducted.

This study will be guided by the theoretical models that explain voter behavior. They include the sociological model of voting behavior, the psychological model of voting behavior and the rational choice model.

### **1.7.1 Sociological model of voting behavior (School of Columbia)**

The theoretical assumptions of this model are found in these three important works: *The People’s Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944), *A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee 1954) and *Personal Influence:*

The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

The basic conclusion of Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) was that ‘Political homogeneity of social groups’ account for how people vote for a candidate or a party. That is “the majority of voters voted according to their original political predisposition” The association between electoral behavior and the social groups to which they belonged was so strong that it was possible to explain the electoral choices using only the three factors that defined the Index of Political Predisposition used in research: socio-economic status, religion and area of residence. (Antunes, 2008). Lazarsfeld et al observed that:

*There is a familiar adage in American folklore to the effect that a person is only what he thinks he is, an adage which reflects the typically American notion of unlimited opportunity, the tendency toward self-betterment, etc. Now we find that the reverse of the adage is true: a person thinks, politically, as he is, socially. Social characteristics determine political preference. (Lazarsfeld et al., 1968, p. 69)*

The campaign messages that fit well in a social group of voters are more likely to result in the voting choices of these voters at the end of an election. Voters are persuaded to vote for a particular candidate or party, not as a result of the analysis of the ‘proposal’ or the manifesto submitted by the candidate or the party but they follow the pressure from members of their group or community. In considering the case of the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna sects in Tamale, it can be argued that the Tijaniyya group vote for NPP because they belong to that religious sect and feel pressured to vote for it than a careful analysis of the manifesto of the NPP. In the same vein, the Ahlu-sunna group vote for

the NDC not as a result of the analysis of the NDC manifesto but because they belong to that religious group and feel pressured to vote for the NDC.

### **1.7.2 Psychological model of voting behavior (Michigan model)**

This model has its origin from the studies conducted by the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan. It was conducted during the 1948 U.S. presidential elections. The results of this election were subsequently analyzed by Campbell and Kahn (1952) in the People Elect a President. The Report of the election was presented by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) in The Voter Decides. This led the publication of the book The American Voter, written by Campbell, Converse Miller and Stokes (1960).

The main assumption of this model of “...voting behavior is partisanship which is designed as a psychological affinity, stable and lasting relationship with a political party that does not necessarily translate into a concrete link, namely registration, or consistently voting and systematically militancy with this party” (Antunes, 2008).

*... partisanship is acquired through a socialization process, influenced by the values and attitudes of family, colleagues and peers, a process that Miller and Shanks (1996) considered similar to that which leads subjects to identify a religion. This emotional link the subject to “their” political party can be achieved with varying degrees of involvement in a process analogous to what happens with the connection of individuals to a religion, manifested in ways as different as going from non-religious to deeply religious. In this perspective, partisanship is a genuine form of social identification in which “citizens have an enduring sense of what sorts of people belong to various parties and whether they identify with these social groups” (Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002, p. ix).*

With this model, the individual forms psychological attachment and long lasting relationship with a political party. This partisanship is acquired through a socialization process, influenced by the values and attitudes of family, colleagues and peers. Considering the case of the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna sects in Tamale, one can argue that members of the Tijaniyya sect have formed psychological attachment with the NPP and members of the Ahlu-sunna sect have also formed psychological attachment with NDC. This attachment is passed down from generation to generation in the family.

### **1.7.3 Theory of rational choice (An Economic Theory of Democracy)**

The theoretical basis for the economic explanation of voting behavior is found in the work of Anthony Downs (1957): “An Economic Theory of Democracy.” It has the premise that: “if the assumptions of rational choice are able to explain the market, then they can explain the political functioning” It establishes a direct comparison between consumers in a market and voters in an election and between businesses and political parties. “If companies seek to maximize profits and consumers act to maximize the utility, we can, then, theorize in the sense that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote as the parties act to maximize electoral gains obtained from their political proposals” (Antunes, 2008). Down notes that:

*Our main thesis is that parties in democratic politics are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy. So as, to attain their private ends, they formulate whatever policies they believe will gain the most votes, just as entrepreneurs produce whatever products they believe will gain the most profits for the same reason. In order to examine the implications of this thesis, we have assumed that citizens behave rationally in politics. (Downs, 1957, pp. 295-296).*

Like this model is use to explain the functioning of the market. That is, if companies seek to maximize profits and consumers act to maximize utility, then it make sense for voters to maximize the utility of their votes as parties act to maximize electoral gains. The model works on the basic premise that all decisions, both the decisions of voters and political parties, are rational: guided by their selfish interest and based on the principle of utility maximization. From this, it can be suggested that both the Tijaniyya, and the Ahlu-sunna sects have their selfish interest in their affiliation with the two major political parties.

The study focus on how an individual's association with his/her influences him/her to vote for a particular hence the sociological model of voting behavior guided the researcher in the execution of this study.

### **1.8 SCOPE/LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This research is placed within the scope of political participation and why political party affiliations by the two major Islamic sects (the Tijaniyyas and the Ahlu-sunnas) in the Tamale Metropolis often lead to heightened tensions and violence.

In carrying out this study, the researcher anticipates the following challenges;

1. The research makes reference to historical factors relating to the cause(s) of these political affiliations by the two major Islamic sects. But due to the sensitive nature of the issues involved and the stretch of period it has gone through, the study might ask more questions than it can answer.
2. The researcher anticipates financial constraints since the research is not financed.

3. Access to some important information from political leaders and religious leaders might hinder the smooth conduct of this research since they are busy people.

## **1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

In terms of the organization, the work is grouped into five chapters. Chapter One is the introductory chapter which includes the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research questions, the research objectives, the theoretical framework for the study. Also included in this chapter are the rationale for the study, the scope and limitations of the study and finally the organization of the work.

Chapter Two is made up of the relevant literature. Literature is reviewed on Islam and Politics worldwide, Islamic sects in Ghana and Islam and Politics in the Northern Region.

Chapter Three focuses on the methodological approach within which the work is carried out and the study area.

Chapter Four focuses on the types of data collected for the study, methods, and procedures for data collection and the steps for data processing. Also, sources from which data are collected and discussed are included in this chapter. Finally, Chapter Five summarizes the findings from the analysis of the study, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

There are a number of scholarly works on Islam and Politics, especially between the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Majority of these works cover the Middle East and in particular the Levantine Countries and North African Countries which are mostly Muslim dominated areas. Different scholars based on their backgrounds have given different explanations for the renewed interest in the area in recent times. However, there is no specific study on Islam and Politics in the Northern Region of Ghana with focus on two Islamic sects in Tamale and their participation in politics. The study is novel regarding its specific objectives. The literature review will be categorized into major themes.

#### **2.1 THE TIJANIYYA SECT**

Tijaniyya Tariqah (way) is a sufi movement that originated from the teachings of sheikh Ahmad Tijani who was an Algerian scholar. He saw himself and the followers of his movement to be superior to the other Tariqah or sufi-groups. While the other sufi-groups (Qadiriyya, Iddrisiyya, Sanusiyya) focused on the mystical relationship between the believer and Allah, the Tijaniyya movement focused on the mystical relationship between the believer and the Prophet. Annette (2003) observes that, Sufi religious practice is marked by a commitment of the individual to mystical powers.

One important propagator of the Tijaniyya movement in the southern Sahara was Al-hajj Umar Tall. He was a Fulani jihadist of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Vikor, 2000). Known for

his intelligence and learning, Al-Hajj Umar went to Mecca in 1826-30, where he became a disciple of Muhammad Al-Ghali, a direct disciple of Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, and was made Khalifa (representative of authority) of the order for West Africa (Abun-Nasr, 1965). After returning from the pilgrimage, Al-Hajj Umar married the daughter of Muhammad Al-Ghali and helped him fight his enemies for eight years in the Islamic Court of Sokoto. According to Robinson(2000), this stay was decisive in his later trajectory, when after returning to his homeland of Futa Toro and establishing a Tijani center of learning, Al-Hajj 'Umar launched his *jihad* in 1852, which spread through present-day Guinea, Senegal and Mali. He conquered Western Sudan, ordering its 'pagan' inhabitants to Islam, while at the same time spreading sheikh Tijani's way among those who are already Muslims (Triaud 2000).

Tijaniyya's greatest expansion occurred around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Zackery 2012). According to Zackery (2012), the Algeria spread of Tijaniyya was due to the fact that the Tijaniyya leaders gained favoritism with the French colonialist leaders. If it was not for the French pull, Tijaniyya may have not had that strong of a hold in Algeria. Since then Tijaniyya has spread rapidly throughout Africa.

Sheikh Ibrahim Niassé (1900-1975), a Senegalese scholar, through his revivalist movement helped spread the Tijaniyya ideology throughout Senegal and other West African countries. Sheikh Ibrahim Niassé was West Africa's most renowned Islamic scholar in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. His followers numbered in the millions and comprised the largest single Muslim movement in West Africa (Hiskett, 1984). The ideology of the Tijaniyya movement is fundamentally the same as any other sect in Islam. The actual differences are in three forms:

1. The recitation of the *wirds* (litany) of the order.

The *wirds* are performed twice daily, (morning and evening) and consist of: recitation of the formula of penitence *Astaghfiru Allah* (I beg forgiveness of God) 100 times.

2. The *wazifa* (office) at least once in the morning,

Saying a prayer for the Prophet, preferably in the form of the Tijani prayer Salat al-Fatih(O God, bless and salute the advent of the Truth; the greatest treasure, Thy mysterious Light. May God bless the Prophet and his household, a prayer which brings us to knowledge of him) 100 times.

3. Participation in the *hadra* (seance) on Friday.

Reciting the formula of the *Hailalah, La Ilaha illa Allah* (There is no god but Allah) 100 times. (Vikor, 2000)

Annette (2003) observes that through the daily ritual practices a believer expresses his or her submission and devotion to God. But, he becomes more religiously devoted through such additional practices of the Tijaniyya.

The Tijaniyya Tariqah (way) is one of the Sufi movements with considerable Muslim population in Tamale. Annette (2003) states that, the Sufi Brotherhood was introduced to northern Ghana during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by some Hausa scholars who came into contact with Al-hajj Umar Tall. Al-hajj Umar of Kete Krachi who was one of the followers of Al-Hajj Umar Tall, settled in Salaga in the Northern Region and became the spiritual leader of the Tijaniyyah in Ghana. Annette (2003) also argues that, the visit by Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse to Tamale in 1952 won more supporters for the Tijaniyyas as this visit placed emphasis on the characteristics of the Sufi way of Islamic practice.

During the late 1870s, Salaga was an important commercial center in Ghana. When the Salaga market broke down by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Hausa clerics and traders spread all over the Region and thus propagating the teachings of the Tijaniyya movement to other parts of the Region including Tamale. Today it is estimated that the Tijaniyya population in Tamale number about 200,000 and still growing.

## **2.2 THE AHLU-SUNNA SECT**

The term ‘Ahlu-sunna’ refers to the teachings and practices of the Prophet. This indicates that, what the Prophet did and did not is of much concern to this group. Ahlu-sunna Waljama’a (Wahabism) originated from Saudi Arabia around 1745 as a radical reformist movement in the Middle East. This radical movement was led by Abdul-Wahab, a Saudi Arabian. His teachings were being influenced by the 13<sup>th</sup> century teaching of Taymiya from the Hanbali School. The Hanbali is one of the four leading Imams of the Sunni School in Saudi Arabia. The other schools are Shafi, Hanafi and Maliki. The Tijaniyya movement follows the Maliki School while the Ahlu-sunna follows either of them depending on the circumstance and issue at hand. Abdul-Wahab preaching aims at the purification of Islam from the influences of foreigners and their modernization and innovations. Wahabism is therefore a way of going back to the original Sunni as practiced by the Prophet Muhammad, and not an innovation or modernization.

There seems to be consensus among historians like Robinson (2004) and Boahen (1966) on how Ghanaian Muslims became exposed to Islamic ideas and the Islamic world. To them, philanthropic institutions and Islamic missionary institutions in Algeria, Pakistan,

Libya, Egypt and Saudi Arabia offered scholarships to a number of students in their respective countries. These students came into contact with new ideas and trends in Islam which they brought to West Africa after graduation. Annette (2003) observes that, Al-hajj Yussuf Ajura a beneficiary of these scholarships, inspired by the Saudi Arabian orientation on Islam in the late 1940s, nursed an interest and by the 1950s introduced such new ideas in Tamale. The purpose of his idea was to move away from the Wangara and Hausa doctrines (Sufi traditions) as well as its leading personalities in these traditions.

According to Kwesi and Mustapha (2008), Afa Ajura in the 1950s drew the attention of the Saudi government and established a close contact with the Saudi Embassy in Ghana. This subsequently resulted in him attracting financial support from Muslim philanthropists and Muslim Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) through the Saudi Embassy in Ghana. “Thus, Afa Ajura established the first Sunni Madrasa (Islamic school) known as Ambariyya Islamic Institute in Tamale. This became a training ground for the youth. Thus, he inculcated in the youth radical consciousness and high sense of revivalism.” Kwesi and Mustapha (2008)

Annette (2003) stated that, Afa Ajura as an upcoming scholar gathered more supporters after the visit by Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse to Tamale in 1952, as his visit emphasized more on the Tijaniyya way of Islamic practices. This partially led to construction of the Ahlunna Mosque at Sakasaka in Tamale. Like the Ambariyya Islamic Institute, this project was financially supported by the Saudi Embassy.

According to Kaba (2000), it was in the 1967 that Afa Ajura and group gained a substantial support to observe Friday prayers at the Sakasaka Mosque which he started in

1953. This made the break away from the Sufi tradition come true. Afa Ajura later joined the newly formed group of Ghanaian students from Saudi Arabia with the aim of ending what they termed innovation of Islam in Ghana by the Tijaniyyas. “In Ghana, the Ahlus-unna, which is an off-shoot of Wahabists was formally launched as an Islamic Movement in 1997 with a written constitution.” Kwesi and Mustapha (2008)

### **2.3 ISLAM AND POLITICS WORLDWIDE**

Abid (2003), in his work ‘The End of Democracy’ provides a thought-provoking, persuasive and conclusive study pointing out the solutions for the problems caused by the failure of secular democracy. According to Abid, democracy has failed and is being used and abused especially following September 11. Democracy has been undermined by a minority ruling elite to curtail civil liberties and mislead the public at home, whilst waging wars of domination abroad. The author argues that “since the positive aspects of democracy are part of Islam, thereby undermining the case that Islam is incompatible with democracy; it will be Islam that will ultimately challenge and triumph over liberal democracy as we know it” Abid (2003).

Abid sees Islamism and democracy in a –‘zero-sum-game’ and has already announced the – ‘demise of democracy’ and the triumph of Islamism, acknowledges that the positive values of democracy are also included in Islam. He argues and concludes among other things that democracy is not a challenge to Islam, but rather Islam is a challenge to the – ‘most exploited concept of democracy’ (Abid 2003:pp.67)

Nathan (2013) examined Islam and Politics in the wake of Egypt's 2011 national uprising. In his work, *Islam and Politics in the New Egypt*, identified three growing influence of Islamic forces: The Muslim Brotherhood which is experienced and "has shown tactical agility in winning electoral victories". However, the Brotherhood "still needs a clear strategic vision that enables it to change from an opposition social movement dedicated to the reform of all society into a competitive political party". The second Islamic force is the Salafis which have also enjoyed electoral victories even though they are less politically experienced compared to the Muslim Brotherhood. The third force is the state religious institutions like Egypt's premier Sunni center of learning (the al-Azhar) which has a legal basis and has achieved a more prominent role.

To him, they must learn how to reconcile their dedication to religious truth and democratic politics. And they have to learn how to form disciplined political organizations out of a formerly diffuse leadership of preachers and scholars. (Nathan 2013). The role of this institution is supported by the constitution. Appointment of its leaders is a political affair. "... fiscal dependence of al-Azhar on the Egyptian state and the fact that the sheikh of al-Azhar was a presidential appointment deeply rankled some scholars inside and outside of the institution" (Nathan 2013). However, public pressure is likely to displace its autonomy.

He also identified three underlying trends:

1. **Islamic forces are being reshaped by their participation in politics.** The Muslim Brotherhood, Salafis, and state institutions related to Islam are plunging into the new environment unaware of and unable to control the ways politics will change them.

2. **Egypt is not following Iran’s path toward theocracy, but when religion enters the realm of politics it will not remain unchanged.** Clerics are not gaining positions of political power, state institutions continue to function, and democratic practices still manage to limp along, though they are increasingly threatened by distrust and polarization.
3. **Religion will undoubtedly play a major part in the new Egypt—though the exact role is unclear.** Islamic forces that want to use the power of the state to build a more religious society may one day conclude that they should have wished more carefully. (Nathan 2013).

He noted ‘A Confusing Egyptian Path’ in the conclusion of his work: Even though religion will play an important role in future, it seems to be unclear how it would be done and whether the Egyptian understanding of religion will change largely in the processes. There is a strong belief in religion in Egypt which manifests itself in the state institutions. They are seeking to build an Egypt where public space continues to be favorable for religion, but faith maintains some distance from political authority and the contaminations of day-to-day politics. (Nathan 2013).

From his study, it is clear that, religion and politics are two fundamental issues that cannot be undermined in Egypt. Egypt cannot build a strong political system that undermines its faith. Any attempt in reforming politics should consider the various factions which have different objectives and political experiences in the Egyptian society. Egypt’s experience is not manifested in general elections. This study on Islam and Politics in Tamale is focused on electoral politics since the inception of the Fourth Republic.

Esposito and Voll (1996) examine the relationship between Islam and Democracy, between the global level of democratization and the development of what is often called Islamic fundamentalism or Islamism. To Esposito and Voll, while they will not go so far as to say that Islamism is helpful to democracy, they try to refute the common Western opinion; Islamism is a threat to democracy. In this book, they say much on the positive side: they argue in favor of compatibility of Islam and democracy. They point out that democracy and Islamic resurgence have become complementary agencies in many countries.

The book, 'Islam and Democracy' explores the Islamic beliefs and institutions relevant to the current debate over greater political participation and democratization. Esposito and Voll use six case studies - Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Sudan - to look at the diversity of Muslim experiences. The study concluded that:

*“... despite differing national contexts and identities give rise to a multiplicity of agendas and strategies. This broad spectrum of case studies, reflecting the multifaceted relationship of Islam and Democracy, provides important insight into the powerful forces of religious resurgence and democratization which will inevitably impact global politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century”.*(Esposito and Voll, 1996).

The work's comprehensive analysis of the complex and dynamic relations between Islamic resurgence and democratization is extremely important. It acknowledges the fact that religious resurgence and democracy have an important role to play in this 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics. It provides the basis of the transformation of the Islamic societies currently, especially Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia. This work is important to the study in

the sense that it admits the critical role Islam performs in any Muslim community: democracy cannot be enhanced without taking into account the culture of the society.

Vitaly N. etal (2013), in their work “Islam in Politics: Ideology or Pragmatism?” examines the disturbing events in the Arab Awakening in the Middle East and North Africa in between 2011 to 2012. To them, the event brought significant socio-political transformations in the region ranging from the collapse of decades-old autocratic regimes and the rise of new political environment. It also left bloody protracted conflicts involving ethno-religious and political forces. The event has affected different countries in different ways and however they all have a common feature –“the emergence of predominately Sunni Islamist parties and movements in the political arena, who have since taken power in Tunisia and Egypt” (Vitaly N. etal 2013: pp 62).

To them the situation in those countries is still chaotic and extremely volatile. It is therefore natural for experts and politicians to offer divergent views on the causes and future prospects of these sweeping changes in the region. To them, the religious, historical and cultural identity of both the society and the state has moved to the top of the political agenda in the countries of the Arab Awakening. There is accusations and counter-accusation between the Secular parties and the Islamists religious groups. “Secular parties accuse Islamists of exploiting religion to seize power and being unfit to govern. The Islamists defend themselves by pointing to the long track record of success in the social and administrative spheres as well as regional politics”. (Vitaly N. etal, 2013: pp 67).

They argued that, in order to create a well functioning democracy, the Islamists must become agents of change. “Islamists are drawing a line between democracy as a

principle of exercising power (which they accept) and democracy as a set institutions and procedures borrowed from the West (which they reject)”(Vitaly N. etal 2013: pp 69). However, Secular forces have shown their weakness in the post-revolutionary periods and focusing on attracting voters for next elections instead of addressing the fundamental issues facing their countries and national development. To them the survival of society and the state in the region is contingent “on the ability of the governing forces to halt the erosion of government institutions, ensure social and national security, and meet the moral and ethical requirements of the people”(Vitaly N. etal 2013: pp 72). They therefore concluded that the ‘current authorities are facing much bigger security challenges than their predecessors, and with extremely limited resources’ way forward is to build a system free from the old system and ‘combine political democracy with social democracy’.

Their work is extremely important to this study in the sense that it discusses some correlation between religion and politics. Their analysis shows how Islamist groups can use politics to satisfy their religious ends and also how political elites can also use religion for their political advantage. This study therefore looks at the interaction between religion and politics in Tamale.

## **2.4 ISLAMIC SECTS IN GHANA**

Samwini (2006), in his book *The Muslim resurgence in Ghana since 1950: Its effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations*, observes that, Islam has had an early contact with the people of Ghana especially among the Northern part. He stated that, Muslims have performed important roles in the historical development of some tribes

notably the Wala, the Gonja, the Dagomba, and the Mamprisi and in the South, the Asante and the Coastal tribes in Ghana. He also examined the tremendous success it has achieved in the area of education, health, trade, and finance among others. He examined the role played by visiting Islamic clerics all over the world in the historical development of many towns in Ghana like Wa, Kumasi, Kintampo, Salaga, Keta Krachi, Wenchi, Techiman and the Fante areas among others. The historical relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims is assessed by the author: he noted that Muslims have lived peacefully among themselves and among their Christian and Indigenous neighbours. He examined the ideological discrepancies among Muslims and identified intolerance, radical preaching, leadership among other factors to be the root causes for intra-religious conflicts among Muslims communities in contemporary Ghana.

Samwini's work is important to this current study since it argues that, the Islamic religion had an early contact with the people of the north; this clearly indicates that Islam has influenced the lives and the general way of life of the people in the North. It also indicates that if any meaning study has to be done on the people of the North, the Islamic religion must be taking into consideration. The relation of his work to the current study is also seen when he noted that, the root causes of the intra-religious conflicts are the ideological differences among Muslims, intolerance, radical preaching and leadership.

Kwesi and Mustapha (2008) examined the Islamic radicalization and violence in Ghana. This was part of a broader study to examine the incidences of radicalization in West Africa. They noted that, the intensity and frequency of radicalization and violence in Ghana cannot be compared to many West African countries. They identified ideological differences among various Islamic sects as a potential source of Islamic radicalization

and violence in Ghana. "...emerging doctrinal and interpretational differences in Islamic ideologies and other factors (socio-economic, political, demographic, external influence) may contribute to Islamic radicalization and violence in Ghana". They identified five Islamic religious groups in Ghana to include Tijaniyya, Ahlussanna Waljama'a, Ahmadiyya Movement, Shiite and, Jama'at Tabligh. They observed "that the Tijaniyya and the Ahlussunna Waljama'a are the two most dominant groups, whose religious practices have contributed largely to radicalizing Muslim youth and hence predisposing them to potential violence.

They observed that the Ahlussunna Waljama'a holds radical views about the religion which has a potential of radicalizing the Muslim youth in contemporary Ghana. To them, the perpetration of violence is not a preserved of the Ahlu-sunna group alone, the Tijaniyya; in its efforts to maintain the status quo have also been involved in violence because of "doctrinal and interpretational differences". The Ahmadiyyah Movement in their belief in another prophet other than Prophet Muhammad, who is widely accepted by the other sects as the seal prophets, has also been involved in violent confrontations. The study however acknowledges that "no attempt has been identified by any of the group to undermine the authority of the state".

Even though, their work is comprehensive in understanding the nature of intra-religious violence, it did not explain why the Ahlu-sunna and the Tijaniyya sects are sharply divided along the NDC and NPP and between the Andani and Abudu gates in the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis respectively. It has however enlightened us more on the possible reasons intra-Muslim conflicts are usually between the Ahlu-sunna and the Tijaniyya.

Mbillah (1999), in his study, *The Causes of Present day Muslim Unrest in Ghana*, examines two historical stages of Islam; the peaceful stage and the militant stage. The study further examines the political and ethnic factors that are responsible for the intra-Muslim conflicts in Ghana in the 1950's; these factors became the divisive elements of Muslims since the 1950's. The work identified the doctrinal differences as a cause for the intra-Muslim conflicts in Ghana. The study also put more emphasis on the effects of intra-religious conflicts on the relationship among Muslims. He work also included Muslim-Christian doctrinal conflicts and how several meetings are held by Muslim and Christian leaders in Ghana to resolve these conflicts.

Even though Mbillah's work acknowledges the existence of intra-Muslim conflicts and violence in Ghana; however, it did not talk about the specific case of the political affiliation by the religious sects in the Tamale Metropolis and their political participation in national elections.

Tsikata and Seini (2004) in their work: *Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana*, argued that Ghana is currently enjoying a peaceful and stable environment compared to its neighbours which 'is worthy of attention'. To them, despite this 'relative stability', Ghana's 'periodic flaring up of conflicts into serious violence has become a source of worry'. Their work brought to light "the emergence of particular identities and inequalities and their role in promoting instability, conflict and violence". Tsikata and Seini (2004) "understanding the emergence and dynamics of certain identities in any place is complicated by a number of factors". For instance, those who "consider identities such as ethnicity to be primordial are correct in that identities are not simple to

assume and discard”. To them, inequalities in Ghana occur in terms of economic development and natural resource endowment. Tsikata and Seini observed that:

*“Inequalities tend to arise principally out of differences in economic development and to some extent endowment in natural resources. A glaring pattern of inequality in Ghana manifests itself in the North-South dichotomy in development. A number of studies have emphasized the broad disparity between the North and the South of the country in terms of levels of economic development and the general quality of life resulting in the relative backwardness of Northern Ghana in relation to Southern Ghana”.* (Tsikata and Seini, 2004)

They opined that, these differences in development between the North and the South has never resulted in any conflict in Ghana. However, they identified different categories of continuous conflict, some of it violent to include;

*“... inter-ethnic conflicts, mostly centred on control over land and other resources and sovereignty issues; intra ethnic conflicts around land ownership, competing uses of land and the siting of institutions and services, but mostly about chieftaincy succession; and conflicts between state institutions, such as the police and communities, over policing and law and order issues arising from communal conflicts and inter-personal disputes”.* (Tsikata and Seini, 2004)

On the issue of religious conflicts, they observed that religious conflicts in Ghana are not in the same degree compared to other West African countries. However, there still exist “longstanding religious conflicts; some involving intra- and interethnic rivalries, periodically break into violence”. They stated the following religious conflicts in Ghana from 1996 to 2000:

*There have been violent incidents 1996, a religious clash between Kotokoli and Dagomba at the Akim Oda Zongo resulted in six deaths, the burning of ten houses and destruction of property worth millions of cedis (GT, 17/9/96). Clashes have been reported between Muslim groups at Wa in the Upper West Region (GTR,*

*15/12/97), Tamale in the Northern Region (GT, 6/12/1997) and Kumasi in the Ashanti Region (GT, 5/9/98. In 1994 and 1998, there were clashes between the Tijaniya and Al Sunna Muslims at Wenchi in the Brong Ahafo Region (GT, 6/10/97; 29/1/98). The 1998 violence in which four persons died, twenty four others were seriously injured and property destroyed was triggered by a dispute between the two groups over proprietary rights over the Wenchi Muslim cemetery (GT, 19/1/98). There was a suggestion by the then Inspector General of Police (IGP) that there could be non-Ghanaians involved in the conflict, when he stated that if foreigners were found to be behind the violence, they would be deported (GT, 27/1/1998). The Tijanniya and Al-Sunni also clashed at Tamale in the Northern Region, where one person died and several were injured (GT 9/12/97). At another dispute between Muslims at Chereponi in the Northern Region over who should become the next imam after the serving imam died, police were called upon to prevent violence (GT, 15/4/2000). (Tsikata and Seini, 2004)*

However, the authors concluded, violent incidents between Muslims and Christians is on the decline over those years. “In the period when all the Intra-Muslim disputes were reported, there were no reports of violence between Muslims and Christians”. Tsikata and Seini (2004)

Their work is related to the current study in the sense that, it observed intra-Muslims conflicts in throughout Ghana especially in Muslim dominated communities. It cited violent clashes between the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna groups in the study area. However, their work did not find any link between these two Islamic groups and their participation in national politics especially with the two major political parties in the country. This current work seeks to unearth the political participation of these two rivalry groups with the major political parties Ghana.

## 2.5 ISLAM AND POLITICS IN THE NORTHERN REGION

Pobee (1987) in his article “Religion and Politics in Ghana 1972-1978: Some Case Studies of the Rule of General Acheampong” in recounting the case of the rule of General Acheampong has observed that, the coming of the Ahlu-sunna Wal-jama’a into Ghana looks dangerous and frustrating, especially in Tamale. He points to the case of 1966 where a Somali itinerant preacher Mustapha Nowali, raised tensions between the Ahlu-sunna and the Tijaniyya sects in Tamale. This occurred on two separate nights of preaching.

In a preaching with Ahlu-sunna sect, Mustapha Nowali condemned the claim that God can be seen by any Muslim and stressed that God cannot be seen by any means by any Muslim. On the following night, that same Mustapha Nowali in addressing the Tijaniyya group, contrary to what he said with the Ahlu-sunna group claimed that it was possible for a true believer to see God after performing the ‘*taribiya*’ (a Sufi initiation). This contradictory statement by Mustapha Nowali left a recipe for conflict between these two rival sects who have been disputing each other’s claims for several years in Tamale. This strengthen the nick-names for both sects: Nawuni nyeriba (seers of God- Tijaniyyas) and Munchiri (a corrupt Arabic term ‘*Munkir*’ meaning someone who condemns- Ahlu-sunna).

Pobee has revealed that, there exist tension between the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects in Tamale. He also pointed it out that this relationship is a threat to the security of the area and country at large. However, the current state of this relationship between the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna has taken a political dimension: where the Tijaniyyas turn to align themselves with the NPP and the Ahlu-sunna supporting the NDC at all cost is

not mentioned in his work. This current study therefore differs from the work of Pobee by discussing the political dimension of their difference under the Fourth Republic.

Jon P. Kirby (1998) in his work: Thoughts about Culture 'The Politics of Religion in Northern Ghana', compares conversions of a person from paganism to Christianity and Islam. He noted that in Christianity the changes are often short whiles in Islam it normally takes longer time for an individual to adjust. The Christian Gospel appeals to individual decision and often changes a person's way of life in a very short space of time. Islam can also produce sudden conversions, but more often the change is slower (Kirby, 1998). He identified three stages of the transition from paganism to Islam using Trimingham's model.

The first stage identified in Trimingham's model is the preparatory stage which involves Islam first contact with indigenous people by the visit and settlement of traders and clerics. This leads to 'the breaking down of barriers and the adoption of certain aspects, mostly material, of Islamic culture - the wearing of Islamic amulets and dress'. The Traditional African Religion is not offended at this stage. The second stage is marked by the adoption of real Islamic elements and culture such as ritual prayer and recognition of what is right and what is wrong. However, there is no conflict between the Islamic religion and Traditional religion at this stage.

Consequently, there is crisis which leads to the third stage (reorientation) when

*“the old religious authority is consciously rejected, the village ritual pattern is disrupted, priests of communal cults lose their power, and the clergy take their place as the guides for the religiosocial life. Ancestor-worship must go because it is the core of the old religion, but a great deal of the old is retained. Offerings*

*continue to be made to the nature spirits; and medicine men since they as individual practitioners still flourish, but ... Islam is now really influencing society". (Trimingham 1968)*

To Kirby, Muslims in Ghana form the minority; however Islam seems to be rapidly moving from stage one and two to the third stage of Trimingham's model. According to him, there has been an increase in the attendance at Mosques on Fridays in recent years. We have also witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of sectarian clashes among the Muslims and a growing rift between Muslims and Christians. (Kirby1998).

*"The first stage of Islamic conversion has been strongly linked with the formation of ethnic identities and traditional states (Levtzion 1968). ... Over the last 500 years the indigenous Guang and Gur peoples of Northern Ghana have been gradually reforming their social identities from structurally simple organisations involving leadership by clan elders backed by religious beliefs in the primal authority of the ancestors, toward the 'traditional state' - a more highly structured form of social organisation with rulers and elaborate institutions including religious beliefs in the accessibility of a trans-territorial God" (Kirby, 1998).*

To Kirby, This 'traditional state' was introduced by slave raiders who travelled with Muslim clerics in Northern Ghana. However, this raiding was abolished by the colonial administration to ensure a stable political and social environment. This changed the structure of the 'traditional state' to meet the needs of the colonial administration. This 'traditional state' is further undermined by the influences of education, Christianity and democratic processes; a new political and ethnic identities are formed hence the formation of major and minority groups. According to Kirby, in Northern Ghana, these processes have resulted in conflicting political agendas that have accelerated Islamic

conversion among the major groups and fostered the conversion to Christianity in the minority groups.

According to Kirby, the new Islamic presence is evident everywhere in Ghana to especially in the North. The villages around Tamale now have a Muslim population of 40 per cent. To Kirby, the major groups are more and more coming to identify themselves as Muslims and their traditions are changing rapidly. He noted that:

*“Muslim missions to Northern Ghana have increased, hundreds of scholarships have been awarded Northern Ghanaians to attend Islamic Universities and they are now returning home with a new brand of Islam. Islamic schools have been built across the North and hundreds of mosques have been sponsored by Islamic States along with development projects aimed at serving only the Muslim communities and excluding Christians and Traditionalists”* (Kirby, 1998).

Kirby observes a lot of divisions both in Christianity and in Islam. He identified three (3) factions of the Islamic religion in Tamale. They include; *the 'traditional culture' group* (the Tijaniyya's), *the largest and attracts its mostly illiterate following from the youthful masses* (the Ahlu-sunna's) and *a smaller but more radical group* (the Shiites). He observed that:

*“Islam in Ghana is as divided as Christianity. There are three factions in Tamale, the Muslim centre for the North. The first is the 'traditional culture' group which is largely made up of educated 'élites,' bureaucrats and businessmen. The second group is the largest and attracts its mostly illiterate following from the youthful masses who have left the villages seeking prosperity in the city. They are strongly influenced by Saudi Wahabis. The third is a smaller but more radical group influenced by Shiites and led by a fiery fundamentalist Imam. There are also the 'commercial' Muslims with Hausa and Yoruba connections though these are not politically significant. Infighting among the factions effectively limits political*

*control but even with these limitations Muslim power is overwhelming. The leader of the second group once boasted that if he nominated a dog against any political candidate the North could offer, the dog would win”*(Kirby, 1998).

To Kirby, the new Islamic presence is evident everywhere in Ghana, especially in the North. The villages around Tamale which had almost no Muslims 15 years ago are now 40 per cent Muslim. The cultures of the chiefly groups such as the Dagombas and Gonjas are increasingly becoming ‘Islamicized’. Muslim missions and scholarships to Northern Ghana have increased. . Muslim fundamentalism has also reached Ghana. The name of the Iranian development headquarters in Northern Ghana is 'Jihad House'. (Kirby 1998) Chiefly peoples of Northern Ghana are getting powerful in eyes of the international Islam hence strengthen their control of political process in the face of the growing democratization. This interaction between Politics and Religion is a threat to peace and security. The increase in politically motivated religious polarisation is a serious threat to peace and justice, freedom and democracy. Religious institutions, even more than others because of their fundamental nature, tend toward dogmatism. (Kirby 1998)

He therefore concludes that, if unity and peace are to prevail in Northern Ghana, it must start with the villages. The North needs to be part of the modern world. The North is involved in a world organization, it ‘compete in world activities and holds an important position in the global scene’. Some look towards the Islamic culture while others look towards the Christian culture for solution to the problem. The Church emphasis on freedom and equality, human dignity and development in the villages is a pledge of peace and love. (Kirby 1998)

Kirby seems to have faith in Religion's ability to resolve the problems of the Northern people. This approach is not completely possible considering the polarized nature of the Islamic religion. This would have been possible if the Islamic religion in Tamale was not polarized. However, Islam seems to be making the issue more complex in Tamale especially through its various factions and its alignment with political parties. This calls for investigation into Islam and Politics in Tamale.

Mustapha Hamid (2011), in his work; *Islam, Politics and Development: Negotiating the Future of Dagbon*, examines the coming into effect of Islam in Tamale. He also discusses the relationship among Islam, Politics and Development in the area. To him, Islam was introduced into the area in 1700 through the conversion of Na Zangina (the King of Dagbon at that time) and since then, has exerted great influence on the customs and traditions of the people. These influences can be seen in their festivals, naming, marriage and funeral ceremonies. "Even the most important festival of the Dagomba people, Damba, is celebrated to commemorate or coincide with Prophet Muhammad's birthday" (Mustapha, 2011).

He further noted that the people hardly refer to themselves as *chefira* (a corrupt Arabic word- kafir which means unbeliever). To him, the people distinguish three levels of commitment to Islam; the first is the *afanema* (that is those who have literacy in Islam and Arabic and therefore preside over birth, marriage and funeral ceremonies), the second is the *jing puhriba* (that is those pray the Islamic way) and the third is the *Dagbang dabba* (the nominal Muslims who actively participate in traditional rituals).

Mustapha noted that the Dagbon succession dispute has seen political involvement from all governments since the First Republic to the present. He cited the National Democratic

Congress (NDC) in the run-up to the 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, made the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis a major part of their campaign. In this the then opposition NDC accused the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) government of complicity in the killing of the Dagbon king and pledged to set an independent non-partisan competent Presidential Commission to re-open investigations into the murder of the Ya Na Yakubu Andani II and his elders in March 2002.

He observes that, the politicization of a purely traditional dispute between the brothers is recipe for the perpetuation of conflicts in the area; the NDC since coming into office in January 2009, in an attempt to fulfill its campaign promise of finding the killers of the Ya Na Yakubu Andani II set up a Presidential Commission to re-open investigations into events of 25-27 March, 2002. In July 2010, the NDC government arrested 15 members of the Abudu family and put them before a High Court. However, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, the 15 members were set free by the Court for lack of evidence. This incidence sparked off violence in Tamale, where offices of the ruling NDC were burnt by rampaging Andani youth; they accused the NDC for deceiving them to vote for it in return for finding the killers of the Ya Na when it comes to power.

On the basis of this crisis and how Islam has influenced the lives of the people of Tamale, the study concluded that he therefore concluded that the crisis will continue for a very long if parties to the conflict and state actors do not work at ending it. To him, since the political solutions have failed, the alternative conflict resolution must be sort; the traditional and the Islamic modes of conflict resolution. "...religion and for that matter Islam, becomes an important part of finding a solution to this crisis" (Mustapha, 2011).

Mustapha's work is related to the current study in the sense that it has pointed it clearly that Islam has been in contact with the people of Tamale for a very long time; the culture and that of Islam is now difficult to separate. "Dagomba customs and traditions are inextricably interwoven with Islamic ones" (Mustapha, 2011). He discusses the politicization of a purely traditional matter in involving a dispute by the two brothers in Dagbon (the Abudu and the Andani gates): his work criticizes the then opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) for making this purely traditional matter a campaign promise in the 2008 general elections and "... accused the then ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) government of complicity in the killing of the Dagbon king, and promised to set up a new and truly non-partisan professionally competent and independent Presidential Commission to re-open investigations into the murder of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II and his elders in March 2002" (Mustapha, 2011). With this, his work brought the chieftaincy dimension to political participation in Tamale.

However, his work did not recognize the divisions in Islam along these two major political parties in Tamale and hence prescribed Islam as a solution to dealing with the violence in the Tamale Metropolis. In the opinion of this research, the affiliation of the two major religious sects (the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna) with the NPP and the NDC is a source of violence in the area. How can Islam be a source of solution when it has been politicized by the two major political parties in the country? This gap in literature; the political participation of the two major Islamic sects in Tamale under the Fourth Republic is what the study seeks to fill.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed literature on the historical developments of both the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna groups. It has also discussed Islam and Politics worldwide, Islamic sects in Ghana and Islam and Politics in the Northern Region. The literature on Islam and politics seem to be talking about the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam and democracy. Some scholars argued that Islamic principles and democracy ideals can be compatible while on the contrary, some scholars argued that there is no basis for the compatibility of Islam and democracy.

Another issue is that, Islam is polarized and divided along religious sects and mostly resulting in sectarian violence almost in the entire Islamic world, which Ghana especially the North is not an exception. The influence of religion on politics and politics on religion is also in the review of the literature.

The above reviewed works are relevant to the study in the sense that, they confirm that religion and politics are like the two sides of the same coin in every Muslim community which cannot be undermined if a meaningful and a well functioning democracy is to be established in any Islamic country. However, the above works deviate from this study because this study is concentrated on two major Islamic sects in Tamale and their political participation in national politics under the Forth Republic.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses on the methodology underlying the study. It involves the strategies and techniques that were employed to conduct the study. This chapter purports to be an exposition of the general research methods that guides the conduct of this study. It looks at the appropriate data collection procedures, sampling and the tools used for data analysis of the study. Finally, it also looks at the study area and justification for the selection of Tamale as the case study.

#### **3.1 RESEARCH METHOD**

Research Methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem (Kothari, 2004:pp 8). It is seen as a scientific way of addressing a problem in the society. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. Harwell (2011) categorizes a research methodology as qualitative, quantitative, or as involving both qualitative and quantitative methods, which is referred to as the mixed method. This study made use of the mixed method in order to benefit from both advantages and compensate for both weaknesses.

##### **3.1.1 Qualitative Research Method**

Qualitative research is based on the measurement of quality or kind as opposed to quantity or amount. Qualitative research studies are focused on differences in quality, rather than differences in quantity. Results are mostly in words or pictures rather than

expressed in numbers or quantity. Qualitative studies usually have fewer participants than quantitative studies because the depth of the data collection does not allow for large numbers of participants. Kothari observes that:

*“... phenomena relating to or involving quality or kind. For instance, when we are interested in investigating the reasons for human behaviour (i.e., why people think or do certain things), we quite often talk of ‘Motivation Research’, an important type of qualitative research. This type of research aims at discovering the underlying motives and desires, using in depth interviews for the purpose. Other techniques of such research are word association tests, sentence completion tests, story completion tests and similar other projective techniques. Attitude or opinion research i.e., research designed to find out how people feel or what they think about a particular subject or institution is also qualitative research”.* (Kothari, 2004:pp 3)

Strauss and Corbin (1998) opine that, the term qualitative research is controversial and may be understood differently by different people. They defined qualitative research to “... mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification.” They also argued further that, some studies quantify data collected through techniques such as interviews, observations among others; they are normally associated with qualitative method. To them qualitative analysis refers not to quantifying of qualitative data but rather to a non mathematical process of interpretation carried out for the purpose of discovering concepts and relationships in raw data and then organizing these into a theoretical explanatory scheme. Mack N. etal (2005) observes that, qualitative method, when used with the quantitative method produce better outcomes. To them, the strength of qualitative research method can be seen in it capacity to analyze complex description of how people experience a given situation. It is also useful in identifying intangible social factors such as socio-

economic status, gender roles, social norms, ethnicity and religion. It helps to assess the ‘human’ aspect of an issue: that is the most often contradictory elements such as behaviors, opinions, emotions, beliefs and relationship of individuals. When used along with quantitative methods, qualitative research can help us to interpret and better understand the complex reality of a given situation and the implications of quantitative data. Mostly, findings from qualitative research can be extended to people with characteristics similar to those in the study population.

This study examines the complex nature of the problem of political affiliation by the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects in Tamale. To understand its nature, causes and offer recommendations, it is extremely relevant to subject the study to qualitative method, which is generally concerned with ‘why’, ‘how’ or in ‘what manner’ rather than the quantitative which is concerned with questions about; ‘how many’, ‘how much’, ‘to what extent’ or ‘how often’.

Lokesh (2009) criticizes the qualitative research because of its use of purposive sampling. To him, the findings of qualitative research lack generalization due to the nature and size of samples and method of data collection. Through these processes, subjectivity can be introduced which can undermine the reliability of a study. To cater for these biases in qualitative research, the quantitative method was also introduced in the study.

### **3.1.2 Quantitative Research Method**

This method relies on quantities or numbers. Its analyses are based on numerical analysis and statistics. It relies on many participants. Quantitative research is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and

explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect. It is used in a wide variety of Natural and Social Sciences, including Physics, Biology, Psychology, Sociology and Geology (Wikipedia Encyclopedia, 2005).

Creswell (1994) also defines quantitative research as a type of research which involves “explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods (in particular statistics).”

Quantitative method is essentially about collecting numerical data to explain a particular phenomenon. Some questions can be answered using quantitative methods. Example:

1. How many voters voted for the ruling party in the last general elections?
2. What percentage of votes did the ruling party use to win the elections?
3. What is the ratio of votes of the ruling party to the opposition party?

All these questions can be answered using quantitative analysis of data. In this example, the data to collect will be in numerical form- quantitative data.

Qualitative analysis is usually for more descriptive purposes. Quantitative research mostly allows researchers to test specific hypotheses. Depending on research findings, hypotheses are either confirmed or rejected. Researchers are typically open to allowing the data to take them in different directions. Because qualitative research is more open to different interpretations, qualitative researchers may be more prone to accusations of bias and personal subjectivity.

The strengths of quantitative research over qualitative research can be seen in terms of the outcome. The outcome of quantitative research is statistically reliable. Second, the result of quantitative research can be generalized to the whole population. Third, there is the ability to control extraneous variables and biases. The use of multivariate methods and

analysis is helpful in measuring and controlling the variable or variables which intervene between the independent and dependent variables (Lokesh, 2009). On the other hand not all issues require statistical analysis. Some of the weaknesses of the quantitative research include: it is incapable of doing an in-depth and detail analysis of a situation. The formulation of hypothesis is a requirement of quantitative research; however in certain researches it is not always possible to formulate hypotheses for generalization. Due to the weaknesses in both the quantitative and the qualitative methods, the study adopted the mixed method of research.

### **3.1.3 Mixed Method**

The Mixed Method appears to be an area that currently receives attention from researchers in a variety of disciplines. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) refer to the Mixed Method as an area which has:

*... gone through a relatively rapid growth spurt...it has acquired a formal methodology that did not exist before and is subscribed to by an emerging community of practitioners and methodologists across the disciplines. In the process of developing a distinct identity, as compared with other major research communities of researchers in the social and human sciences, mixed methods has been adopted as the de facto third alternative, or “third methodological movement”. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010: pp 803-804)*

The Mixed Method can be seen as a method involving the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The mixed method is a procedure for collecting and analyzing data which involves the “mixing” of both quantitative and qualitative research and methods in a single study to understand a research problem. This method has been defined variously

by different scholars. For instance, Harwell (2011), notes that, the mixed method “is a research in which the researcher uses the qualitative research paradigm for one phase of a research study and the quantitative research paradigm for another phase of the study”.

Creswell and Plano Clark also defined the mixed method as follows:

*Mixed methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems that either approach alone. (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007: 5)*

When both quantitative and qualitative methods are used together, the research provides a better understanding of your research problem than either type by itself. It is for this extremely important reason why this study adopted the mixed method.

### **3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN**

The Case Study approach was used in this study. This is because the case study method involves techniques of investigation which enable the researcher to grasp and understand individuals, the community and the social issue to propose interventions that take into account the special and peculiar circumstances surrounding the case to be investigated.

This is a systematic and empirical method that allows the researcher to investigate and understand the current phenomenon of political participation by the two major rival religious sects in Tamale. It is capable of narrowing down a very broad field of research

into a manageable and researchable topic. This approach is preferred in a sense that it allows for a systematic way of looking events, collecting data, analyzing and communicating results.

A research design provides the foundations for collection and analysis of data in a way that is relevant to the research purpose or problem. In fact, the research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Kothari,2004:pp 31).

Kothari noted the significance of a good research design below:

*Research design is needed because it facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible yielding maximal information with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money. Just as for better, economical and attractive construction of a house, we need a blueprint (or what is commonly called the map of the house) well thought out and prepared by an expert architect, similarly we need a research design or a plan in advance of data collection and analysis for our research project. Research design stands for advance planning of the methods to be adopted for collecting the relevant data and the techniques to be used in their analysis, keeping in view the objective of the research and the availability of staff, time and money. Preparation of the research design should be done with great care as any error in it may upset the entire project. Research design, in fact, has a great bearing on the reliability of the results arrived at and as such constitutes the firm foundation of the entire edifice of the research work.(Kothari,2004:pp 32).*

### **3.3 DATA COLLECTION**

Data in this study was obtained from both primary sources and secondary sources.

#### **3.3.1 Primary Data Collection**

Data from primary sources were observed and collected directly from first-hand experience. The primary data collection methods that were employed for the research included the following;

##### **i. Rapid Appraisal Survey (Observation)**

The Rapid Appraisal Method is suitable for situations that do not require elaborate statistical data to establish the nature of an event or situation before taking decision (Kumekpor, 2002 p.124). Rapid Appraisal method was employed because it generally involves low cost, highly adoptable to different situations and also facilitate the establishment of rapport with local communities. It also allowed the researcher to explore topic that is not easily studied otherwise or brings a qualitative dimension that would have been missed by a survey. This method also favors analysis on the spot with local people thus enhancing the local relevance of results.

Considering the self evident nature of the current political affiliations with the two major political parties by the two rival Islamic sects in Tamale, personal observation was employed to acquire an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the situation.

##### **ii. Interviews**

The researcher conducted interviews to obtain information from religious leaders and political leaders. One leader from each of the two sects was purposively selected and interviewed. Also, one party leader from each of the two major political parties was

purposively selected and interviewed to elicit their opinion on the pattern of political affiliation in Tamale. In all, four (4) experts; two from the two religious sects and two from the two major political parties in Tamale were interviewed. The personal interview questionnaires which involved the researcher asking questions and recording the answers in the questionnaire was used to obtain information on the situation.

### **iii. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

The FGD is a suitable way to organize people from common backgrounds and experiences to discuss a specific issue of interest. The group was guided by the researcher who introduced the issues for discussions and helped the group to participate in a lively and natural manner among them. The outstanding advantage of these FGDs was that it allowed members of the group to disagree or agree with each other so that an insight into how the group thinks about the problem or the issue was established. With this, the inconsistencies, differences and variations that exist in the society in terms of their beliefs and experiences were shaped. Also, FGDs further explained the meanings of survey findings that cannot be explained statistically; the range of views, feelings and opinions on an issue were objectively determined.

### **iv. Survey**

The researcher selected two samples of respondents from the Muslim population in the Tamale Metropolis (specifically the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna Muslim populations). A structured questionnaire was administered to them. This allowed the researcher to collect data from the larger Muslim population involving the Tijaniyya and Ahlu-sunna sects in the Metropolis.

### **3.3.2 Secondary Data Collection**

The secondary data included reading materials such as books, magazines, news papers, journals, and the internet. Other research works both published and unpublished were studied in line with the objectives of this study.

### **3.4 SAMPLE SELECTION**

Tamale is a Metropolis with a population of 371,351 with 185,995 being males 185,356 being females (2010, PHC). It is the regional capital of the Northern Region. Considering the cosmopolitan nature of the town, it seems to suggest that every experience of the Region can be found in Tamale.

A blend of sampling techniques were used to select the sample units from the population for the study in order to extend the knowledge gained about the units selected to the whole population. The target population included Muslims and some selected political leaders in Tamale. One leader from each of the two sects were purposively selected and interviewed. Also, one party leader from each of the two major political parties were purposively selected and interviewed to elicit their opinion on the pattern of political affiliation in Tamale. In all, four (4) experts; two from the two religious sects and two from the two major political parties in Tamale were selected and interviewed.

A survey was also conducted using 120 questionnaires. The researcher used stratified sampling to group the population into two (2) namely the Ahlu-sunni and the Tijaniyya; Sixty (60) questionnaires were administered to the Ahlu-sunnas and another sixty (60) administered to the Tijaniyyas. Quota sampling was used to elicit responses from both male and female respondents in each of the two sects; Respondents consisted of thirty

(30) males and thirty (30) females. Convenient sampling was then employed to collect the data.

### **3.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION**

The quantitative and qualitative data were derived from survey in the form of questionnaires and interviews and focus group discussions respectively. The questionnaires administered were analysed quantitatively using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The analysis of the data of the study was based on the principle that, the original views of the respondents were maintained without any biases or views of the researcher; hence the output of the SPSS, focus group discussion and the interview were presented in the form of text and direct quotes from major respondents. This allowed for a complete and independent description of the phenomenon under study. Also the biases which are natural in human behavior were identified and catered for in the analysis of the qualitative data.

The output of the SPSS were presented in the form of tables, frequencies, pie-charts, graphs and percentages in line with the stated objectives and research questions of the study.

The interviews conducted in the study were analyzed qualitatively through a content analysis. Content analysis is a process of derived meaning out of the responses got through the interviews (Patton, 2002). In order to shape the interviews in terms of reflecting the main objectives of the study and provides a simple analysis of the qualitative data, interviews were structured according to major themes. These major themes reflected the main problem of the study and the objectives of the study. The

theme's group of questions was then compared and contrasted with the answers of the respondents.

### **3.6 CONCLUSION**

The chapter basically explains the research methodology adopted for the study. The primary data were obtained mainly from observation, interviews, focus group discussions and survey while the secondary data were gathered from books, magazines, news papers, journals, the internet and other research works. In-depth interview was carried out with two (2) leaders from the two religious sects and two (2) leading members of the two major political parties in Tamale. Sixty (60) followers from each Islamic sect were selected to respond to a questionnaire.

### **3.7 THE STUDY AREA-TAMALE**

The Tamale Metropolitan Assembly is one of the five Metropolitan Assemblies in the country and the only Metropolis in the three Northern Regions namely: Upper East, Upper West and Northern Region.

#### **3.7.1 Location and Size**

The Tamale Metropolis is one of the 20 districts in the Northern Region. Tamale Metropolis is located in the centre of the Northern Region of Ghana. It shares boundaries with the Savelugu, Nanton, Tolon, Kumbungu, East and West Gonja districts. In terms of distance, it takes one hour drive from central Gonja District and the Yendi Municipality to Tamale and 15 and 20 minutes' drive from the Savelugu and the Tolon Districts to the Tamale Metropolis respectively. With this strategic location, Tamale

serves as a market for local goods from the commercial and agricultural sectors to the other districts of the Northern Region and the two Upper Regions. Also, the Metropolis stands to gain from the international markets especially in Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and Togo that pass through the area to the Southern part of the country.

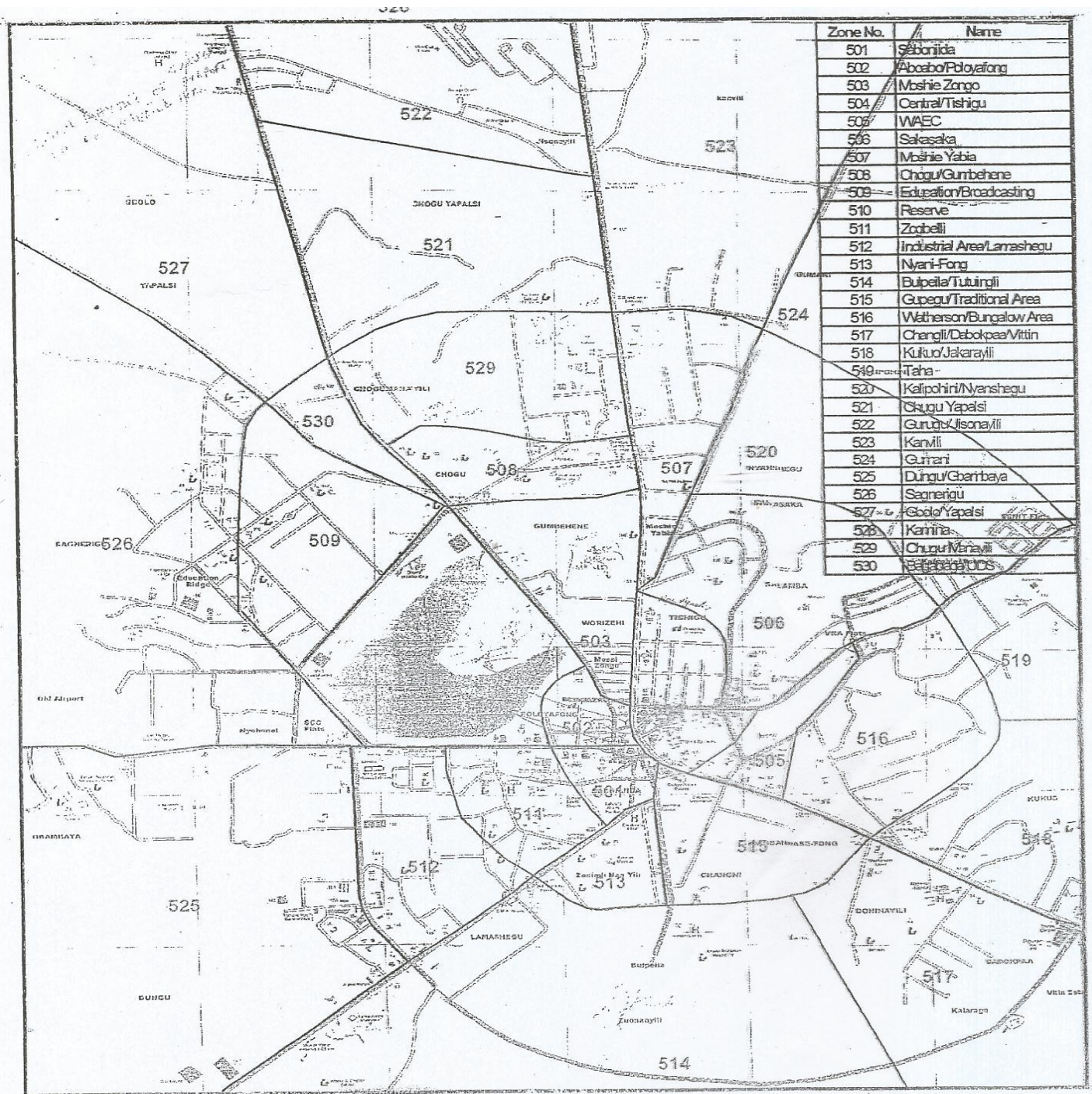
The Metropolis has an estimated land size of 750 km square which is about 13% of the total land area of the Northern Region. Geographically, the Metropolis lies between latitude 9°16 and 9° 34 North and longitudes 0° 36 and 0° 57 west. (Mid-Year Review Report, 2006) The map below shows the Metropolis in Regional Context.

**Figure 3.1 Map of Districts in Northern Region**



Source: [www.ghanadistricts.com](http://www.ghanadistricts.com)

Figure 3.2 Map of Tamale Showing Residential Areas



Source: Tamale Metropolitan Assembly.

The Tamale Metropolis is made up of a total of 197 communities. Out of this number, 33 communities are urban areas. This indicates that 164 communities are either peri-urban or rural communities. The rural areas serve as the agricultural and food basket for the Metropolis. These rural communities lack basic social and economic infrastructure such as hospitals, schools, good roads, markets among others. This problem hinders the socio-economic development, poverty reduction and has increased the general issue of rural-urban migration in the area. (Mid-Year Review Report, 2006).

### **3.7.2 Demographic Features**

Historically, the Northern Regions of Ghana has a vast land cover with smaller population sizes. The arrival of the Komkobas, Mamprusi, and other tribes migrated from their place to settle in the area mark the beginning of the area experiencing high population growth rates. The 1984 Population and Housing Census had a population of 167,778 inhabitants, the 2000 Population and Housing Census had a population of 293,881, the 2010 Population and Housing Census had a population of 371,351.

With an urban population of 67.1%, the Metropolis is the only district in the Region which is predominantly urban. This indicates that the Metropolis could be a growth pole for the Northern Region and the Upper Regions attracting both population and economic development in the area. The population density of 318.6 persons per square kilometres for the Metropolis is about 12 times higher than the Regional average density of 25.9 persons per square kilometres. With a population density of 318.6, there is a great potential for the housing industry and a good economic feature for high market and cheap

labour (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) source for industry (Mid-Year Review Report, 2006)

The figures also show a vast difference between the densities of the urban and rural areas. This is an indication of the movement of people to Urban Tamale, and gives credence to the assertion that facilities and opportunities for modern employment are concentrated in few central places in the Region (Tamale). With this, the Metropolis has to take extra efforts to transform the area so that the Metropolis would not have to grow like others such as Accra and Kumasi where some areas in these areas have grown into slums and attracting social vices.

The Metropolis is a Cosmopolitan area with Dagombas as the majority. Other minority ethnic groupings are Gonjas, Mamprusis, Akan, Dagaabas, and tribes from the Upper East Region. The area has deep rooted cultural practices such as festivals, naming and marriage ceremonies. The Metropolis is dominated by Muslims. Other religious groupings are: Catholics, Protestants, Traditional, Pentecostal and Charismatic. The table below shows the religious groupings in the Metropolis.

**Table 3.1 Religious Groupings in the Tamale Metropolis**

<b>Religious Groupings</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Islam	84%
Christianity	14.5%
Traditional	1%
Others	0.5%

Source: Mid-Year Review Report 2006

### **3.7.3 Conclusion**

Considering the population distribution in the area: with majority of the population (84%) being Muslims; also, the cosmopolitan nature of the area: Tamale is a multi-ethnic environment and also involves populations from other parts of the region. The area seems appropriate when studying ‘Islam and Politics in the Northern Region’. It is against this background that the Tamale Metropolis is selected as the study site for this research.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the analysis and discussions of the data gathered by the researcher through the field survey, interviews and focus group discussions that aim at finding answers to the research questions. It also aims at achieving the objectives of the study through independent and objective interpretation of the findings of the study. The study is intended to ascertain the reason(s) why the two major religious sects in the Tamale Metropolis are entrenched in their political affiliations with the two major political parties in the country. This chapter consists of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, religious denomination and voting behavior, the interaction of politics and religion in the Tamale Metropolis, the negative consequences of the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna affiliations with the two major political parties in the Tamale Metropolis and ways to curb political interference in religion in Tamale.

#### **4.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

The socio-demographic characteristics in this study includes: sex distribution of respondents, age distribution of respondents, educational level of respondents, marital status of respondents, place of origin of respondents, ethnicity of respondents and occupational distribution of respondents.

#### 4.1.1 Sex Distribution of Respondents

In collecting the data for the study, 120 respondents were selected. The respondents were made up of 50 percent males and 50 percent females (60 male respondents and 60 female respondents). This was done in order to have a fair proportion of female and male views in the study since in the Tamale Metropolis the proportion of males to females seems to be equal. (Total population of Tamale is 371,351 with 185,995 being males 185,356 being females. 2010, PHC). Also, the population size of males and females in Tamale is 50.1 per cent males and 49.9 per cent females. (Mid-year Review Report, 2006) The table below shows the sex distribution of respondents:

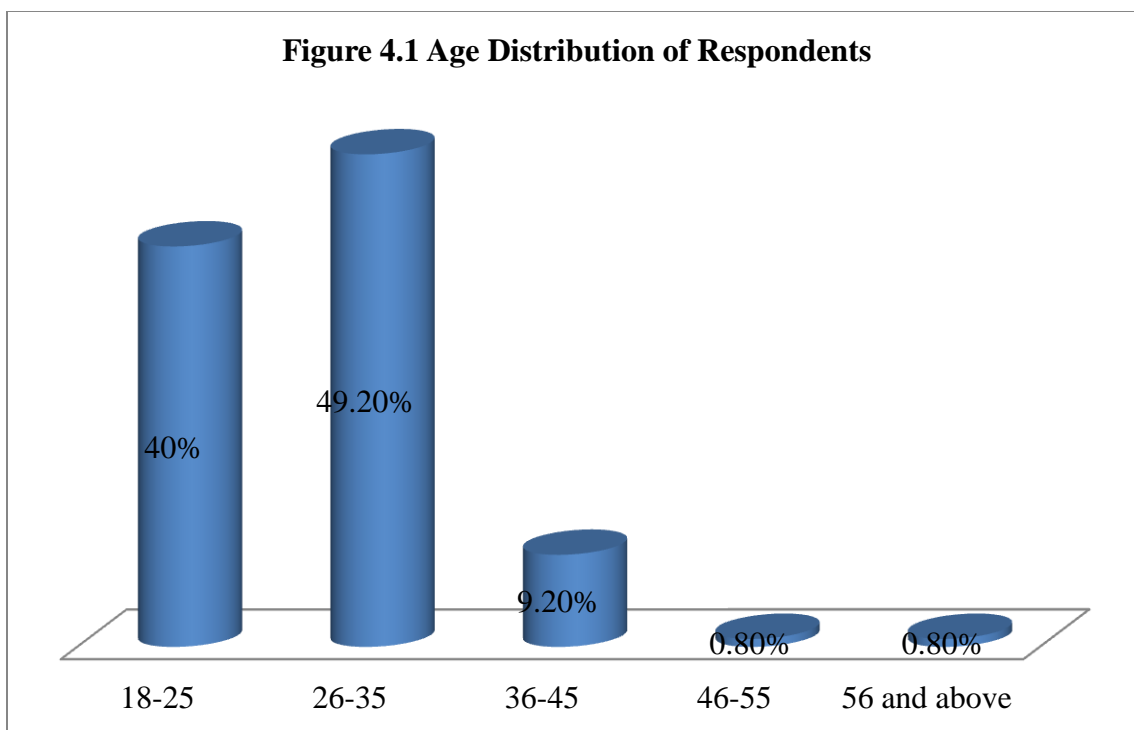
**Table 4.1 Sex of Respondents**

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage of Respondents</b>
Male	60	50.0
Female	60	50.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field work

#### 4.1.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

The ages of the respondents were grouped into five (5) cohorts: 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 45-55 and 55 and above. This was strategically done to capture the views of the voter population in the Metropolis. This is presented in the figure below:



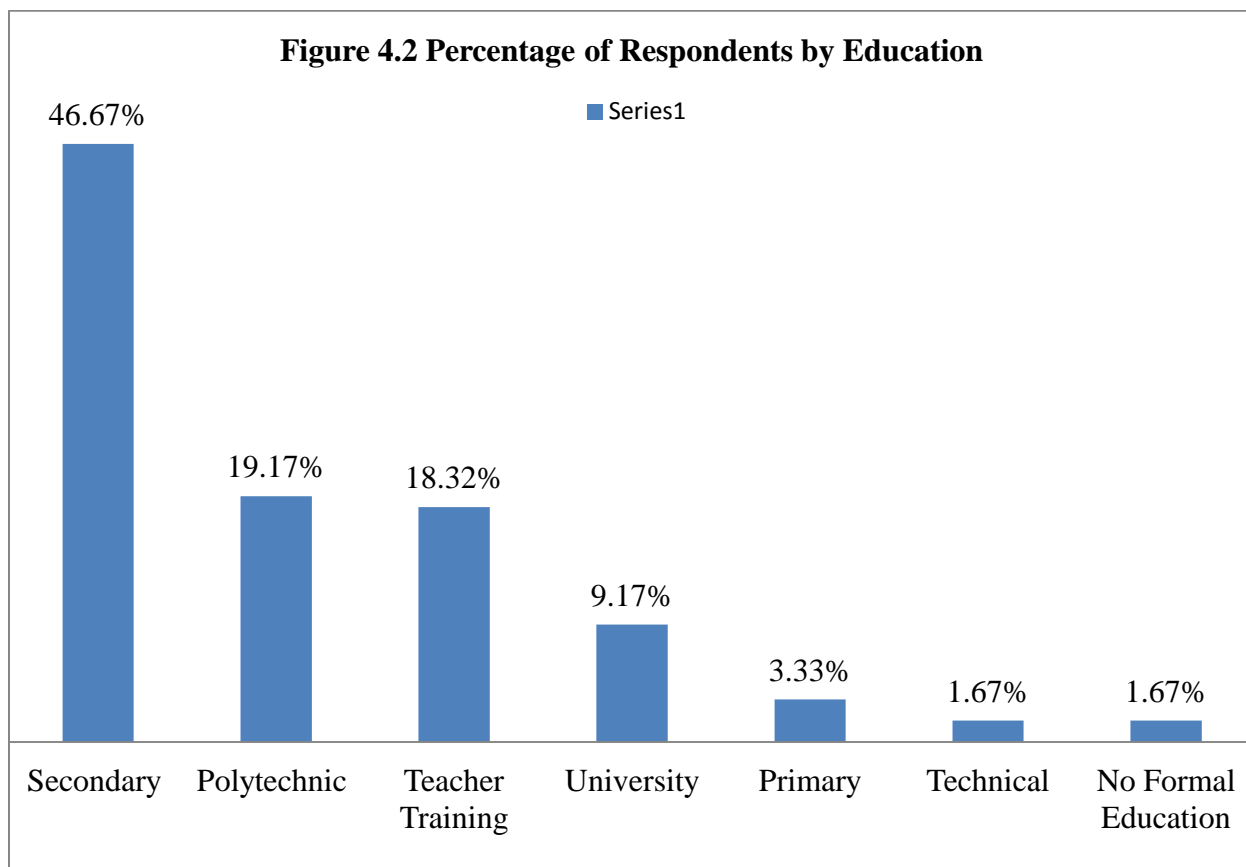
Source: Field work

The results from the figure above indicate that, people from the age 26-35 constitute the majority of the respondents representing 49.20 per cent. This is followed by the cohort 18-25 representing 40 per cent of the respondents. The next is the age from 36-45 which represents 9.20 per cent. The least cohorts comprise respondents from age 46-55 and 56 and above, with each constituting 0.8 per cent. This suggests that the sample is made up of the youth whose views are paramount in issues of this nature.

#### **4.1.3 Educational Level of Respondents**

The educational background of people determines to a large extent the nature of their responses and their understanding of the issues at hand. From the survey of the study, fifty-six (56) of respondents, representing 46.67 per cent have had secondary education. This is followed by twenty-three (23) respondents, representing 19.17 per

cent who have attended Polytechnic. Twenty-two (22) of the respondents, representing 18.32 per cent have attended Teacher Training College. Eleven (11) of the respondents indicated they have attended University, representing 9.17 per cent. Four (4) of the respondents, representing 3.33 per cent, indicated they have primary education. Two (2) of the respondents, representing 1.67 per cent, said they have technical education while another two (2) respondents, representing 1.67 per cent, indicated they did not have any formal education. The figure below shows the educational level of the respondents in the study.



Source: Field work

This indicates that, on the whole, 98 per cent of the respondents have at least secondary education. The implication for this study is that, the selected sample is a literate group of

people who can comprehend the issues at hand and make a well informed contribution on an issue like the demands of this study.

#### **4.1.4 Marital Status of Respondents**

Out of 120 respondents sampled, seventy-eight (78) respondents representing 65 per cent are single and never married. Forty (40) respondents, representing 33.3 per cent said they are married. Two (2) respondents representing 1.6 per cent said they are divorced. This indicates that there is less married number of the respondents in the sample than those who are not married. This indicates that, majority of the sample are not married. The marital status of the respondents is presented in the table below:

**Table 4.2 Marital Status of Respondents**

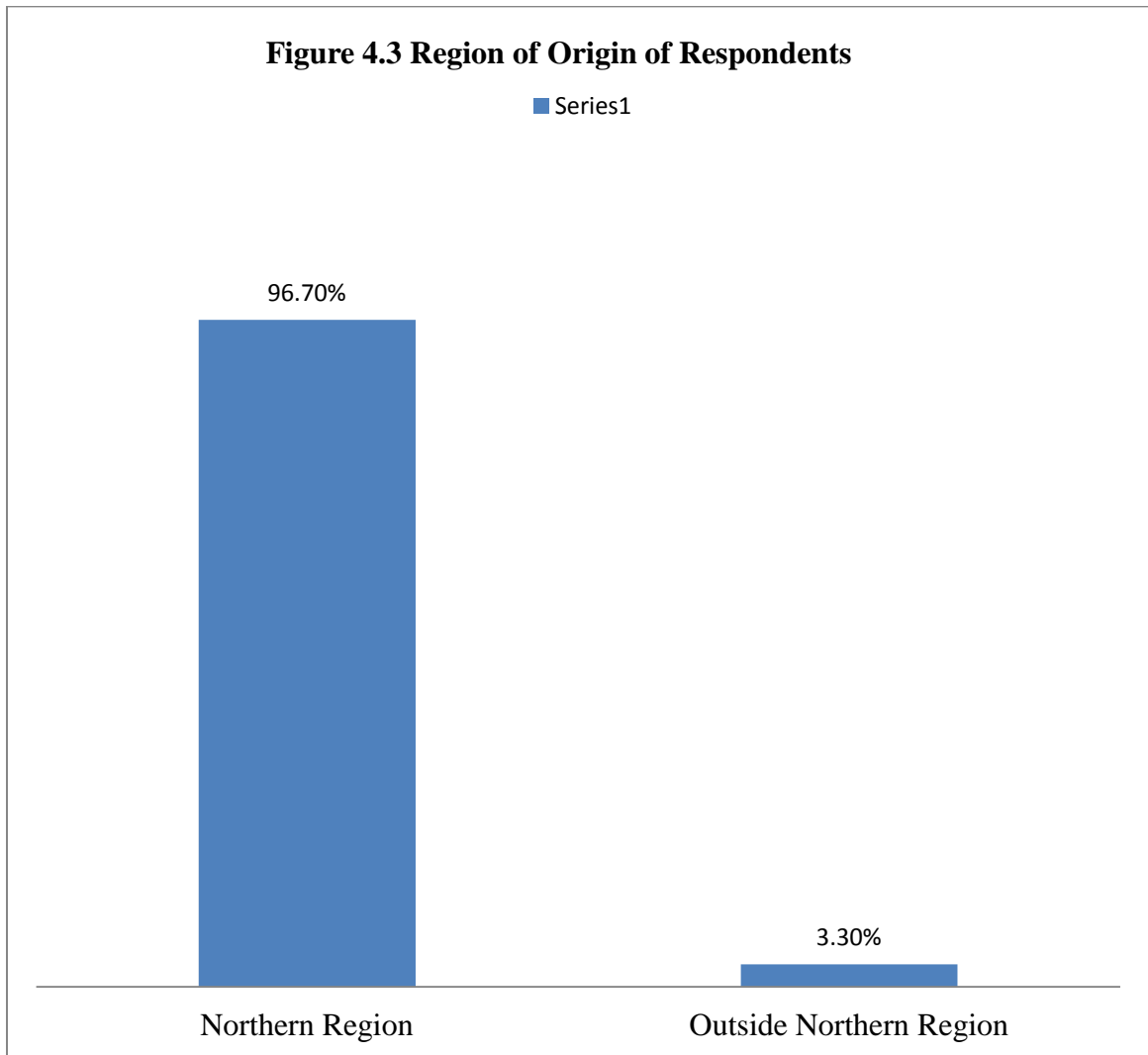
<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage of Respondents</b>
Never Married	78	65.00%
Married	40	33.30%
Divorced	2	1.60%
Total	120	100.00%

Source: Field work

#### **4.1.5 Region of Origin of Respondents**

In terms of region of origin, the study categorized the sample into ‘Northern Region’ and ‘Outside Northern Region’. Out of the 120 respondents sampled, the majority of the respondents (116), representing 96.7 per cent are from the Northern Region while the

remaining respondents (4), representing 3.3 per cent, are outside the Northern Region. Since the study is on the Northern Region and precisely Tamale, it therefore indicates that the sample is representative of the population. The figure below shows the region of origin of respondents.

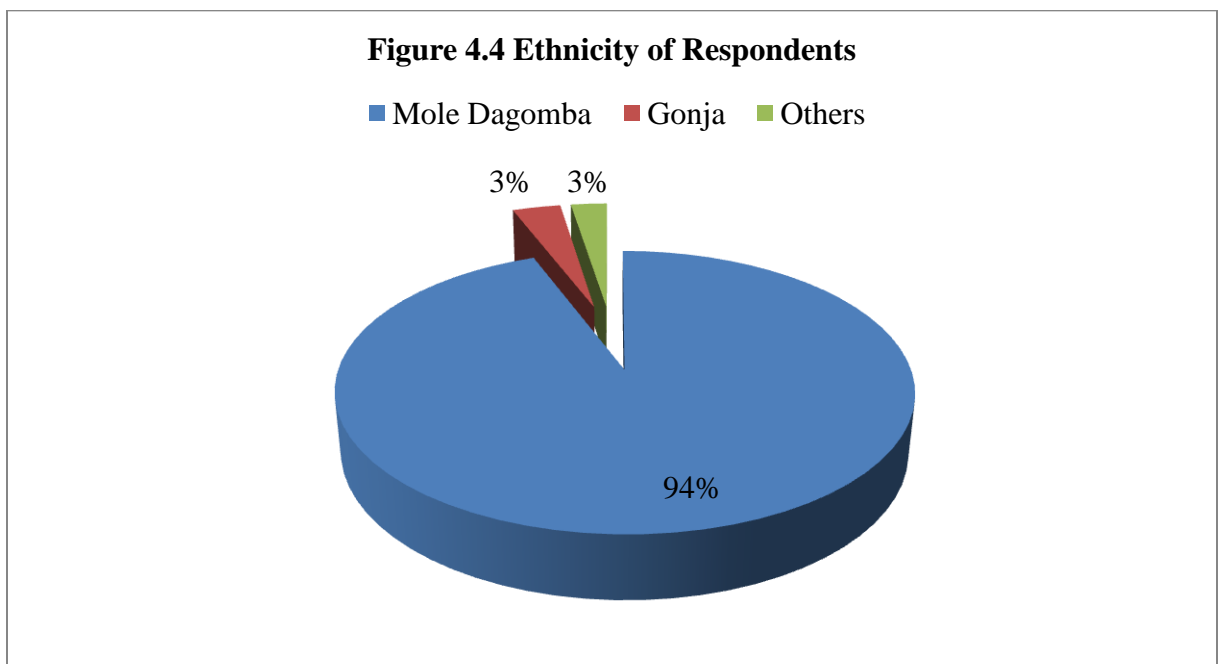


Source: Field work

#### **4.1.6 Ethnicity of Respondents**

The ethnic composition of respondents from the study indicates that there were more Mole-Dagbani people in the sample. As a typical Dagomba community, majority (112)

of the respondents are from the Mole-Dagomba group. The number of Gonjas are only four (4) while ‘others’ are four (3 Akans and 1 Ga). This, therefore, supports the population distribution by ethnicity in the Tamale Metropolis. The population distribution of Dagombas to other ethnic groups in Tamale is 80 per cent Dagombas and 20 per cent other ethnic groups (Mid-year Review Report, 2006). This means that the traditions and values of the Dagomba people are more likely to play a central role in the political participation of the people. The figure below shows the ethnic distribution of respondents in the study.

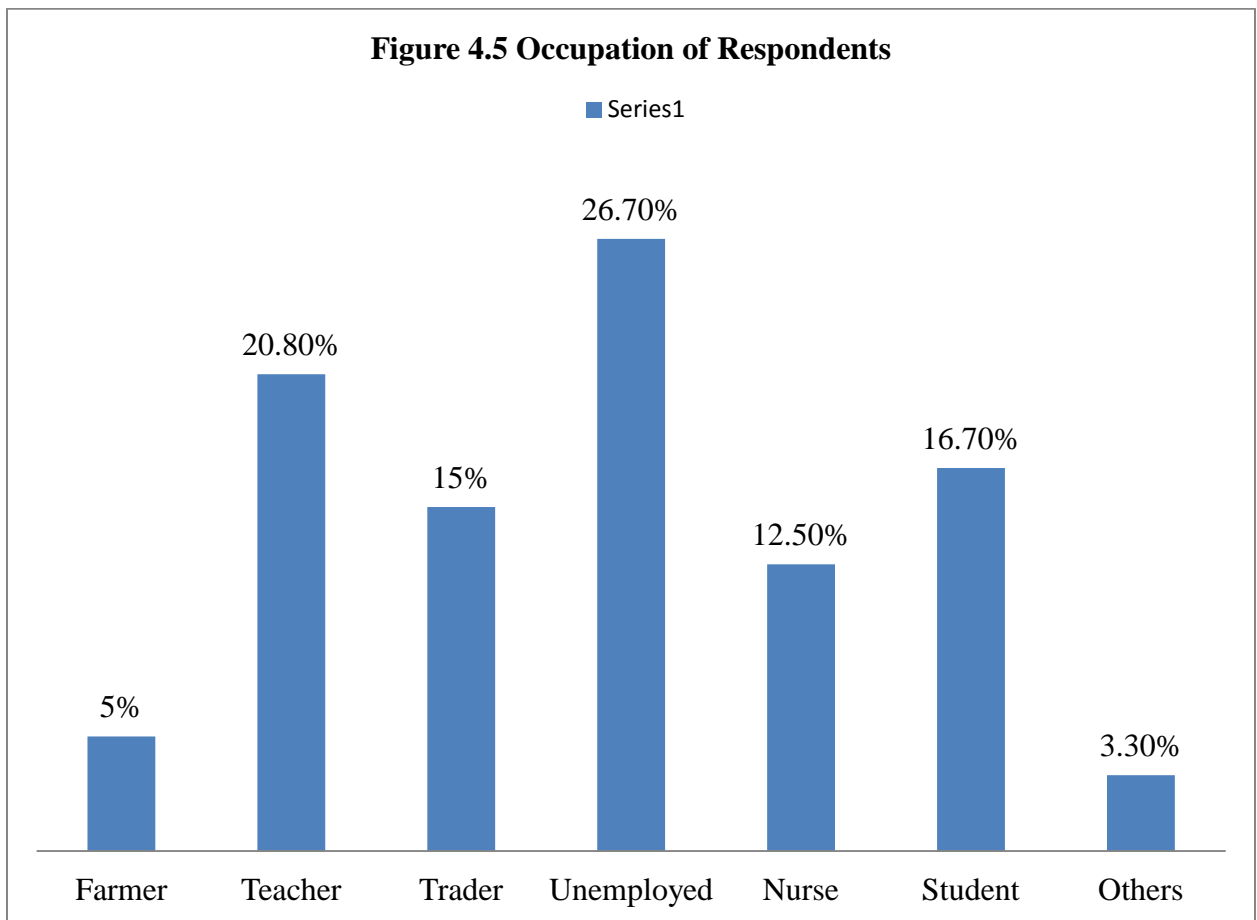


Source: Field work

#### **4.1.7 Occupational Distribution of Respondents**

The study also tried to find out the occupations of the respondents. Out of the 120 respondents, majority of them (32), representing 26.7 per cent, indicated they were

unemployed. This is followed by twenty-five (25) respondents, constituting 20.8 per cent who indicated they were teachers. Twenty (20) respondents representing 16.7 per cent were students. Eighteen (18) of the respondents, representing 15 per cent said they were traders. The next was fifteen (15) respondents representing 12.5 per cent said they were nurses. Six (6) respondents representing 5 per cent indicated they were farmers. Four (4) of the respondents representing 3.3 per cent indicated others (mechanics, barbers among others). This is shown in the figure below:



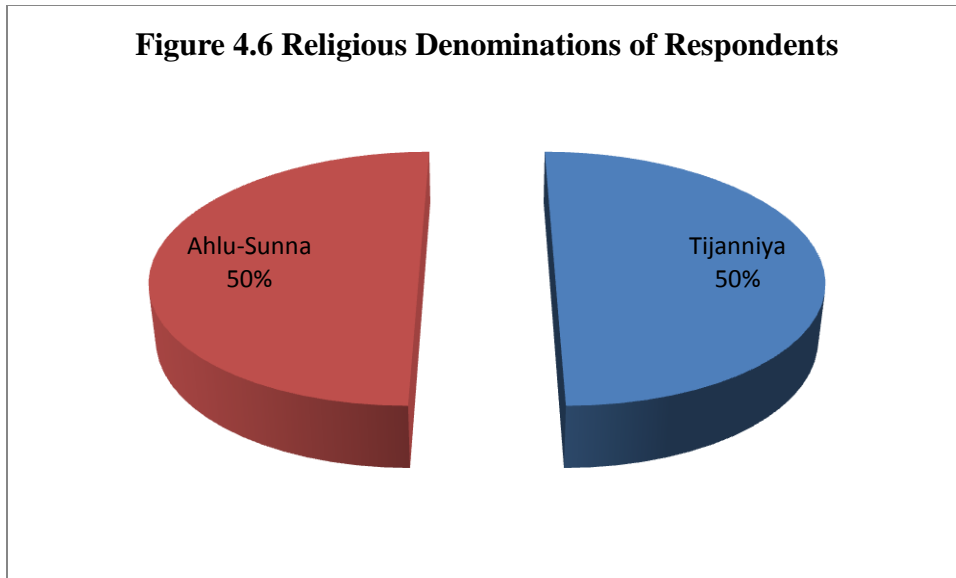
Source: Field work

## **4.2 RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION AND VOTER BEHAVIOUR**

The study sought to identify both the contemporary and historical reason(s) for the entrenched affiliations by the two major religious denominations in Tamale with the two leading political parties in the country, to investigate the role political parties' play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects and to examine the what the two sects benefit from their affiliations with these two political parties. Voter behavior is premised on the assumption that, first, voters are persuaded to vote for a particular candidate or party, not as a result of the analysis of the 'proposal' or the manifesto submitted by the candidate or the party but they follow the pressure from members of their group or community. That is: Social characteristics determine political preference. (Lazarsfeld et al, 1968, p. 69). Second, the individual voter forms psychological attachment and long lasting relationship with a political party which is passed down from generation to generation in the family. Finally, voters vote for economic gains: voters vote to maximize the utility of their votes as parties act to maximize electoral gains.

### **4.2.1 Religious Denomination of Respondents**

Out of the 120 respondents, 60 of them were Ahlu-sunnas representing 50 per cent and remaining 60 were made up of the Tijaniyyas representing 50 per cent. This was strategically done to elicit equal views from both religious sects since they have been identified to align themselves with the two leading political parties in the country. The figure below shows the distribution of religious denomination of the respondents in the study.



Source: Field work

#### **4.2.2 Voting Pattern of respondents**

From the study, it was discovered that both the Tijaniyya's and the Ahlu-sunnas have a positive attitude towards political participation through their involvement in general elections. All the respondents in the sample have ever voted in a national general election under the Fourth Republic. When respondents were asked the question, 'Have you ever voted in any national general elections under the Fourth Republic?' All the 120 respondents answered in the affirmative. The details of their responses are presented in the table below:

**Table 4.3 Have You Ever Voted in any General Elections under the Forth Republic?**

<b>Islamic Denomination</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>  <b>Percentage of Respondents</b>	<b>Have You Ever Voted in any General Elections under the Forth Republic?</b>	
		<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Tijanniya	Count	60	0
	Percentage within Tijaniyya Denomination	100.0%	
Ahlu-Sunna	Count	60	No
	Percentage within Ahlu-sunna Denomination	100.0%	
Total	Count	120	0
	Percentage	100.0%	0.0%

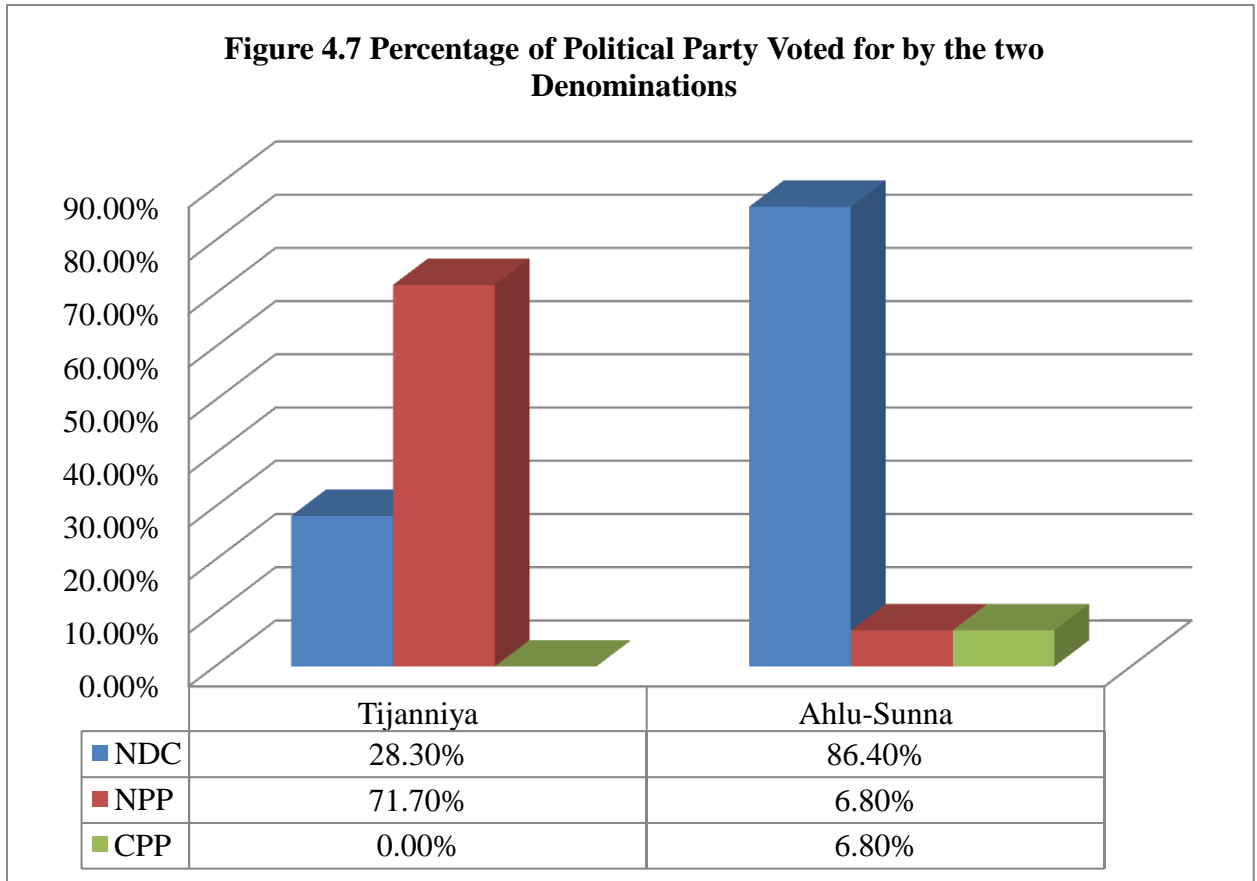
Source: Field work

This indicated that all respondents have ever voted at least once in the six general elections under the Fourth Republic. This further suggests that, the politically active individuals were selected to participate in this research.

#### **4.2.3 Political Party Voted for by the Two Denominations**

When respondents were asked, ‘Which party did you vote for?’ Out of the sixty (60) Tijaniyya voters, majority of them (43) constituting 71.7 per cent said they voted for the NPP. Seventeen (17) of them, representing 28.3 per cent indicated they voted for the NDC. However, none of them voted for the CPP or any other political party. Also, out

of the 60 Ahlu-sunna voters, fifty-two (52) voters representing 86.4 per cent said they voted for the NDC. Four (4) of them constituting 6.8 per cent voted for the NPP whiles another four (4) of them representing 6.8 per cent voted for the CPP. The figure below shows the responses of their voting pattern:



Source: Field work

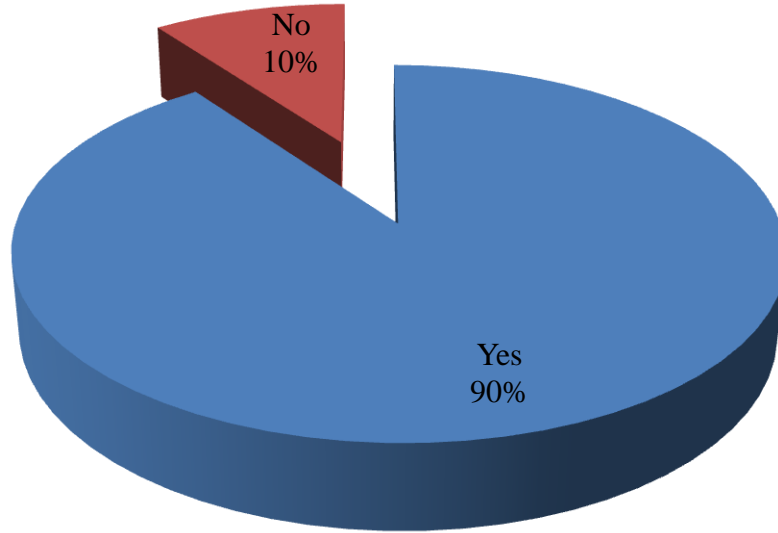
This clearly indicates that, there is a pattern of political affiliation in the Tamale Metropolis in which the Tijaniyyas turn to vote for the NPP whiles the Ahlu-sunnas also turn to vote for the NDC. However, there are more Tijaniyya NDC voters than there are Ahlu-sunna NPP voters. That is, the degree of affiliation is stronger in the Ahlu-sunna sect than the Tijaniyya sect. Another observation is that, while there are 4 CPP voters in the Ahlu-sunna sect, there is none in the Tijaniyya sect.

This similar outcome of election results is seen in general elections where the NDC always have more votes in the Tamale Metropolis and the Northern Region in general. The NDC won all elections at regional level in the Northern Region and won majority of elections in the constituencies in the Tamale Metropolis under the Fourth Republic. In the 2012 general elections, the NDC and the NPP had the following results in the constituencies in Tamale: Tamale Central, NDC had 42,820 votes (63.91%) while NPP had 22,993 votes (34.32%). In the Tamale North, the NDC had 22,651 votes (73.89%) while the NPP had 6,819 votes (22.24%). Tamale South, the NDC had 53,536 votes (73.68%) and NPP had 16,611 votes (22.86%) (Detailed Regional Statistic: 2012 Presidential Results, ECG)

#### **4.2.4 Voting Pattern and Islamic Denominations in Tamale**

The respondents have this to say when they were asked ‘Do you believe that voting pattern is linked to Islamic denominations in Tamale?’ Majority (108) of the respondents, representing 90 per cent answered in the affirmative. Only twelve (12) respondents, representing 10 per cent believe that there is no link between voting pattern and religious denominations in Tamale. The figure below shows the voting pattern by the two major religious sects.

**Figure 4.8 Do you believe voting pattern is linked to Islamic denominations in Tamale?**



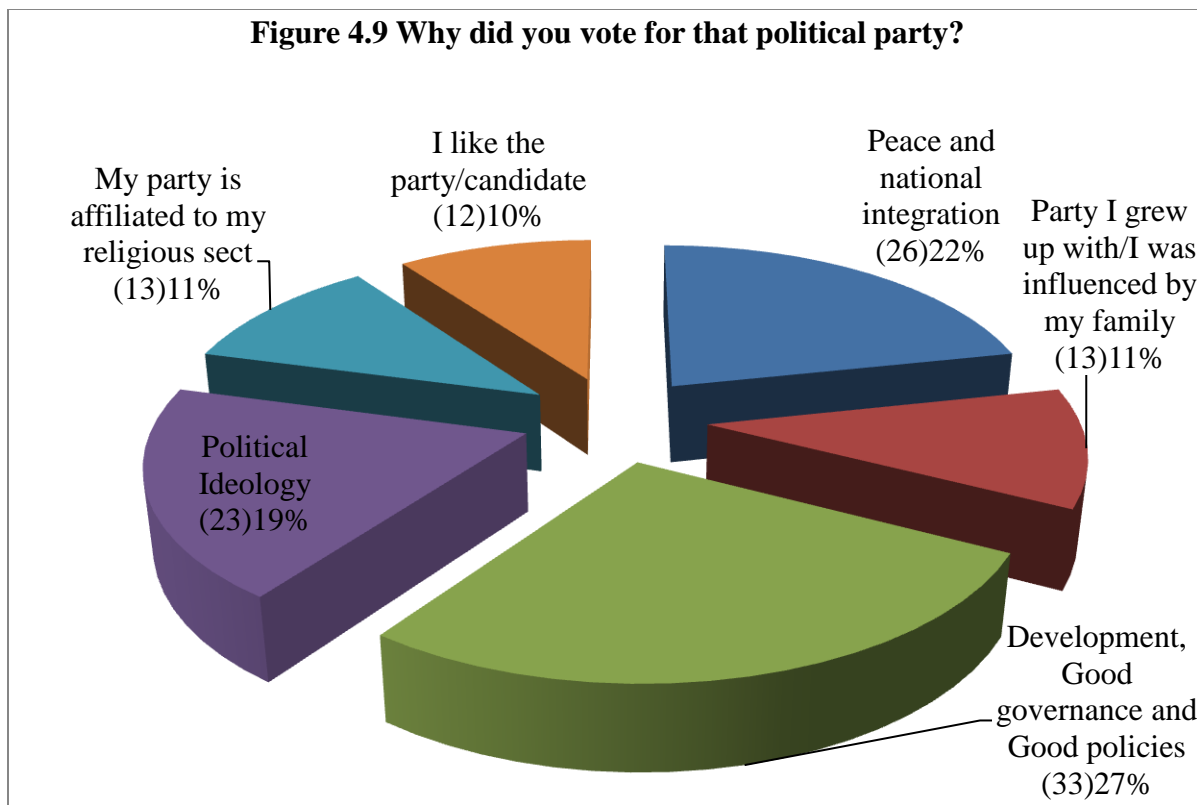
Source: Field work

This indicates that voting pattern in the Tamale Metropolis is linked to the Islamic denominations where voters vote based on their association with their religious sect. This is supported by the sociological model of voter behavior. Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) contends that 'Political homogeneity of social groups' account for how people vote for a candidate or a party.

#### **4.2.5 Reasons for Voting by the Religious Denominations**

When respondents were asked 'Why did you vote for that political party?' majority of the respondents (33) constituting 27 per cent indicated they voted for their political party because they think their party can bring 'Development, Good governance and Good policies' to the country. This is followed by twenty-six (26) respondents representing 22

per cent who think their party can promote 'Peace and national integration'. Twenty-three (23) of the respondents representing 19 per cent voted because of their party's 'Political Ideology'. Thirteen (13) respondents representing 11 per cent voted because 'My party is affiliated to my religious sect'. This factor is supported by Antunes' assertion that: "The association between electoral behavior and the social groups to which they belonged was so strong that it was possible to explain the electoral choices using only the three factors that defined the Index of Political Predisposition used in research: socio-economic status, religion and area of residence" (Antunes, 2008). Also, another thirteen (13) respondents representing 11 per cent voted because it is 'Party I grew up with/I was influenced by my family'. This family ties of voter choice is supported by Green, Palmquist, and Schickler (2002), observation "... partisanship is acquired through a socialization process, influenced by the values and attitudes of family, colleagues and peers, a process that Miller and Shanks (1996) considered similar to that which leads subjects to identify a religion" (Green, Palmquist, and Schickler, 2002, p. ix). Finally, ten (10) respondents representing 10 per cent voted for their political party because they either like the party or the candidate. Their responses are represented in the figure below:

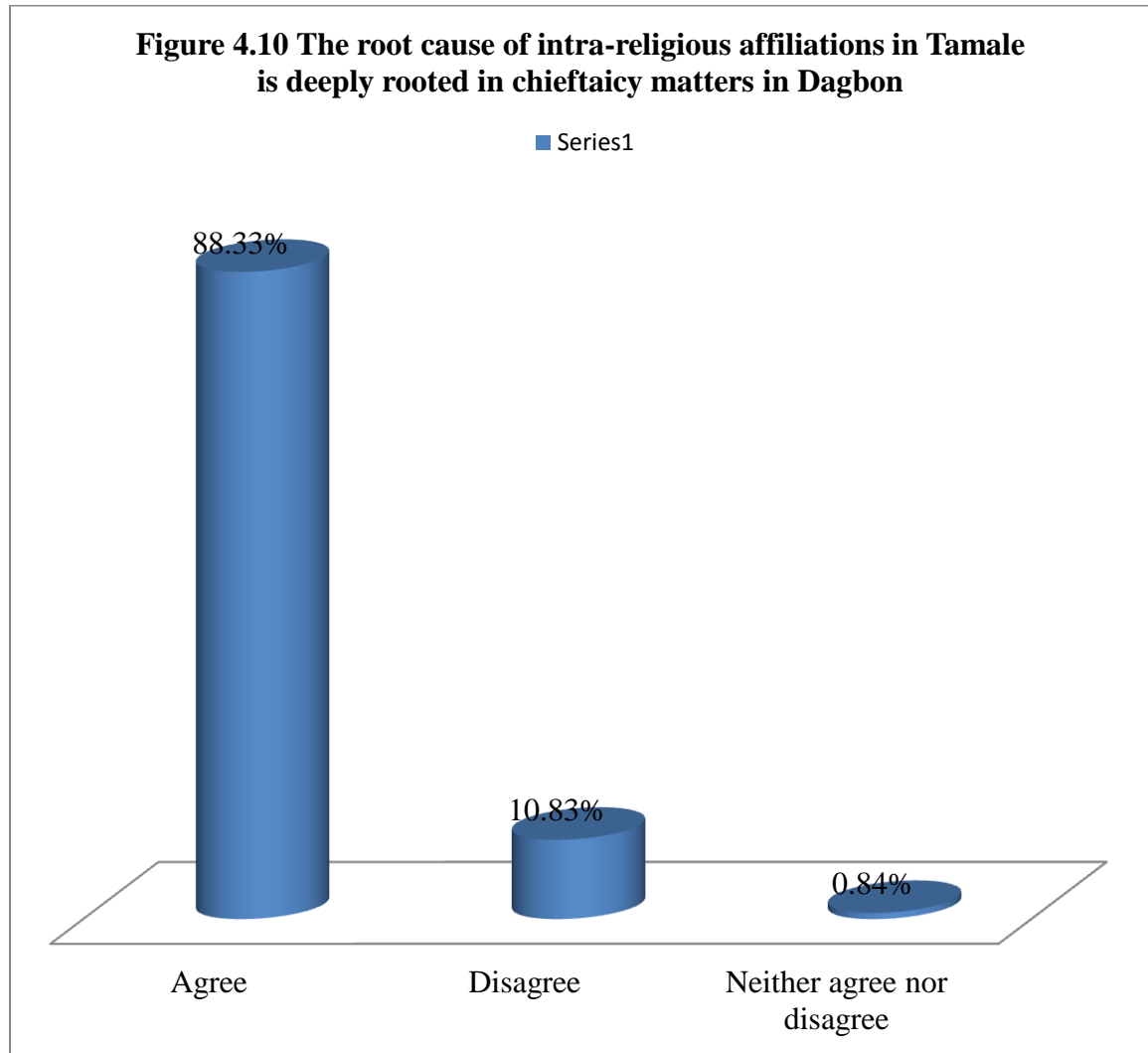


Source: Field work

#### 4.2.6 Reasons for Political Affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis

In an attempt to find reason(s) for the entrenched affiliation of the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects with the NPP and the NDC respectively, the study asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement: ‘The root cause of intra-religious affiliation in Tamale is deeply rooted in chieftaincy matters in Dagbon’. When respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement above, one hundred and six (106) respondents, representing 88.33 per cent agreed that the chieftaincy matters in Dagbon is the root cause of the current intra-religious political affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis. Thirteen (13) respondents, representing 10.83 per cent, disagreed to the fact that the Dagbon chieftaincy matters is the root cause of the current political affiliations in the

Metropolis. One (1) respondent, representing 0.84 per cent neither agrees nor disagree with the statement. This is shown in the figure below:



Source: Field work

This clearly indicates that the current political party affiliation in Tamale in which the Tijaniyya Islamic denomination turn to vote for the NPP while the Ahlu-sunna sect turn to vote for the NDC is caused by the chieftaincy matters in Dagbon.

The above factor was reinforced in Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with some selected youth in Tamale; the discussants revealed that the Dagbon chieftaincy affair affects every aspect of our lives “from marriages to what we eat there is chieftaincy in it”. They further indicated that chieftaincy matters in Dagbon translate into politics which also translates into intra-religious affairs. Further, they argue that the Ahlu-sunna belong to the NDC, majority of who are from the Andani gate in Dagbon. Equally, the Tijaniyya generally support the NPP and belong to the Abudu family in Dagbon.

#### **4.2.7 The History behind the Entrenched Affiliations by the Tijaniyyas and the Ahlu-sunna**

The above factor was brought to light in an in-depth interview with religious scholars from both sects in Tamale. They remarked that, the Dagbon chieftaincy issue has made matters complex. Both scholars have agreed that the current political affiliations in Tamale and other parts of Dagbon originated around the 1950s. According to Ahlu-sunna scholar in Tamale, the blame for these alignments should be put on the door steps of Islamic scholars from both the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects. To him, in 1952 Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse (Tijaniyya scholar) visited Dagbon. According to him, Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse visit was to benefit the entire Muslim population in the country and the people of Dagbon. He therefore needed to have been neutral and visited all the important chiefs in Dagbon but he was selective. The entire Dagbon was looking up to him as a man of God to help them solve their problems especially the dispute surrounding the Chieftaincy in the area.

According to this scholar, Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse was biased in favour of the Abudu gate when he visited Dagbon. He chose to visit Na Mahaman Bla (from the Abudu Royal gate) who was the King of Dagbon or the Ya Na at Yendi. Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse offered prayers for the King's 'disabled' son who many people especially members from the Andani gate think could not have become a chief. Eventually, this 'disabled' son of Na Mahaman Bla became the regent after the death of his father and subsequently succeeded the father as the King of Dagbon or the Ya Na. However, Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse failed to visit Na Andani (from the Andani Royal gate) who was the chief of Mion. The customary succession of chieftaincy in Dagbon regards the chief of Mion as the next skin to the Ya Na. This makes the chief of Mion the second most important person in Dagbon in the opinion of the Andanis who should have also been visited by Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse. Na Andani made preparations to welcome Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse, however he came and passed without making a stop at Mion.

To the Andanis, Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse only came to facilitate the grounds for a minor to become a King over his uncle (Na Andani). These made the Andanis furious and hate the Sheikh's and his Tijaniyya sect. These situations compelled Afa Ajura (Ahlu-sunna scholar) among other factors to challenge the Tijaniyya scholars in Dagbon in order to establish his Ahlu-sunna sect. Afa Ajura openly supported the course of the Andanis. Afa Ajura chose to defend the rights of the 'marginalized Andanis' while the rest of the Muslim population supports the Sheikh and his prayers for the Abudus. This moment led to the division of the Muslim population in Dagbon along the Tijaniyya for Abudu and the Ahlu-sunna for the Andanis.

#### **4.2.8 Contemporary Reasons for the Entrenched Affiliations by the Two Sects**

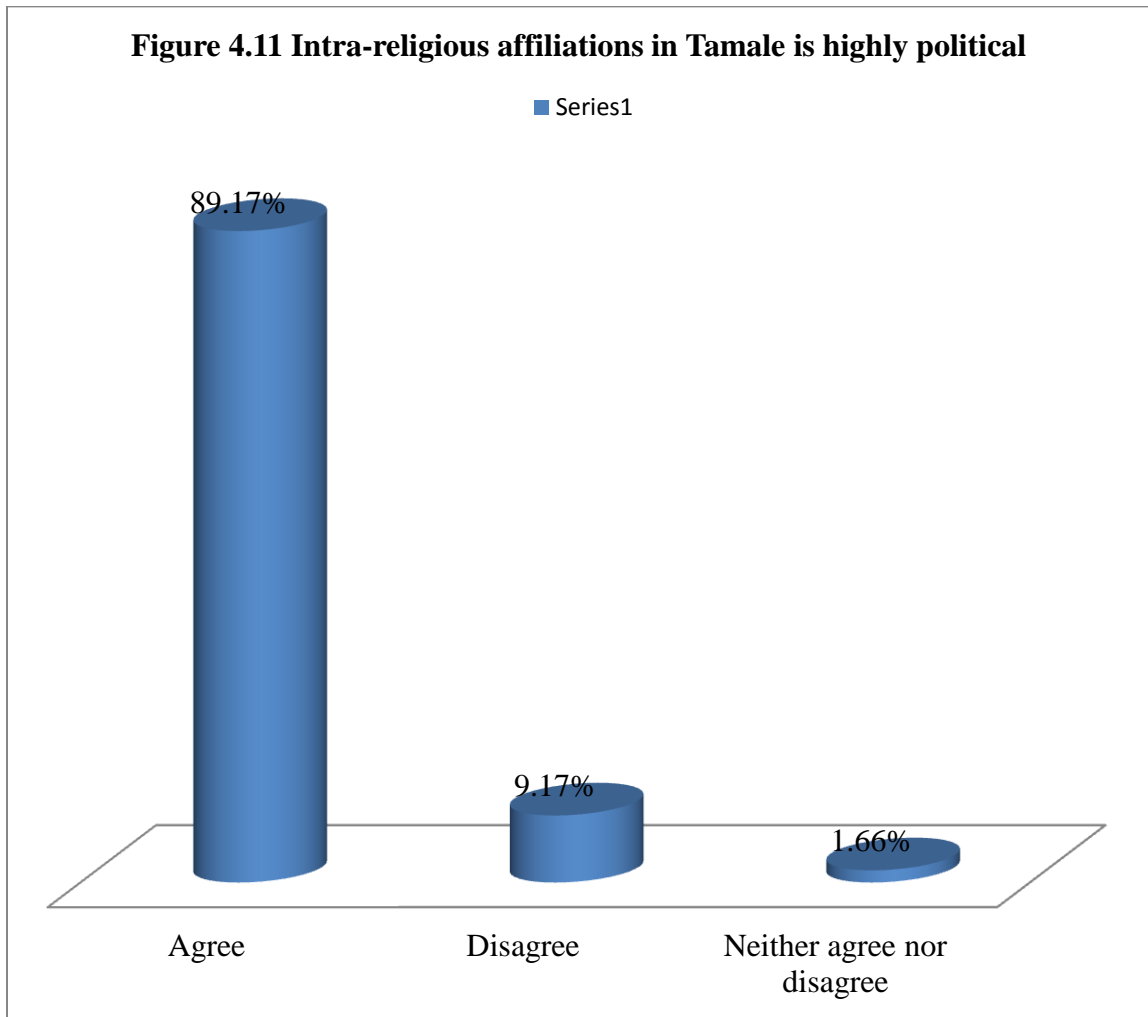
FGDs show that there exist a complex mixture of ethno-religious and political alignment of the dominant religious groups in Tamale. This situation leads to the Tijaniyyas who support the NPP and largely support the course of the Abudus on one side and the Ahlu-sunnas who massively vote the NDC and support the course of the Andanis. The discussants noted that the current pattern of affiliation in Tamale was changing gradually which was seen in the 2000 general elections where most Ahlu-sunnas voted for the NPP. However, the death of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II in 2002 reinforced this pattern where Ahlu-sunna turned away from the NPP and voted for the NDC in subsequent elections.

FGDs also show that, the use of sensitive issues during electoral campaigns by politicians reinforced this voting pattern. For instance, the NDC used sensitive issues like promising to find the killers of the Ya Na and promising peace and security when they come to power in the 2004 and 2008 elections. Discussants also revealed that religious leaders and their dependents continue to benefit from the Youth Employment package by the government. Politicians continue to give out gifts in the form of cars, motor bikes, building materials among others and also align themselves with the two major sects in exchange for their loyalty and support. They noted that, the death of the Ya Na and these strategies of giving out gifts adopted by politicians have continued to reinforce these present patterns of affiliations in the Metropolis.

#### **4.2.9 Intra-religious affiliations in Tamale is highly political**

From the field survey, when participants were asked to agree or disagree with the statement ' Intra-religious affiliations in Tamale are highly political', majority of the

respondents (107) representing 89.17 per cent agreed that intra-religious affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis is highly political. 11 respondents constituting 10.17 per cent disagreed with the statement. Two (2) respondents constituting 1.66 per cent neither agree nor disagree with the statement. Their responses are shown in the figure below:



Source: Field work

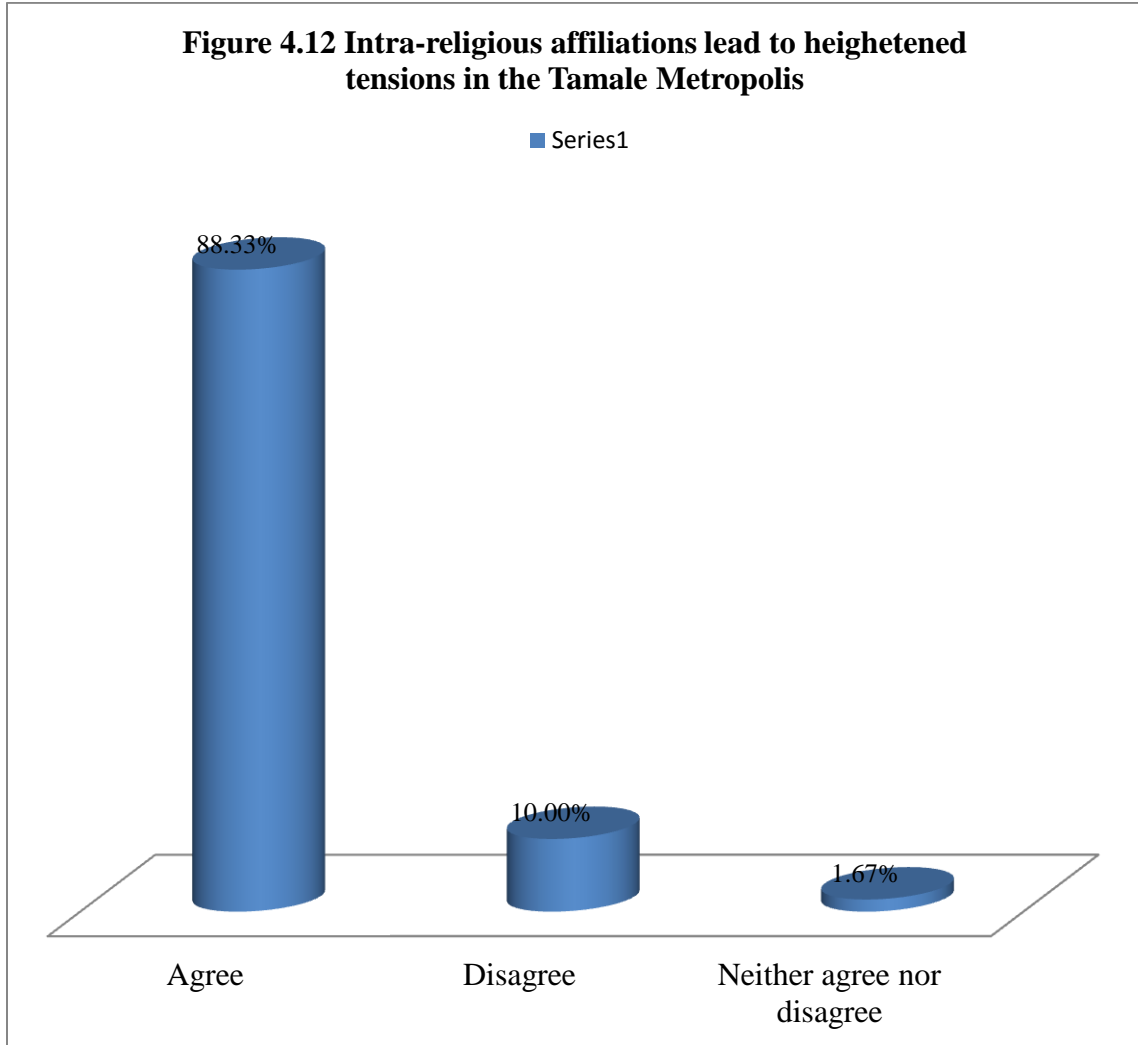
This suggests that the overwhelming majority of the respondents think that an intra-religious affiliation in Tamale is highly political, where majority of Tijaniyya voters vote massively for the NPP and the Majority of the Ahlu-sunna voters vote massively for the NDC.

The responses from the two statements suggest that in Tamale, the chieftaincy matters, intra-religious groupings and political affiliations are related where the Tijaniyyas belong to the NPP and the Abudu gate in the Dagbon chieftaincy matters while the Ahlu-sunnas give their support to the NDC and the Andani gate in the Dagbon chieftaincy matters. This assertion is supported by Kwesi and Mustapha's (2008) observation that "... the Ahlu-sunna group belongs to the NDC, majority of who are from one of two families in the Dagomba Kingdom, namely the Andani family, locked in a deadly chieftaincy conflict. ... the Tijaniyya who mostly gravitate towards the NPP and belong to the Abudu family in Dagbon" (Kwesi and Mustapha, 2008)

In FGDs, discussants stated that, the current unemployment in the metropolis (Refer to the occupation of respondents) makes the youth vulnerable and easily manipulated by politicians, as the saying goes; *the devil finds work for idle hands*. These dimensions of political participation in the Metropolis lead to a situation where a religious violence in Tamale will be seen as a political violence as well as an Andan-Abudu conflict. Questioned about the implication of this dynamics, discussants stated that it leads to a situation of fear, mistrust and tension in the Metropolis.

This assertion was further confirmed by respondents from the field survey when they were asked to agree or disagree with the statement 'Intra-religious affiliations lead to heightened tensions and violence in the Tamale Metropolis', an overwhelming majority of the respondents (106) representing 88.33 per cent agreed that the intra-religious affiliations leads to heightened tension in the Metropolis. Twelve (12) of the participants, representing 10 per cent disagreed with the statement. Two (2) respondents, constituting

1.67 per cent neither agree nor disagree with the statement. This is presented in the figure below:



Source: Field work

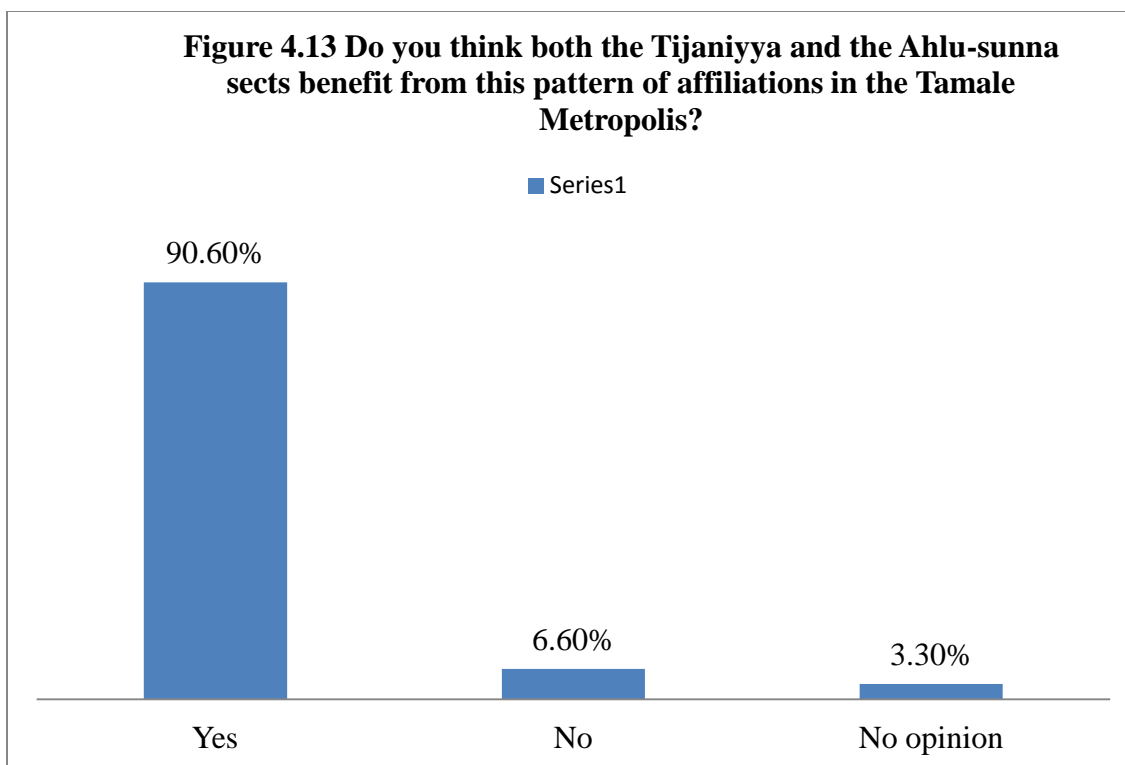
### **4.3 INTERACTION OF POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE TAMALE**

#### **METROPOLIS**

In the Tamale Metropolis, politics and religion are sometimes very difficult to separate from one another. In the study's efforts to reveal the reason(s) for this interaction, the following significant revelations were discovered.

#### **4.3.1 How Tijaniyyas and Ahlu-sunnas Benefit from their Political Participation in Tamale**

In order to establish that both Ahlu-sunna and the Tijaniyya sects are co-opted by politicians and political parties in Tamale to maintain this pattern of political affiliation, the study posed the question 'Do you think both the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna benefit from this pattern of affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis?' An overwhelming majority of the respondents (108) representing 90 per cent think both the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects benefit in one way or the other from their affiliations with the two major political parties in the country. Only Eight (8) respondents representing 6.60 per cent think the two major religious sects in Tamale do not benefit from their affiliations with the two major political parties. Four (4) respondents constituting 3.30 per cent indicated they did not have an opinion on this. The responses are shown from the figure below:

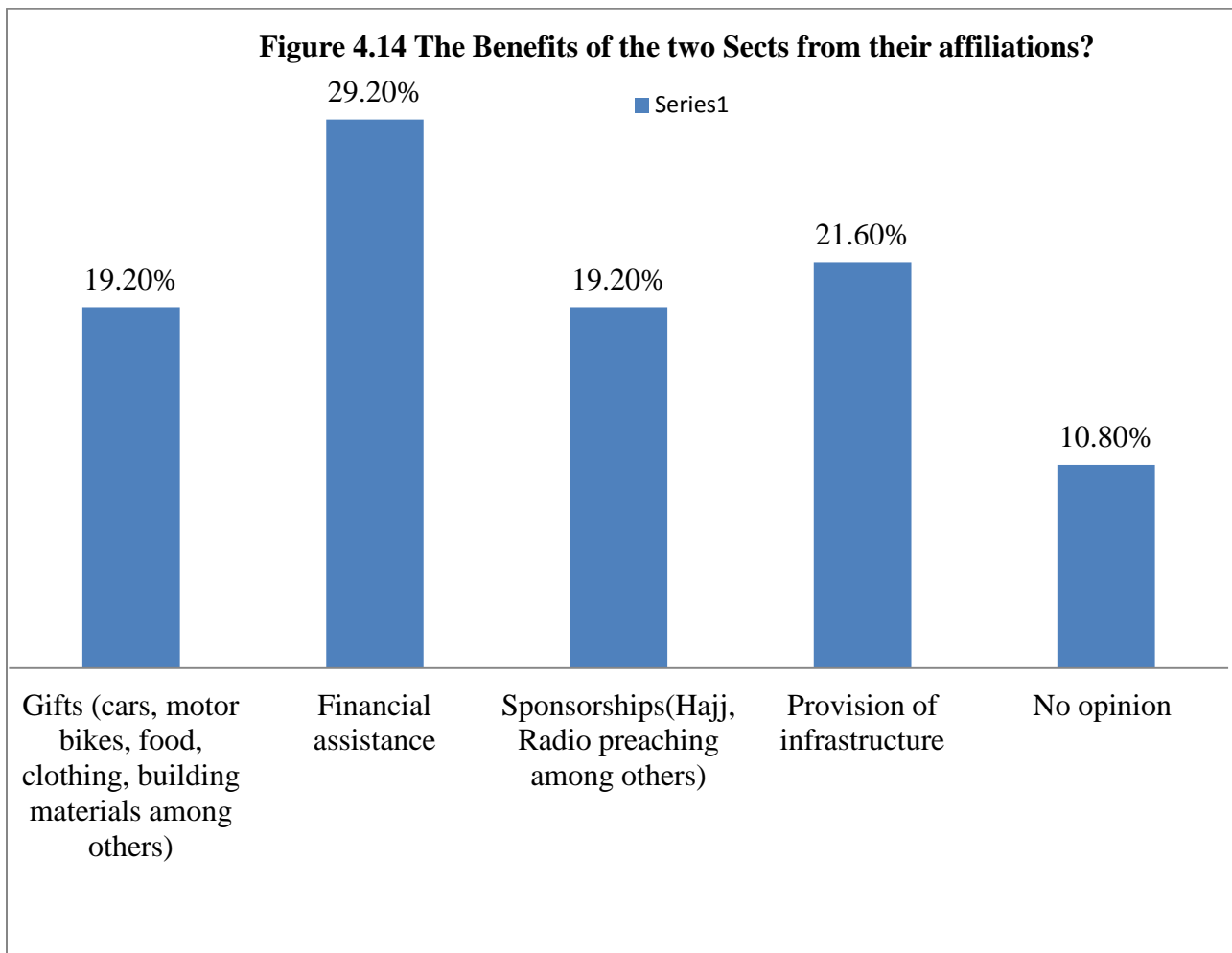


Source: Field work

This indicates that there is a deliberate effort by politicians and political parties to maintain this pattern of affiliations in Tamale in order for them to maximize their electoral fortunes.

In the study's efforts to establish what kind of benefits the two religious sects gain from their affiliations with the NDC and the NPP, the question 'If yes, what do they benefit from these affiliations?' was asked. Majority of the respondents (35) constituting 29.20 per cent indicated that both sects benefit from their affiliations with the political parties in the form of 'Financial assistance' from politicians in Tamale. The next is twenty-six (26) respondents, representing 21.60 per cent said both sects get infrastructure in the form of school buildings, Mosques among others as benefit from their affiliations with the two major political parties in the country. This is followed by twenty-three (23) respondents,

representing 19.20 per cent who indicated that both sects benefit in the form of ‘Gifts (Cars, motor bikes, food, Clothing, building materials among others)’ from their affiliations with the political parties. Another twenty-three (23) respondents, representing 19.20 per cent also indicated that politicians sponsor the activities of both religious sects including their Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, radio preaching among others. Thirteen (13) respondents representing 10.80 per cent indicated that they do not have an opinion on what the two religious sects benefit from their affiliations with the political parties. The results are shown in the figure below:



Source: Field work

This idea of politicians offering gifts, sponsoring religious activities, provision of infrastructure among others was further confirmed in FGDs and in an interview with both religious leaders and politicians. In FGDs, the discussants indicated that both religious sects benefit from the two leading political parties and not only from their affiliated party. They cited a situation where the former Northern Regional Minister, Alhaji Mustapha Ali Iddris, who is an NPP and a Tijaniyya follower, constructed a story building for the Ambariya Islamic Institute (Ahlu-sunna Islamic school) in Tamale. Discussants also noted that the Members of Parliament in the Tamale Metropolis have bought cars and motor bikes to some prominent Islamic scholars from both sects in Tamale.

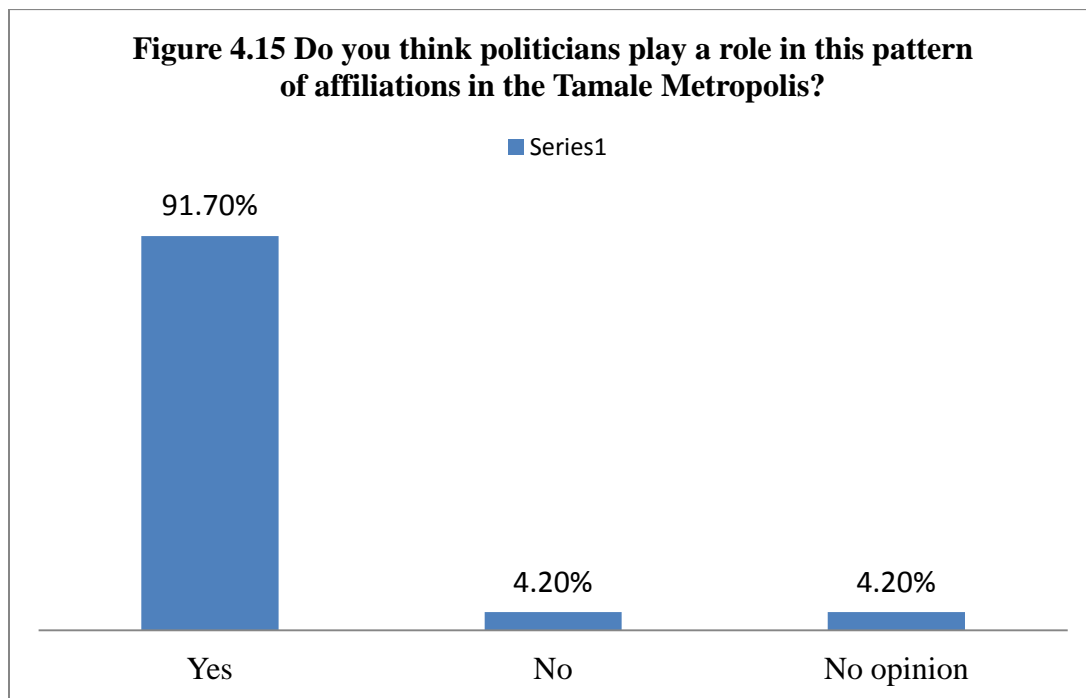
Questioned as to what these politicians get in return for all these offers, discussants revealed that religious leaders of the two sects in return mobilize their followers to vote for political parties purported to be advancing their course; religious leaders and Imams advance the course of politicians in their preaching. The exchange of benefits between politicians and the religious leaders is supported by the rational choice model of voter behavior. “If companies seek to maximize profits and consumers act to maximize the utility, we can, then, theorize in the sense that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote as the parties act to maximize electoral gains obtained from their political proposals” (Antunes, 2008).

Also, in an interview with one leader from both religious sects on whether they benefit from politicians, they both answered in the affirmative and one added that “as an opinion leader, you do not refuse a gift from your people because if you do, you will be seen as supporting one political party or the other”. This clearly indicates that both the Tijaniyya

and the Ahlu-sunna sects benefit from their affiliations with the NDC and the NPP in the Tamale Metropolis.

#### 4.3.2 Politicians play a role in Political Affiliations in Tamale

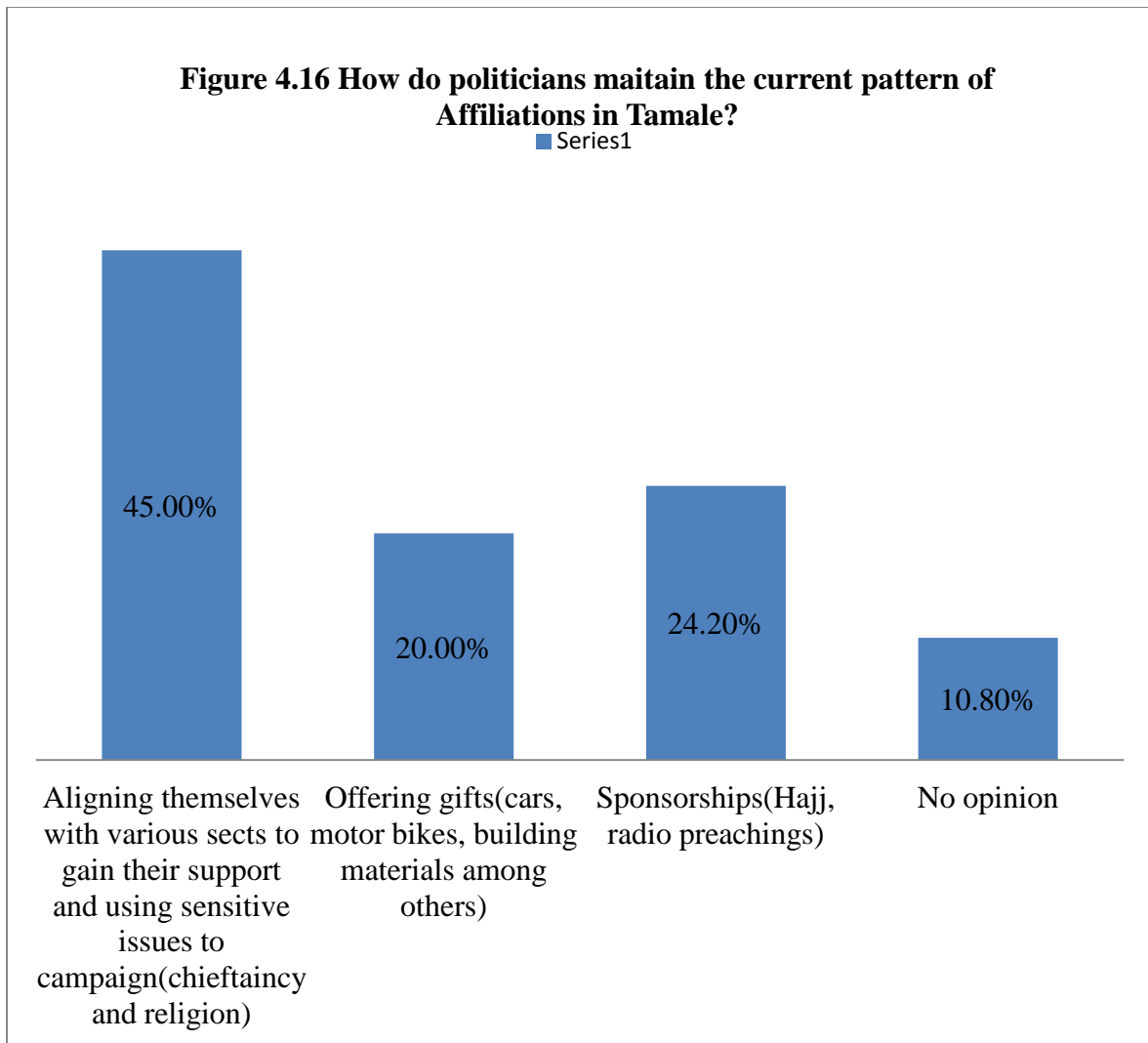
The study also asked ‘Do you think politicians play a role in this pattern of affiliation in the Tamale Metropolis? Majority of the respondents (110) representing 91.70 per cent answered in the affirmative suggesting that politicians play a significant role in the affiliation or maintaining the current pattern of political affiliations in Tamale. Four (4) respondents representing 4.20 per cent said that politicians do not play a role in the political affiliations by the two major Islamic religious sects in Tamale. Equally, four (4) respondents representing 4.20 per cent had no opinion on the role politicians play in the affiliation process in the Tamale Metropolis. The results are shown in the figure below:



Source: Field work

### **4.3.3 The Role Politicians Play in Reinforcing the Voting Pattern in the Tamale Metropolis**

Politicians and their activities also came up, from primary data collected, as responsible for reinforcing the current pattern of affiliation in the Metropolis. In order to establish the specific roles politicians play in the strengthening or maintaining the current pattern of political affiliations in Tamale, the researcher asked the question ‘If yes, how do politicians maintain the current pattern of affiliations in Tamale?’. The majority of respondents (54), representing 45 per cent indicated that politicians ‘Aligning themselves with various sects to gain their support and using sensitive issues to campaign (chieftaincy and religion)’ in order to strengthen the current political affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis. This is followed by twenty-nine (29) respondents representing 24 per cent said politicians foster these affiliations by ‘Sponsorships (Hajj, radio preaching)’ to the two Islamic religious sects in Tamale. Twenty-four (24) respondents representing 20 per cent indicated that politicians do so by ‘Offering gifts (cars, motor bikes, building materials among others)’ to the leaders of the two sects. Thirteen (13) respondents indicated that they do not have any opinion on politicians playing any role in these affiliations. The figure below shows the responses given by the respondents:



Source: Field work

This assertion is confirmed in FGDs where members stated that politicians always use sensitive issues to campaign, especially the NDC. They cited how the NDC used the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis to campaign in the 2004 and 2008 general elections. This assertion is contained in the NDC 2008 Manifesto. "... set up a new and truly non-partisan and independent Presidential Commission to re-open investigations into the murder of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II and his elders in March 2002" (NDC 2008 Manifesto, pp 34)

To ascertain the level of political influence in the intra-religious affiliations in the Forth Republic, members of the FGDs observed that, the two main political parties (NDC and NPP) having taken side in the intra-religious conflicts in Tamale, support and incite one sect against the other and shield perpetrators of crime in their camps.

Also, in an interview with a leading politician in Tamale, he did indicate that “we live in an environment where we the politicians will be accused of negligence if we do not intervene and where we intervened, we are accused of interfering in sensitive matters”. This therefore indicates that politicians play a significant role in the political affiliations in Tamale including politicizing sensitive matters like the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis and intra-religious politics.

#### **4.4 THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF TIJANIYYA-AHLU-SUNNA AFFILIATIONS WITH THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE METROPOLIS**

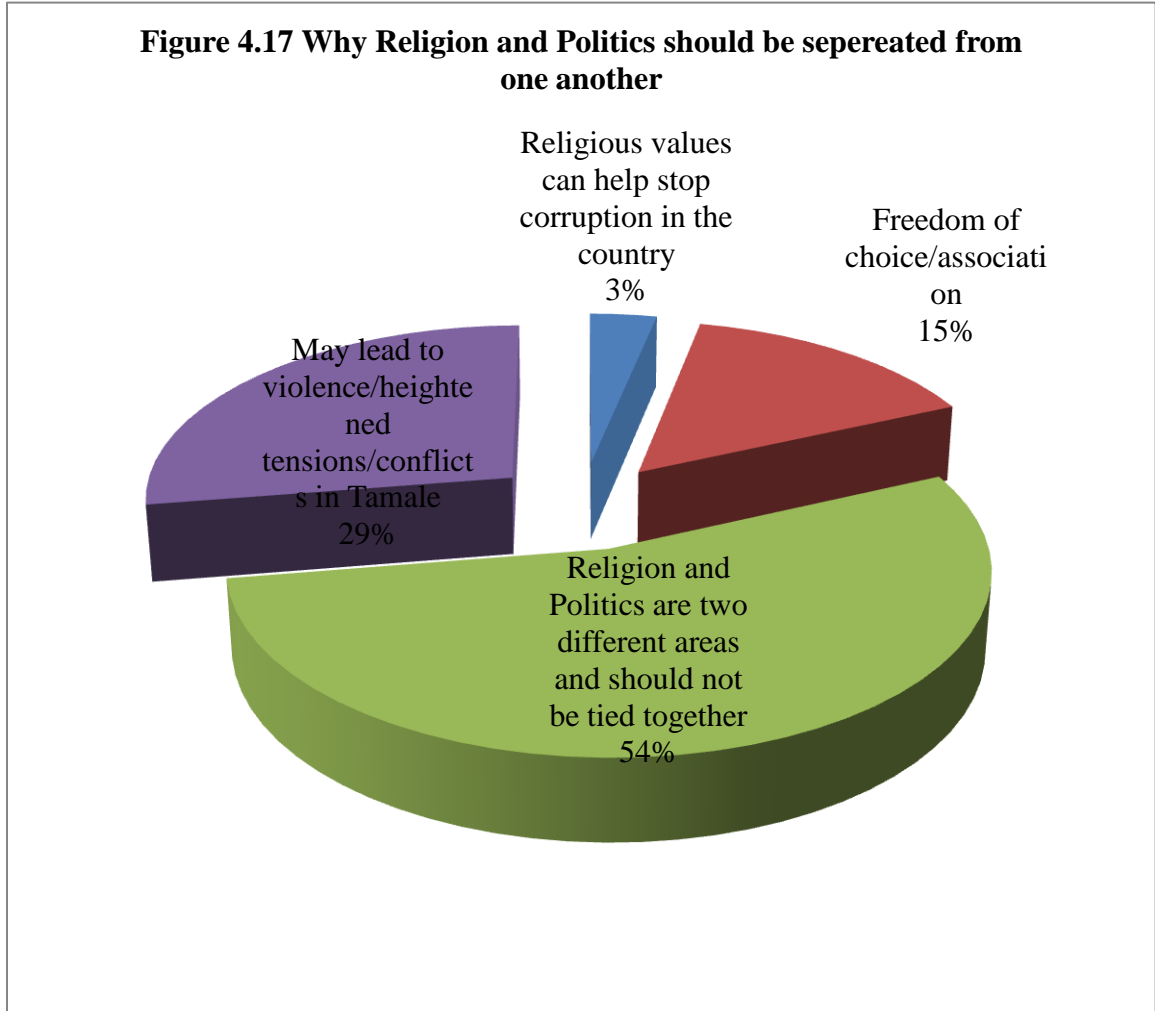
In the study’s efforts to reveal the negative consequences of the affiliations of the Tijaniyyas and the Ahlu-sunnas with the NPP and NDC respectively, I posed the question ‘In your opinion, should politics be tied to religion?’ Majority of the respondents (116) representing 96.7 per cent said politics should not be tied to religion with varied reasons while four (4) respondents representing 3 per cent answered in the affirmative with a reason. This indicates that the overwhelming majority (96.7 per cent) think politics should be separated from religion. This is presented in the table below:

**Table 4.4 In your opinion, should politics be tied to Religion?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	4	3.3 %
No	116	96.7%
Total	120	100.0%

Source: Field work

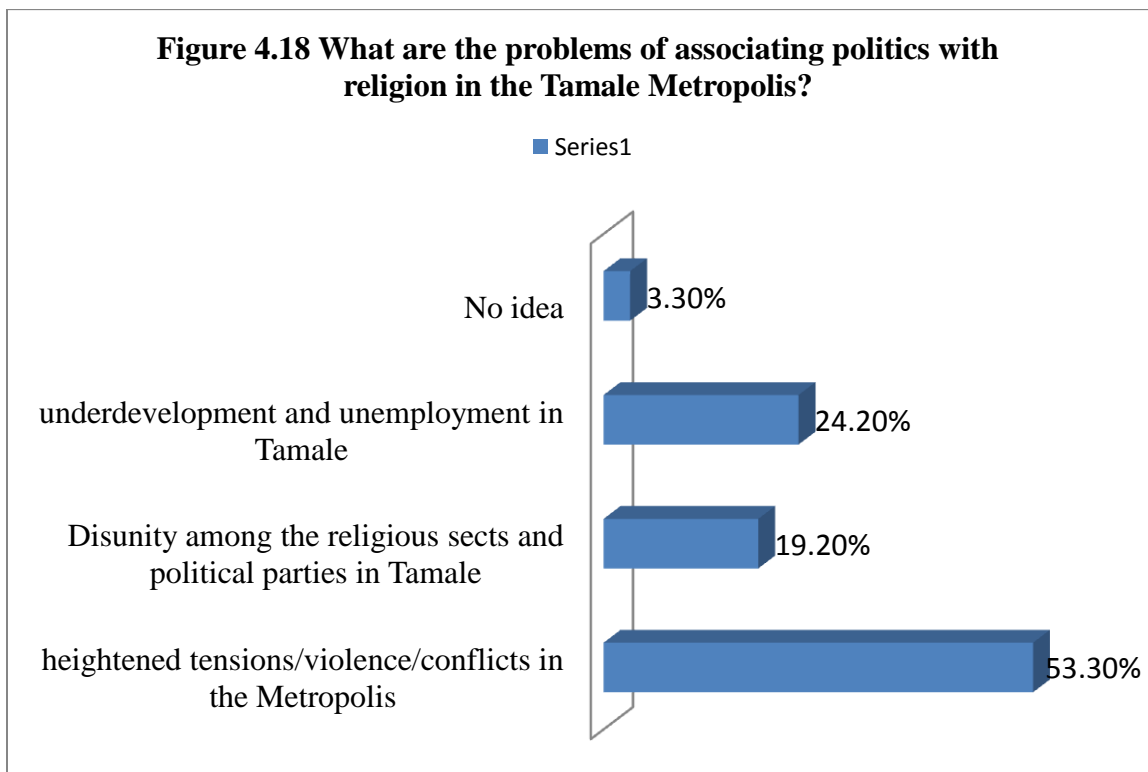
In the study's attempt to find the reason(s) for their responses in the table above, we asked the question 'If yes, why?' and 'If no, why?' Majority of them (65) representing 54 per cent indicated that 'Religion and Politics are two different areas and should not be tied together'. Thirty-three (33) respondents, representing 28 per cent said it 'May lead to violence/heightened tensions/conflicts in Tamale'. Eighteen (18) of them, representing 15 per cent stated that 'Freedom of choice/association'. However, only four (4) of them representing 3 per cent said when religion is tied to politics, 'Religious values can help stop corruption in the country'. This indicates that the dangers of associating religion with politics far outweigh the benefits. Therefore politics and religion should be separate entities and treated as such. Their reasons are presented in the pie chart below:



Source: Field work

The study also asked the question ‘What are the problems of associating politics with religion?’ Majority of the respondents (64) representing 53.3 per cent said the dangers of marrying politics with religion is that it leads to ‘heightened tensions/violence/conflicts in the Metropolis’. This is followed by twenty-nine (29) respondents representing 24.2 per cent who also think that the marriage between politics and religion bring about ‘underdevelopment and unemployment in Tamale’. This assertion is confirmed by Tsikata and Seini (2004) “A number of studies have emphasized the broad disparity

between the North and the South of the country in terms of levels of economic development and the general quality of life resulting in the relative backwardness of Northern Ghana in relation to Southern Ghana”. Twenty-three (23) respondents representing 19.2 per cent who indicated that the marriage between the two will lead to ‘Disunity among the religious sects and political parties in Tamale’. Four (4) respondents representing 3.3 per cent said they have no idea on the issue.



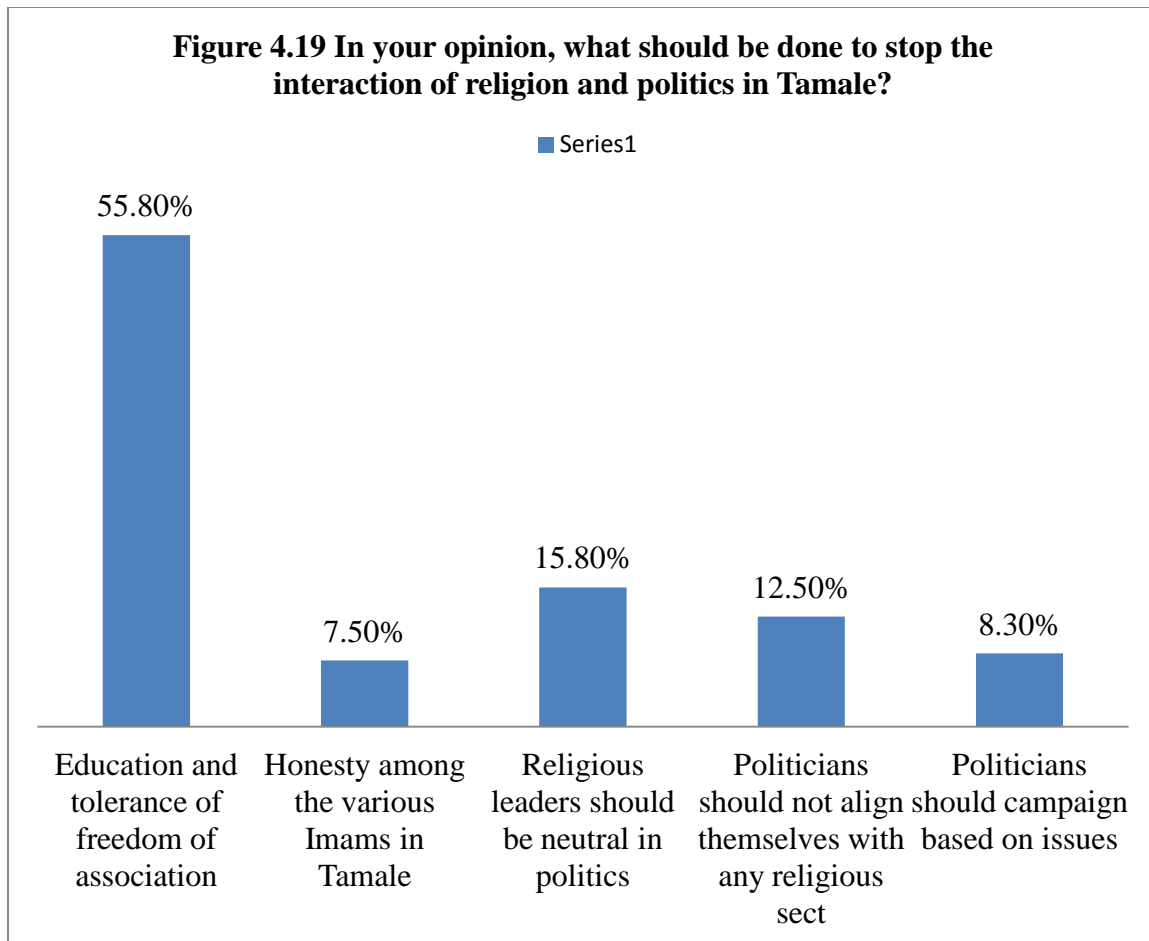
Source: Field work

This clearly indicates that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (116) representing 96.7 per cent think in one way or the other that, the association of politics and religion would have a negative consequences for the Metropolis.

Added to the above, discussants in FGDs revealed that the association of politics and religion brings about or strengthen the culture of impunity in the Metropolis since the perpetrators of intra-religious violence are supported and provided safe haven by politicians who think they are loyal to their political parties.

#### **4.5 WAYS TO CURB POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN RELIGION**

In the study's attempt to find a lasting solution to the current voting pattern in Tamale, the study asked the question 'In your opinion, what should be done to stop the interference of Religion and Politics in Tamale? The respondents offered the following suggestions: Out of the 120 respondents, sixty-seven (67) of them representing 55.8 per cent said there should be 'Education and tolerance of freedom of association' in the Tamale Metropolis. Nineteen (19) respondents representing 15.8 per cent indicated that the 'Religious leaders should be neutral in politics' Fifteen (15) of the respondents representing 12.5 per cent said 'Politicians should not align themselves with any religious sect'. Also, 10 of them representing 8.3 per cent said 'Politicians should campaign based on issues'. Finally, nine (9) respondents said there should be 'Honesty among the various Imams in Tamale'. This is presented in figure below:



Source: Field work

The above factors were highlighted in FGDs. The discussants noted that public education on the right to association; political tolerance as well as religious tolerance are needed in the Metropolis to help solve this canker. They noted that education for the Imams and other religious leaders is needed to stop their partisan preaching. To help curb this, discussants observed that religious leaders should be honest and neutral in politics.

On the part of politicians, discussants stated that, politicians should not align themselves with any religious sect or chieftaincy gate in Dagbon and encouraged politicians to campaign based on issues rather than the use of sensitive matters like the chieftaincy matters in Dagbon.

The above suggestions by the respondents indicate that, education and political tolerance are fundamental to dealing with this pattern of voting in the Metropolis. The honesty and neutrality of the religious leaders in Tamale are needed to deal with this problem. The style of campaigning in Tamale should also be improved from politicians aligning themselves with religious sects and chieftaincy gates to issue based campaigning.

#### **4.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter presents the analysis of the data gathered from the survey, interview and the focus group discussions (FGDs). This was done in line with the first four objectives of the study- to examine the historical and contemporary reasons for the entrenched political affiliations by the two sects; to investigate the role political parties play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects; to examine what the two sects benefit from maintaining their affiliations with these two political parties; to reveal the negative consequences of their affiliations with the two major political parties. The ways to deal with this current pattern of political affiliations by the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects with the NPP and the NDC respectively is also included in the chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

The study was conducted to investigate why the two major Islamic denominations, namely the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna sects, are politically affiliated with the two leading political parties: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) respectively. The specific objectives were: to examine the historical and contemporary reasons for the entrenched political affiliations by the two sects; to investigate the role political parties play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects; to examine what the two sects benefit from maintaining their affiliations with these two political parties; to reveal the negative consequences of their affiliations with the two major political parties and to offer possible recommendations to deal with the current pattern of political affiliation in Tamale.

The researcher conducted a survey in the form of questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews to reveal the root causes of this pattern of political affiliation by the two Islamic sects with the two major political parties in the country. This chapter consists of the research objectives as stated above, summary of the findings of the study, recommendations based on the findings and the conclusion. The conclusions from this empirical study are based on the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data in the form of diagrams, tables, and explanations.

## 5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The analysis of the study arrives at the following findings:

The study revealed that, the phenomenon of political affiliation or voter pattern in Tamale is deeply rooted in the Dagbon chieftaincy matters. In the study's survey, out of the 120 respondents, an overwhelming majority (106) representing 88.33 per cent agreed that chieftaincy matters in Dagbon is the root cause of this current pattern of political affiliation in Tamale. This factor was further confirmed in Focus group discussions where discussants noted that, the Dagbon chieftaincy matters affect every aspect of life in Tamale "from marriages to what we eat there is chieftaincy in it".

The study also discovered that, the current voting pattern in Tamale in the Fourth Republic was recently reinforced by the death of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II (an Andani) in 2002. Since the issue is a complex mixture of ethno-religious and political affairs, any event in one affair affects the religious, ethnic and political dynamics in the area. This is further strengthened by politicians aligning themselves with chieftaincy gates and religious sects in Tamale and use sensitive matters in electoral campaigns like how the NDC promised the Andani gate to find the killers of the Ya Na. All these have helped maintained this phenomenon in the Tamale Metropolis.

The study further revealed that, the historical reason for this affiliation is traced back to the introduction of the various Islamic denominations into Dagbon. Each of the two Islamic denominations at the point of its origination and efforts to win more followers had aligned itself with one of the chieftaincy families in Dagbon. Each of the chieftaincy family in Dagbon in turn aligned itself to an opposing political party of the other chieftaincy family. This leads to a complex mixture of ethno-religious and political

alignment of the major Islamic sects in Tamale; where the Tijaniyyas support the NPP and also support the course of the Abudu chieftaicy gate on one side and, the Ahlu-sunnas massively support the NDC and also support the course of the Andani gate on another side.

The study also found out that there is a deliberate effort in the politicization of religion by politicians in their efforts to win or maintain political power. Religion is used as a major weapon for electoral campaigns by politicians in Tamale. Political parties, notably the NDC and NPP exploit the votes of the people by politicizing religion in the Metropolis. The above factor was confirmed in an interview with a leading politician in Tamale, when he stated that, “we live in an environment where we the politicians will be accused of negligence if we do not intervene and where we intervened, we are accused of interfering in sensitive matters”.

The study noted that, both the Tijaniyyas and the Ahlu-sunna sects in the Metropolis benefit massively in their affiliations with the NPP and the NDC respectively. Politicians from the NDC and the NPP sponsor the activities (the Hajj, radio preaching, fasting among others) of the two major Islamic sects in Tamale. Also, politicians offer gifts in the form of cars, motor bikes, cash donations, building materials among others to the two sects for their support.

The study also noted that these benefits to both the Ahlu-sunna and the Tijaniyya sects were not a one way affair but *‘scratch my back and I scratch your back’* affair. Religious leaders from the two sects in return mobilize their followers to vote for political parties

purported to be advancing their course; religious leaders and Imams advance the course of politicians in their preaching.

Another finding of the study is that, majority of the residents in Tamale are not happy with the interaction of politics and religion in the area. They indicated ‘Religion and Politics are two different areas and should not be tied together’ and ‘May lead to violence/heightened tensions/conflicts in Tamale’. It can also bring ‘Disunity among the religious sects and political parties in Tamale’.

A significant revelation was that, the incidence of high rate of ‘underdevelopment and unemployment in Tamale’ among the youth coupled with the abject poverty in the area, results in the youth being vulnerable and manipulated by the elite politicians into violence in the area for their political expediencies. That is, it results in one factor (‘underdevelopment and unemployment in Tamale’) leading to another factor (vulnerability of the youth and manipulated by the elite politicians in the area) and back to the original factor.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

Each of the two Islamic denominations at the point of its introduction into the Northern Region had aligned itself with one of the chieftaincy families in Dagbon with the hope of winning more followers. Also, from the First Republic to the Fourth Republic, political participation in the Northern Region has been influenced by ethnic and religious factors. The interactions of ethnicity and religion with politics leads to a complex mixture of ethno-religious and political alignment of the major Islamic sects in Tamale where the Tijaniyyas support the NPP and also support the course of the Abudu chieftaincy gate,

while the Ahlu-sunnas massively support the NDC and also support the course of the Andani gate.

This phenomenon has militated against competent politicians who would have contributed significantly to the democratic and socio-economic development of the Metropolis and the Region in general.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

On the basis of the findings of this study, the following specific recommendations are suggested:

Regional Islamic Council should be constituted, made up of all the various sects in the region. This council should be the highest body in charge of all Muslims affairs in the Region. This means that the council can set out guidelines for preaching and modalities for co-existence among the various Islamic sects in the Region.

As indicated by most participants of the study, all Muslims should take formal education as a modern form of jihad. If Muslim youth are properly educated, they would be able to contribute positively to development of their areas; hence unable to be manipulated by politicians for their political expediencies.

Another recommendation is that, politicians should refrain from aligning themselves with the various religious sects in order to win the sympathy for their electoral fortunes. Equally, politicians should desist from using sensitive issues such as the Dagbon chieftaincy matters for electoral campaigns, rather politicians should campaign base on

issues or matters that will bring food to the table. Imams should not be recruited by politicians as thugs to do their campaigns for them but should be treated as neutral and significant elements of the larger Ghanaian community.

Equally, Islamic states and organizations in addition to the construction of Mosques and Islamic schools, should concentrate more on equipping of Muslim youth with the necessary employable skills; the youth more productive instead of counter-productive hence unable to be manipulated by politicians for their political gains.

Since the problem has its roots from the Dagbon chieftaicy matters, government should encourage and resource third party mediation efforts by Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Specifically, the Committee of Eminent Chiefs should be empowered and resourced to resolve the cultural aspects of the conflicts. Equally, the stakeholders (Abudus and Andanis) in the conflict should make concessions and abandon their entrenched demands regarding the Kinship.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

**TOPIC: Islam and Politics in the Northern Region: Focus on Tijaniyya and Ahlu-Sunna sects in Tamale**

Dear respondent,

I, Abubakari Mohammed Sadat, a final year MPhil student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I am interested in understanding the historical and contemporary reason(s) for the affiliation of the two major Islamic religious denominations in Tamale (Tijaniyya and Ahlu-sunna sects) with the two major political parties; the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). What are the roles played by politicians to maintain these affiliations? What are the benefits these religious sects gain in these affiliations? And what are the negative consequences of these affiliations? All these are at the heart of this research.

This survey is meant for only academic purposes, it has no link with any religious sect or political party or the government. The survey is absolutely confidential: no identities are needed. Also, your participation in this survey is absolutely voluntary and you reserve the right to withdraw at any point in the process or choose to answer some questions and not others.

Thank you for accepting to participate in this research.

**QID:** -----

**INSTRUCTIONS: Please Tick [] the box where applicable and fill in the blank spaces.**

**(1) Sex** 1. Male [] 2. Female []

**(2) Age** 1. 18-25 [] 2. 26-35 [] 3. 36-45 [] 4. 46-55 [] 5. 56 and above []

**(3) Marital Status** 1. Never married [] 2. Married [] 3. Divorced [] 4. Widowed []

(4) Region of Origin 1. Northern Region [ ] 2. Outside Northern Region [ ]

(5) Ethnicity 1. Mole Dagomba [ ] 2. Gonja [ ] 3. Akan [ ] Others (please specify)

(6) Islamic Denomination 1. Tijaniyya [ ] 2. Ahlu-sunna [ ] 3. Ahmadiyyah [ ] 4. Shiah [ ]

Others (please specify) -----

(7) Highest Educational Background 1. None [ ] 2. Primary [ ] 3. Secondary [ ]

4. Teacher Training [ ] 5. Technical sch. [ ] 6. Polytechnic [ ] 7. University [ ]

(8) Occupation 1. Farmer [ ] 2. Teacher [ ] 3. Trader [ ] 4. Unemployed [ ] 5. Others

(please specify) -----

(9) Have you ever voted in any national general elections under the Fourth Republic?

1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

(10) Which political party did you vote for?

1. NDC [ ] 2. NPP [ ] 3. Others (please specify) -----

(11) Why did you vote for that political party?

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(12) Do you vote base on your religious belief? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

(13) Do you believe that voting pattern is linked to Islamic religious denominations in Tamale? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

(14) If yes how? (**You may tick more than one**) 2. Tijaniyya-NPP [ ] 2. Ahlu-sunna-NDC [ ]

3. Ahmadiyyah-NPP [ ] 4. Tijaniyya-NDC [ ] 5. Ahlu-sunna-NPP [ ] 6. Ahmadiyyah-NDC [ ] 7. Tijaniyya-CPP [ ] 8. Ahlu-sunna-CPP [ ] 9. Ahmadiyyah-CPP [ ]

10. Others (please specify) -----

(15) Do you think both the Tijaniyya and the Ahlu-sunna benefit from this pattern of

affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ] 3. No opinion

(16) If yes, what do they benefit from these affiliations?

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(17) Do you think politicians play a role in this pattern of affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis?

1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ] 3. No opinion

(18) If yes, how do politicians maintain the current pattern of affiliations in Tamale?

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(19) Please, indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

a) The remote cause of intra-religious affiliation in Tamale is deeply rooted in

chieftaincy matters in Dagbon. 1. I agree [ ] 2. I disagree [ ]

b) Intra-religious affiliations in Tamale are highly political.

1. I agree [ ] 2. I disagree [ ]

c) These affiliations lead to heightened tensions and violence in the Tamale Metropolis.

1. I agree [ ] 2. I disagree [ ]

(20) In your opinion, should Politics be tied to Religion? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

(21) If yes why?

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(22) If no why?

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(23) What are the problems/dangers of associating Politics with Religion in the Tamale Metropolis?

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**(24)** In your opinion, what should be done to stop the interference of Religion and Politics in Tamale?

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**Thank You**

**APPENDIX B**

**INTERVIEW GUIDE (RELIGIOUS LEADERS)  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

**TOPIC: Islam and Politics in the Northern Region: Focus on Tijaniyya and Ahlu-Sunna sects in Tamale**

**Introduction**

I, Abubakari Mohammed Sadat, a final year MPhil student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I am interested in understanding the historical and contemporary reason(s) for the affiliation of the two major Islamic religious denominations in Tamale (Tijaniyya and Ahlu-sunna sects) with the two major political parties; the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). What are the roles played by politicians to maintain these affiliations? What are the benefits these religious sects gain in these affiliations? And what are the negative consequences of these affiliations? All these are at the heart of this research.

With your permission, your comments will be recorded. Please be assured that all your responses will be kept confidential: This means that the interview responses will be used for academic purpose only; the report will not identify you as a respondent. Also, your participation in this survey is absolutely voluntary and you reserve the right to withdraw at any point in the process or choose to answer some questions and not others.

Thank you for accepting to participate in this research.

**Bio Data**

1. Sex of respondent: 1. Male [ ] 2. Female [ ]
2. Age 1. 18-25 [ ] 2. 26-35 [ ] 3. 36-45 [ ] 4.46-55 [ ] 5. 56 and above [ ]
3. Educational level of respondent:1. Basic [ ] 2. Second cycle [ ] 3. Tertiary [ ]  
4.None [ ]
4. Islamic Denomination 1. Tijaniyya [ ] 2. Ahlu-sunna [ ] 3. Ahmadiyyah [ ] 4.  
Shiah [ ] Others (please specify) -----  
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5. Status of respondent: 1. Opinion leader [ ] 2. Follower [ ]

6. Ethnicity 1. Mole Dagomba [ ] 2. Gonja [ ] 3. Akan [ ] Others (please specify)  
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**Historical and contemporary reasons for the entrenched affiliations**

7. Do you believe that religious affiliations and voting pattern are linked with chieftaincy matters in Tamale? Do you agree?  
8. If you agreed, please enlighten us on the history behind this pattern of affiliations?

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9. What are the historical reasons the Tijaniyya group tend to be affiliated with the NPP and the Ahlu-sunna group tend to be affiliated with the NDC?

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10. Currently, why has this pattern of affiliation not changed and continued to exist?

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**The role political parties play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects**

11. Do you religious leaders or your group benefit from politics? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]  
12. What do you think the two major political parties have done or are doing to maintain these affiliations?

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13. Do you think this pattern of affiliation is a problem? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

14. If yes how? Or What are the negative consequences of their affiliations with the two major political parties in Tamale?

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**Efforts to resolve the issue/ Recommendations**

15. Do you think this pattern of affiliations is a problem and needs to be resolved by all stakeholders? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

16. What recommendations do you have to offer in resolving this current pattern of affiliations by two sects with the major political parties?

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17. What role(s) should politicians play to resolve this issue?

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18. What role(s) should the people of Tamale Metropolis play to resolve this issue?

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19. What should be done to change this pattern of affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis?

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**APPENDIX C**

**INTERVIEW GUIDE (POLITICAL LEADERS)  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

**TOPIC: Islam and Politics in the Northern Region: Focus on Tijaniyya and Ahlu-Sunna sects in Tamale**

**Introduction**

I, Abubakari Mohammed Sadat, a final year MPhil student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I am interested in understanding the historical and contemporary reason(s) for the affiliation of the two major Islamic religious denominations in Tamale (Tijaniyya and Ahlu-sunna sects) with the two major political parties; the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). What are the roles played by politicians to maintain these affiliations? What are the benefits these religious sects gain in these affiliations? And what are the negative consequences of these affiliations? All these are at the heart of this research.

With your permission, your comments will be recorded. Please be assured that all your responses will be kept confidential: This means that the interview responses will be used for academic purpose only; the report will not identify you as a respondent. Also, your participation in this survey is absolutely voluntary and you reserve the right to withdraw at any point in the process or choose to answer some questions and not others.

Thank you for accepting to participate in this research.

**Bio Data**

1. Sex of respondent: 1. Male  2. Female
2. Age 1. 18-25  2. 26-35  3. 36-45  4. 46-55  5. 56 and above
3. Educational level of respondent: 1. Basic  2. Second cycle  3. Tertiary
4. Islamic Denomination 1. Tijaniyya  2. Ahlu-sunna  3. Ahmadiyyah   
4. Shiah  Others (please specify) -----  
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5. Status of respondent: 1. Leader  2. Opinion leader  3. Follower

6. Ethnicity 1. Mole Dagomba [ ] 2. Gonja [ ] 3. Akan [ ] Others (please specify)

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**Historical and contemporary reasons for the entrenched affiliations**

7. Do you believe that religious affiliation is linked with voting pattern in the Tamale Metropolis? Do you agree? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

8. If agreed. Can you please enlighten us on the historical reason(s) behind this pattern on affiliation?

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9. Contemporary, what factor(s) have strengthened this pattern of affiliations?

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**The negative consequences of their affiliations with the two major political parties**

10. Does this pattern of affiliations promote peaceful co-existence among supporters of political parties and the different Islamic denominations in Tamale?

1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

11. What are the negative consequences of this pattern of affiliation in the Tamale Metropolis?

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**The role political parties play in the entrenchment of these affiliations by the two sects**

12. Does your party benefit from this pattern of affiliation? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

13. Do you believe that politicians have played a key role in maintaining this pattern of affiliations in the Tamale? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

14. What role(s) have politicians played to maintain this pattern of affiliation in Tamale?

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**Efforts to resolve the issue/ Recommendations**

15. Do you think this pattern of affiliations is a problem and needs to be resolved by all stakeholders? 1. Yes [ ] 2. No [ ]

16. What recommendations do you have to offer in resolving this current pattern of affiliations by two sects with the major political parties?

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17. What role(s) should religious leaders play to resolve this issue?

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18. What role(s) should the people of Tamale Metropolis play to resolve this issue?

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19. What should be done to change this pattern of affiliations in the Tamale Metropolis?

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